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P R E F A C E.

IN the work now offered to the public, the author has attempted to illustrate the Civil and Literary History of Ancient Greece from the age of *Pisistratus* to the accession of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by exhibiting a chronological view not only of the civil and military affairs of the Greeks, but also of their literature, within that period. The authorities upon which each fact is stated are expressed, and the original words of the authors are given, as far as the necessary brevity would allow.

The first idea of this work suggested itself to the author many years ago, when he found the want of a sufficient chronological guide, while engaged in studying the works of the ancient writers. The remains of the Orators, and of the Comic Poet, to be rightly understood, must be read in the order in which they were composed or exhibited; and with a reference to the transactions with which they were connected. The ancient critics of the best times were diligent in their attention to this particular^a. Apollodorus and Dionysius carefully

^a *Illa præcipua scriptorum cura fuisse videtur, ut tempus quo fabulas suas comici tragicique docuissent inquirerent, et quo archonte quave anni tempestate singula quæque dramata acta fuissent diligenter notarent. Non vulgare sane opus; cum in eo elucubrando criticorum doctissimi industriam diligentiamque suam collocarint: DICEARCHUS nimirum*

Aristotelis discipulus, CALLIMACHUS, CARYSTIUS, ARISTOPHANES grammaticus, APOLLODORUS, CRATES, et ERATOSTHENES. His ARISTOTELES ipse princeps præiverat, qui, tragicorum comicorumque nominibus et fabularum titulis collectis, συναγωγὴν hanc apto et proprio vocabulo περὶ διδασκαλιῶν inscripserat. Oderici Epistola p. vi.

marked the dates of literary works. But the grammarians of later ages, from whose hands we have received the relics of antiquity, so much neglected this necessary point, that no copy of Aristophanes now exists which has the Comedies disposed in the order in which they were exhibited; nor any copy of Demosthenes, in which the Harangues and Public Causes are placed with any regard to the order of time. The author originally proposed to himself to arrange the orations and dramas which remain to us from antiquity in their proper order, and to verify the dates by the proper testimonies. This he imagined might have been accomplished in a short compass. By degrees he found the subject more extensive. Other topics of inquiry presented themselves, and his work increased upon his hands, until it grew into its present form, and into the bulk of a volume. He now ventures to submit it to the world, trusting that it may in some degree supply to others what he formerly wanted for himself.

Before he dismisses this volume, he is desirous of expressing his acknowledgments to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, collectively, for their reception of his labours. To the Regius Professor of Greek, the REV. THOMAS GAISFORD, individually, for the ready kindness with which he has promoted the publication of this work, the author is bound in an especial manner to declare his obligations.

WELWYN, HERTS, JANUARY 5, 1824.

In the present edition the author has corrected some errors, and supplied some omissions, which a careful revision of the work enabled him to detect. In many instances the original texts of the authors are exhibited more fully than before. It will not be thought that the testimonies are too copiously quoted, if the advantages of this practice are remembered. A bare reference to authorities is seldom satisfac-

tory. The reader has not always the authors at hand ; nor will he always seek out the passages, which are widely scattered through a variety of authors, by consulting the originals. The writer himself is liable to mistake, when the testimonies upon which his propositions are founded are merely indicated ; references will be sometimes erroneously given, or perverted to a wrong meaning through inadvertence. But when the original words are transcribed, and the texts themselves are placed before the view, an author will be more accurate in drawing his conclusions, and the reader, surveying the whole evidence at once, will be more competent to pass his judgment.

Some subjects are treated more fully than in the former edition ; and some observations on the Extent and Population of Ancient Greece, which were wanting in the former, have been supplied in the present, in an additional Chapter, in which a part at least of the subject is examined.

New marks of favour demand new expressions of acknowledgment. The author has to repeat his obligations to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press for the liberal encouragement which they have shewn to the present edition of his work.

WELWYN, HERTS, JANUARY 25, 1827.

In this third edition the author has endeavoured to vindicate some points and to correct others. He has availed himself of those stores of information (so far as they came within his knowledge) which the interval between the former edition and the present has produced. He has profited by the Armenian Eusebius, to which he had not access before ; and especially by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* which M^r. Boeckh is publishing at Berlin, and by two valuable works from the Oxford Press ; the edition of Suidas in 1834, and of the Scholia on

Aristophanes in the close of 1839. This Volume might have received still further improvements, if the author had been enabled to use at an earlier period the last mentioned work, the excellent edition of the Scholia published by Mr. Dindorf. He has also to regret that the latter volumes of Bishop Thirlwall's History of Greece did not come into his hands till after this edition was nearly completed.

The author expresses his thanks to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, to whom he is deeply indebted for their patronage of his work upon this as upon former occasions.

WELWYN, *HERTS*, Nov. 14, 1840.

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The pages in the margin of this Volume are the pages of the second edition.

INTRODUCTION.

THE period of two hundred and eighty years, from the 55th to the 124th Olympiad, may be considered as the *second* of three portions, into which the whole subject of Grecian chronology and history down to the Christian era may be divided. The times which precede the age of *Pisistratus* compose the *first* portion; the period from *Pisistratus* to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* is the *second*; and the space of time from *Philadelphus* to the Christian era is the *third*. This distribution is not arbitrarily made, but seems naturally pointed out by the subject itself.

The government of *Pisistratus* at Athens was a remarkable epoch, distinguished by many peculiar characters. In a chronological view, it is marked as being the first date in Grecian history from which an unbroken series of dates can be deduced in regular succession. It coincides with the reign of *Cyrus* and the rise of the Persian empire; and consequently coincides with that point of time at which sacred history first touches upon profane. Regarded in a literary view, this era is no less remarkable. It coincides with the commencement of historical writing in prose. The rise of oratory at Athens, and the written drama, were subsequent to this date; and *Thales* the founder of philosophy had yet many years to live at the accession of *Pisistratus* to power.

But if the 55th Olympiad is naturally pointed out as the commencement, the 124th is not less properly the termination of the period. That date constitutes a remarkable era both in the civil and literary affairs of Greece. It coincides with the deaths of the first successors of *Alexander*, who were all withdrawn from the scene nearly at the same time. It falls upon the rise of the Achæan league, and upon the establishment of those four monarchies in Asia which arose into independence after the death of *Seleucus*. This era is farther distinguished as the point of time at which the power of the Romans first came in contact with the Greeks, since the war with *Pyrrhus* began in the last year of this Olympiad. This then was an epoch, at which the states and kingdoms of the ancient world began to take a new direction; the ascendancy of the Romans gradually increasing,

till the whole was absorbed in the Roman empire. Some have thought that the battle of *Chæronea* B. C. 338 would be the proper termination of the second period. But the civil Chronology was only a part of my design; it was also proposed to include the literature of Greece; and with a view to this the battle of *Chæronea* would be no epoch at all. *Demosthenes* at that date was still in the midst of his career; his best oration was delivered eight years later. *Alexis* was still in the midst of his comic exhibitions; *Aristotle* had not yet settled at Athens; and the four schools of Philosophy had not yet assumed their ultimate and permanent form. But, by fixing the termination of the second Period at the 124th Olympiad, we arrive at a point at which the division of Philosophy into its four sects was perfected; we include the whole life of *Menander*, and the first exhibitions of the last comic poet of Athens; and we reach a new literary era, the commencement of the school of Alexandria. At this period, *Epicurus*, *Arcesilaüs*, *Strato*, and *Zeno* flourished; *Posidippus* was exhibiting comedy at Athens, and with the reign of *Philadelphus* Alexandria instead of Athens became the chief seat of learning. That brilliant and interesting portion of history, which is the subject of the present work, is divided from the times that preceded it by the nature of our information, and from the times that followed by the character of events. In the times which preceded, our information is imperfect; in the times which followed, a new course of affairs began in the history of mankind.

Grecian chronology for the times before *Pisistratus* demands a separate inquiry, and is treated in another volume. But it may not be improper here to take a short survey of the state of that chronology. In all history, where our information is exact, we direct our attention to some leading events, which mark the beginning of a new order of things: and we distribute our subject according to the *character of affairs*. But in the early times of Greece we are obliged to have in view the *nature of our information* in the distribution of the subject. In the five centuries and a half which elapsed from *Pisistratus* to *Augustus*, our materials are ample and authentic; to each successive year may be assigned its proper incident. But in the thousand years which are computed from *Cecrops* to *Pisistratus* this is far from being the case. It is enough if we can conjecture the probable date of a few principal facts, by comparing the scanty memorials and uncertain traditions which descended to posterity, and from which the learned of a later age composed their chronology. The ancients themselves divided their early history in this manner. Never pretending to equal information with

respect to the dates of the early and the later times, they kept in view the natural and necessary distinction. Censorinus ^a marks the gradations: *Varro tria discrimina temporum esse tradit. Primum, ab hominum principio ad Cataclysmum priorem: quod propter ignorantiam vocetur ἄδηλον. Secundum, a Cataclysmo priore ad Olympiadem primam: quod, quia in eo multa fabulosa referuntur, μυθικὸν nominatur. Tertium, a prima Olympiade ad nos: quod dicitur ἱστορικὸν, quia res in eo gestæ veris historiis continentur.* Africanus ^b admits a similar distribution; professing to begin his chronology from the Olympiads, because μέχρι μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων οὐδὲν ἀκριβὲς ἱστορήται τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάντων συγκεχυμένων καὶ κατὰ μὴδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸ τοῦ συμφωνούντων ^c. With these plain testimonies, therefore, of the iii ancients themselves, we cannot but wonder that Dodwell should consider the years of the Attic reigns, stated in Eusebius, as entirely satisfactory: or that Corsini should quote for them the *testimony* of Eusebius without scruple: or that Dr. Hales, in his late chronological work ^d, should describe the thirty reigns of the Athenian kings and archons as “one of the most authentic and correct documents to be found in the whole range of profane chronology.” But even had the declarations of the ancients been wanting upon this point, it must have been manifest, that we should vainly rely upon the dates which have been transmitted to us through a succession of later chronologers, from Castor and Thallus to Eusebius and Syncellus, for the reigns of the Argive or the Attic kings. For those dates, as we well know, were originally *conjectures*, formed by the early writers, who in the deficiency of accurate accounts computed the times of their ancestors by comparing genealogies, and extracting out of them a probable date. And how could that, which was insufficient evidence at first, become better testimony merely by being frequently repeated, and by the length of time through which it may have passed?

The Trojan era of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, B. C. 1183, ^e was adopted by the chronologers who came after them; as for example, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus ^f; by Diodorus ^g; by Tatian, ^h Clemens ⁱ, and Eusebius ^k; and by the

^a De Die Nat. c. 21.

^b Apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 487. D.

^c So Phlegon apud Photium Cod. 97. ἀρχεται τῆς συναγωγῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, διότι τὰ πρότερα, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σχεδόν τι πάντες φασίν, οὐκ ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τινος [ἢ ἔτυχε τινος] ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγραφῆς, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο τι ἄλλος τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων

καὶ οὐ συμφώνως ἔγραψαν. By the *First Olympiad* these writers all mean the Olympiad of Coræbus: B. C. 776.

^d Vol. I. p. 241.

^e See F. H. I. p. 125.

^f Ant. I. p. 187. Reisk.

^g I. 5.

^h Or. ad Græcos p. 141.

ⁱ Strom. I. p. 332. B.

^k Præp. X. 9. p. 484. A.

Roman writers generally; Cato¹, Nepos, Lutatius, Solinus^m. But this date, by being thus frequently repeated, acquired no new kind of authority as evidence. When the same fact comes reported by several authors, all transcribing from one common source, these authors are not to be considered as so many independent authorities for the matter stated in common, but are all reducible to that one original source of which they are the copies. This plain proposition has not been sufficiently attended to by those who appeal to Diodorus or Eusebius as independent witnesses for the date of the Trojan war. Thus Petavius enters into an argument, to prove that Diodorus and Eratosthenes coincide, and that their
 iv authorities are equivalent upon this pointⁿ. Corsini adopts the same style of speaking: *Primus Olympicus annus in annum a Troja diruta 408 ex optima Diodori hypothesi concurrir^o. Ab Ilii clade ad primam Olymp. 407 anni intercessere; quod ex Diodoro quoque opportunius est observatum^p*. And Dr. Hales^q: “Both Eratosthenes and Diodorus Siculus have ascertained it within a year of each other, by different and independent arguments.” But Diodorus^r uses no arguments; enters upon no proofs; and professes merely to follow Apollodorus: ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἀκολουθῶς Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τίθεμεν, κ. τ. λ. And the date of Apollodorus was the same, and founded upon the same principles as that of Eratosthenes. This Trojan era, then, is nothing more than a *conjectural date* originally fixed by Eratosthenes, and derived from him to succeeding chronologers.

But although we cannot promise ourselves that degree of certainty to which some have pretended, yet we are not to conclude the uncertainty so great as is supposed by the scheme of Newton. The inference of Newton may be said to be this; that because the Greek writers did not know the true date of the Trojan war within forty or fifty years, therefore they could not know it within three hundred: a proposition which cannot be granted. In the almost total loss of all Ionian histories and memorials, it is hazardous to pronounce upon the degree or amount of contemporary testimony concerning their origin, which might have remained among the Greek cities of Asia. If those monuments of Ionian literature now existed, which were in the hands of Eratosthenes and his contemporaries, as we should be better qualified to appreciate the soundness of their conclusions in settling the chronology, so we should probably find, that those

¹ Apud Dionys. I. p. 187.

^m Solin. I. 27, 28.

ⁿ Rat. Temp. pars II. lib. II. 10.

^o Fast. Att. tom. III. p. xxvi.

^p Id. p. lxiv.

^q Vol. I. p. 32.

^r I. 5.

conclusions were formed upon juster reasons than we are now disposed to allow. In the works of the poets who flourished within the two centuries preceding *Pisistratus*, many notices of contemporary events must doubtless have occurred, contributing to fix the times of great transactions. Thus *Callinus*^s is appealed to as mentioning the Magnesians; the poet *Asius*^t noticed the luxury of the Samians of his time; *Archilochus* and *Mimnermus* mentioned in their poems the events of their own times. About a century later than *Archilochus*, prose annals began to be composed; and among the first objects which engaged the attention of the first prose writers were the annals of their native cities. Within about fifty years from v the time when prose histories began to be written, and within five centuries and a half from the reputed date of the Asiatic colonies, *Deiochus* composed the annals of Cyzicus; *Hecataeus* wrote the memorials of Ionia; *Charon*, the antiquities of Lampsacus; *Hellanicus*, the history of the Æolian settlements and of his native island Lesbos. Within less than six centuries from that reputed date, *Ion* of *Chios* began to compose the antiquities of his own country. Is it credible, that all these authors should have been so far beyond the reach of all memorials, should have found the local traditions so completely fail them, as to concur in supposing those colonies to have subsisted *five* centuries, or nearly five, which had in reality existed only *two*? The truth then is to be found between the two opinions. The actual date of the Trojan war was irrecoverably lost; but an approximation to the truth was possible, and perhaps the Trojan era may be determined within fifty years of the real period ^u.

^s Clem. Strom. I. p. 333. Strab. XIV. p. 647.

^t Athen. XII. p. 525. e. f.

^u In stating the deficiency of Newton's computations I have spoken in round numbers. The precise differences will be these: Trojan era according to the Vulgar chronology B. C. 1184: according to Newton B. C. 904: difference 280 years. Return of the *Heraclidæ* B. C. 1104: according to Newton B. C. 825: difference 279 years. The Æolic migration B. C. 1124: according to Newton B. C. 844: difference 280 years. The Ionic migration B. C. 1044: in Newton's estimate B. C. 794: difference 250 years. The Ionic migration therefore had preceded Ol. 55 B. C. 560 nearly five centuries, or 484 years, according to the received Chronology, but less

than two centuries and a half, or 234 years, according to Newton. The error then of the early historians whom Eratosthenes had in his hands would have been an error of nearly three centuries with respect to the Æolian colonies, and of nearly two centuries and a half with respect to the Ionian. The brief sketch given in these pages has been misunderstood by a zealous defender of Newton's Chronology, who remarks (*Essays on Chronology*, 8vo. Cambridge 1827), that *I support the old system of Chronology* (p. 43):—that *I am a vindicator of the old Chronologers* (p. 45),—and that *I have said a good deal about the certainty of Ionian traditions* (p. 120). I have done none of these things. I have not supported the old system of Chronology, and I have nowhere

It is affirmed by Mitford^x that "none of the early Grecian writers have undertaken to fix the era of the Trojan war." If this be understood to mean the precise year of that event, it is undoubtedly true. Although, however, they have not undertaken to fix the year, yet they have expressed the period in round numbers and general terms. Isocrates in three passages of his works delivers his notion of the date of the Return of the Heraclidæ. In the "Archidamus γ," the date of which was B. C. 366, he tells the Lacedæmonians, that they had been established in Peloponnesus 700 years. This would give B. C. 1066 for the Return. In the "Panathenaic Oration ζ," the date of which was B. C. 348, he states the period again at 700 years. This gives B. C. 1048. In the oration "On Peace α," which was published in B. C. 356, he again asserts that the Lacedæmonians had been 700 years in Laconia^b, which would make the era of the

said any thing about the certainty of Ionian traditions. On the contrary, I maintain that the received date for Troy was not founded upon Testimony, but upon Conjecture; and that in the times which preceded the establishment of Chronology as a system it was thought sufficient to state periods in general terms, and in round numbers. We are therefore agreed that there is an uncertainty: we only differ in the degree. We are agreed that the received chronology exceeds the truth; but we differ in the amount of the excess. This writer holds with Newton that the excess amounted to almost 300 years: I have produced evidence from Isocrates and Ephorus to shew that it was the opinion in their time that towards the end of the reign of *Agesilaus* the Dorians had been in Peloponnesus about seven hundred years; and I therefore reject the Chronology of Newton, which reduces that interval to 460 years, as incredible. With respect to the five early historians named by me at p. V, they are not produced to shew that there was certainty in the traditions which they delivered. My proposition was, that they could not wander from the truth to the extent of nearly three centuries. On my remark that the inference of Newton may be said to be this, that, because the Greeks did not know the true date within forty or fifty years, therefore they could not know it within three hundred, the Vindicator of Newton observes

(p. 14): *This, however, we deny. Newton inferred that the ancient writers used a conjectural Chronology, and that their conjectures were founded upon an erroneous theory. He therefore justly inferred that, if he could substitute another theory in its stead, he should be justified in so doing. This is conceding my proposition. Newton inferred that the ancients used a conjectural Chronology; which is granted. But he inferred that they erred to an enormous amount of years; which is the question at issue between us.*

^x Vol. I. p. 262.

^γ Cap. IV. p. 118. b.

^ζ Cap. LXXXII. p. 275. e.

^α C. XXXII. p. 178. c.

^b Τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν διέφθειρεν (ἡ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀρχή)—τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν, ἣν ἐν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν οὐδεὶς οἶδεν οὐθ' ὑπὸ κινδύνων οὐθ' ὑπὸ συμφορῶν κινήθεισαν, ταύτην ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ σαλευθῆναι—ἐποίησεν. Hieronym. Wolf. p. 535. annotationum in Isocratem, thus remarks upon this passage: *Plutarchus de ætate Lycurgi legislatoris Lacedæmoniorum dubitat, sed Isocrates chronologiam illius hic diserte tradit, cujus fides sit penes auctorem.* That Wolf should have imagined Lycurgus to be referred to is not so surprising; but it is extraordinary that a recent editor of Isocrates, the very learned Dr. Coray, should agree with him; who observes upon the number ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν—"Ἀπὸ Δυκούργου δηλονότι, τοῦ συστήσαντος αὐτήν. " καὶ σημειωτέα ἡ χρονολογία, καίπερ πολλὴν ἐχόντων

Return B. C. 1056. Ephorus, according to the text of Diodorus ^c, dated the "Return" B. C. 1089. According to our copies of Clemens ^d, his date was B. C. 1069. ^e If we suppose them to have reckoned eighty years for the interval between the Trojan era and that of the Heraclidæ, an allowable supposition, we have these dates for the Trojan era: B. C. 1146, 1120, 1136, 1169, 1149. Democritus fixed the Trojan war at about B. C. 1150. (See these tables, B. C. 460.) The mean of all these numbers would be B. C. 1145, almost forty years below the date of Eratosthenes. But other writers, who preceded Eratosthenes, computed the time more largely. The date of Herodotus is about B. C. 1263 ^f; of the Parian Marble B. C. 1209. Duris of Samos ^g adopted the extravagant date of B. C. 1335. Eratosthenes then seems to have fixed upon a middle point, between the longer and

"τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῶν χρόνων, καθ' οὓς γέγονε Λυκοῦργος" ὃς φησι Πλούταρχος, Λυκούργ. §. α'." (Schol. ad Isocrat. tom. II. p. 138.) The differences in the recorded dates for Lycurgus are doubtless considerable. But those variations have their limits: and perhaps all the varying dates are capable of being reconciled, if referred to different periods of the life of Lycurgus. No ancient author at least has transmitted to us so extravagant a computation as this, which would place Lycurgus 1056 years before the Christian era: least of all could such a computation have been made by Isocrates. For he fixes the Return of the Heraclidæ at that very period in two other passages of his works. By this interpretation of the present text, he would make Lycurgus contemporary with Eurysthenes and Procles; a degree of inaccuracy into which Isocrates can hardly be imagined to have fallen. But as this date precisely coincides with that which he always assigns to the Return, and as it is his practice, when speaking of the Lacedæmonians, to refer to that epoch in their history, we cannot doubt that the establishment of the Dorians in Peloponnesus at the Dorian conquest, and not the legislation of Lycurgus, is referred to by the orator. Nor shall we hesitate because the expressions seem inconsistent with what is delivered to us by other authorities, (as Thucyd. I. 18,) concerning the unsettled state of Sparta before the

legislation of Lycurgus. We must make allowance for the colouring of an orator. The general form of the Spartan government, administered by a double race of kings, existed from the first. Lycurgus introduced no change in that respect. And the expressions of the orator may perhaps be justified, as applied to that external form of their constitution.

^c XVI. 76.

^d Strom. I. p. 337. A. Ephorus computed according to Diodorus XVI. 76 nearly 750 years from the Return of the Heraclidæ to B. C. 340. σχεδὸν ἑτῶν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα. [see the Tables, 340, 3.] But according to Clemens Strom. I. p. 337 he reckoned 735 years from the Return to B. C. 335. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν καθόδου ἐπὶ Εὐαίνετον ἄρχοντα, ἐφ' οὗ φασὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι, ὡς Ἐφωρος, ἔτη ἑπτακόσια τριακονταπέντε. Either Diodorus must be corrected by Clemens, or Clemens by Diodorus. If the former, then σχεδὸν ἑτῶν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ τριακόντα will express nearly 730 years in B. C. 340. If the latter, then ἑπτακόσια πεντήκονταπέντε in Clemens will give 755 years for the interval in B. C. 335.

^e See F. H. I. p. 128. f.

^f See F. H. I. p. 133. p.

^g Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 337. A. ὡς δὲ Δοῦρις, ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς Ἀσίαν διάβασιν [B. C. 33½.] ἔτη χίλια.

shorter computations of his predecessors^h. Modern critics forget the grounds upon which the eras of the "Trojan war" and the "Return" have been assumed by chronologers, when they attempt to strain the texts of ancient authors into a conformity with technical dates. Mr. Lange, in his edition of Isocratesⁱ, remarks, upon the number ἑτῶν ἑπτακοσίων in Isocrat. Παναθηναϊκ. c. 82. *Numerus rotundus pro definito 764, incipiens a reditu Heraclidarum ad annum 339 A. C. quo tempore hæc oratio scripta est.* Dr. Coray^k goes further, and supposes alteration in the text: τῷ ἀπηρτισμένῳ Λάγχιος χρήσασθαι φησιν Ἴσοκράτην ἀριθμῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς, κ. τ. λ.—ἐνδέχεται μέντοι καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ΕΠΤΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ γεγράφθαι παλαιὰ ΟΚΤΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἔγγιον εἴη τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ὁ ὑπολογισμός. As if Isocrates had in view that date which was determined by Eratosthenes upon technical principles of his own a century afterwards! In the same spirit, the editor of the fragments of Ephorus^l, remarking upon the variation between his numbers in Diodorus and in Clemens: *His 750 annis apud Diod. XVI. 76. ad Olymp. 109, 4 subtractis, annus 314 ante primam Olympiadem Heraclidarum reditui obtingit: ut igitur Ephori ratio 13 vel 14 annis distet ab Eratosthenis ratione. Clemens igitur, p. 337, cum Ephorum dicit ab Heraclidis ad Olymp. 111. 3 numerasse annos 735, aut suo aut librorum errore falsus deprehenditur.* Corsini^m, speaking of the date assigned to Corcyra by Timæus (600 years after the Trojan war): *Præclare fallitur Timæus qui Corcyram 600 annis post Troica deductam memorat: etenim—si 600 anni a Troicis supputentur, deductio illa in Olymp. 65 incidisset.* This was true, indeed, of the Trojan era of Eratosthenes; but Timæus computed differentlyⁿ. Mr. Göller^o reasons in a similar manner upon a date of the historian Philistus. But it is manifest, that the true date of the Return of the *Heraclidæ* was wholly lost to the ancients; that there were great diversities of opinion upon it; that the date of

^h It is explained in F. H. I. p. 123. d. in what sense this is said.

ⁱ Pag. 471.

^k Isocrat. tom. II. p. 209.

^m Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 28.

ⁿ See F. H. I. p. 135. w.

^o De Situ Syracus. p. 125, 126: *Philisti historia Sicula in duas partes divisæ erant; altera septem libris plus quam octingentos annos complexa est ad Ol. 93. 3. A. Chr. 348. ad captumque Agrigentum deducta, exordium ducere debuit a Troja capta. Nam si ad annum 348 plus quam octingentos annos ad-*

dideris, haud longe abfueris a Troja capta A. Chr. 1184. But we have no proof that Philistus placed the Trojan war at B. C. 1184. and, if his history did commence at that epoch, we should have a distinct proof to the contrary; for the capture of Agrigentum, and Olymp. 93. 3, coincided, not with B. C. 348, as Mr. Göller supposes, but with B. C. 406, from whence "more than 800 years" carry us upwards to more than 1206 years before Christ for the commencement of the history of Philistus.

Eratosthenes was offered as an approximation to the truth; and that to make his era the standard by which to try the texts of older authors, is to invert the order of things; to substitute inference for proof, and proof for inference. The texts of the older authors are the tests by which Eratosthenes himself is to be tried. In these early dates and eras, by a singular error in reasoning, the authority of Eratosthenes is made to be binding upon his predecessors, while those who came after him are taken for original and independent witnesses in matters which they really derived from his chronology. The numbers of Isocrates, seven hundred, thrice repeated in his works, are authentic and consistent; the accordance of Ephorus with his master in the same general amount of time still farther establishes the text: and all these passages collectively shew, that towards the end of the reign of *Agessilaus* the Dorians were supposed to have been established about seven centuries in Peloponnesus^p. They likewise farther shew, that in those times precise accuracy was not attempted, but that it was thought sufficient to state the periods in general terms and in round numbers.

^p The present text of Plutarch, *Agessil.* c. 31. has *six* hundred years: *ἦν μὲν δὴ χρόνος* [at the invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas B.C. 369] *οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων ἀφ' οὗ κατὰ φύσιν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα Δωριεῖς*. But, from the date which he assigns to the legislation of Lycurgus, we may infer that this could not be the chronology of Plutarch himself. His date for Lycurgus may be collected in this manner. In various passages he describes a term of 500 years, which commence at Lycurgus, and which terminate sometimes at the death of Agis B.C. 399, sometimes at the invasion of Laconia B.C. 369. The one would fix Lycurgus at B.C. 900, the other at B.C. 870. *Vit. Lycurg.* c. 29. *χρόνον ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων τοῖς Λυκούργου χρωμένη νόμοις οὓς δεκατεσσάρων βασιλέων μετ' ἐκείνων εἰς Ἄγαν τὸν Ἀρχιδάμον οὐδεὶς ἐκίνησεν*. *Comp. Lycurg. et Num. sub finem: ὥστε πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείω χρόνον τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα διαμείναι τῆς νομοθεσίας*. *Inst. Lacon.* p. 239. *F.* *τοῖς μὲν οὖν Λυκούργου χρωμένη νόμοις ἡ πόλις καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένοντα ἐπρώτευσεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος χρόνον ἐτῶν πεντακοσίων*. *Apophthegm.* p. 194. *B.* *Θηβαίους Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἠνάγκασεν τὴν Λακωνικὴν πυρπολῆσαι πεντακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀδῆφωτον οὖσαν*. *Plu-*

tarch elsewhere reckons 130 years from Lycurgus to the institution of the Ephori by Theopompus: *Vit. Lycurg.* c. 7. *ἔτεσί που μάλιστα τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Λυκούργου πρώτων τῶν περὶ Ἐλατον ἐφόρων κατασταθέντων ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος*. Chronologers give to Theopompus a reign of about fifty years, commencing about B.C. 770. The 130 years computed to the beginning of his reign would give B.C. 900 for Lycurgus; computed to B.C. 740, a middle point in the reign of Theopompus, they will give B.C. 870. conformably with the preceding calculation. We are not to try these vague statements with rigid exactness; but we may assume that Plutarch placed Lycurgus at least as high as the date of Eratosthenes, B.C. 884. And, as he reckoned Lycurgus the sixth from Procles (*Vit. Lycurg.* c. 2) and the eleventh from Hercules (*Vit. Solon.* c. 16), that is to say, at least two centuries below the Return, we may conclude that *ἑξακοσίων* in *Vit. Agessil.* c. 31 is probably corrupt. If Plutarch had in view Isocrates and Ephorus in that passage, he would write *ἑπτακοσίων*. If he followed Eratosthenes, he would express the number by *ὀκτακοσίων*.

The Grecian traditions ascend about 570 years above the Trojan war. This space is filled by the *Pelasgic dynasty*; by the *Hellenes*; and lastly by the *heroic age*, which occupied the century immediately preceding the Trojan era. After that era, we descend to the *Dorian conquest*; the *Æolian colonies*; the *Ionian colonies*. The Return of the *Heraclidæ* produced the war between the
 ix Achæans and Ionians. Out of that war arose the emigration of the Ionian families to Athens. After these events ensued two memorable reigns at Athens, of *Melanthus* and *Codrus*. Upon the death of *Codrus*, his sons conducted the colony to Asia. The course of these events is consistent with the computations which place 140 years between the Trojan war and the Ionic migration. So far we can proceed downwards. And the Trojan war is a cardinal point, from which we can trace history upward for more than five centuries and a half, to *Phoroneus* and *Inachus*, and downwards for about 140 years, to *Codrus* and *Neleus*. Here a void follows, which it is impossible to fill. No testimonies exist which enable us to determine the amount of the interval between the settlement under *Neleus* and the Olympiad of *Coræbus*, an interval filled with important transactions. *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus*, *Homer*, and *Hesiod*, flourished within this period. But its duration no man can pronounce. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus made it 268 years, doubtless not designing that to express the precise amount, but proposing it as a *conjectural date*, descriptive of the probable interval. From the first Messenian war, chronology becomes gradually more certain; and we can name the dates of the first Messenian war^q, of the Lydian and Median kingdoms, of the Sicilian colonies, of the *Battiadæ* at Cyrenë, of the *Cypselidæ* at Corinth, till we arrive at the times of *Cyrus* and *Cræsus* and *Pisistratus*.

The present work proposes to describe a period of 281 years. It includes within it the 55th and the 124th Olympiads. It commences with the archon *Comias*, whose archonship corresponded with B. C. 560, and concludes with the archon *Gorgias*, who began his year in July B. C. 280. It is arranged in four columns, in each of which the separate subjects are pursued separately. The first column is assigned to the archons; the second to the civil and military affairs; the third column is allotted to the philosophers, historians, and orators; and the fourth to the poets. By the side of the first column are placed the years before the Christian era.

^q It must be observed, however, that the date which is delivered to us for the first Messenian war is by no means so satisfactory as the dates of the other epochs here enumerated.

The succession of *archons* at Athens, a point so material for adjusting Grecian, and especially Attic chronology, was first to be determined; and we fortunately possess an almost unbroken series for about 200 years, of the most important portion of history. Many lists of the Athenian archons have been published in various works, but all of these lists were more or less inaccurate till the time of Corsini, and on that account of little use in illustrating ancient history. A catalogue of the archons is given in Stanley's "*Lives of the Philosophers* ^r;" another by Du Fresnoy^s; another by Dr. Hales in his first volume ^t.

One cause of the incorrectness of these lists has been, the not adverting to a peculiarity of the Parian Marble; that the compiler generally places the annual archons who preceded the Peloponnesian war one year higher respectively than the Julian year with which they were in reality connumerary ^u. Hence two archons have been often made out of one. Again; those who have used this document did not always distinguish between what was attested by the Marble, and what was supplied by conjecture, where the Marble was defaced. Hence the Marble is often quoted for that which was only inserted by its editors. Various forms ^x or corruptions of the name of an archon have been sometimes admitted as the names of different archons. From these causes, the catalogues of archons are not so correct and accurate as they might have been rendered. Error was sometimes propagated by authors negligently transcribing the lists of others, without recurring to the original sources. A few examples may be sufficient.

DR. HALES.

		B. C.
Philombrotus.	<i>Plut.</i>	595.
Critias I.	<i>Par. M.</i>	594.
Dropides.	<i>Philostrat.</i>	593.

Philostratus only says of *Dropides*, ὅς μετὰ Σόλωνα ἡρξεν. And *Solon* being archon in 594, *Dropides* was fixed at 593. But the testimony of Philostratus is

^r Pag. 938, &c.

^s Tablettes, tom. I. p. 66—78.

^t Pag. 230—233.

^u This is generally done, but not invariably.

For instance, *Damasias* B. C. 586 (Ep. 39) is at the right Olympic year, namely the third.

^x On various forms, see Hemst. ad Lucian. tom. I. p. 414. ed. Bip.

here destroyed while it is quoted; for the predecessor of *Dropides* is made to be, not *Solon*, but *Critias I.* on the authority of the Parian Marble. But the Parian Marble^y is no authority in this case, because the date is obliterated; and Dr. Hales in his own edition of the Marble^z supplies B. C. 592 for the date of *Critias I.* Here, then, is an example, in which the conjecture of an editor, and that an erroneous one, has been unwarily adopted as the testimony of the Marble itself.

xi	DR. HALES.	STANLEY.	DU FRESNOY.
	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.
	495. Pythocrates. <i>Par. Mar.</i>	495. (Ol. 71. 2.) Pythocritus.	495. Philippus, <i>ou</i> Pythocritus,
	494. Philippus. <i>Schol. Soph.</i>	<i>Marm.</i>	<i>selon les marbres.</i>
			494. Philippus, <i>ou</i> Lacratides.

These three examples have all an inaccuracy arising from the same cause; the want of recollection, that the Marble antedates its archons one year. The year 495 belongs to the archon *Philippus*; as is proved by the author of the life of Sophocles: ἐβδομηκοστῇ πρώτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φιλίππου. Dr. Hales has made the two archons change places. Du Fresnoy fluctuates between the testimony of the Scholiast and of the Marble, as he understood the Marble. But both are reconciled, and in perfect agreement with each other, when the practice of the Marble to place its archons one Julian year too high is remembered. And their joint testimony fills the years thus:

	B. C.		
	495. Ol. 71. 2. Philippus.		
	494. Pythocritus.		
DR. HALES.	STANLEY.	DU FRESNOY.	
B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	
490. Phænippus. <i>Plut.</i>	491. Ol. 72. 2. Phænippus. <i>Plut.</i>	491. Hybrilides ou Phænippus.	
489. Aristides. <i>Par. M.</i>	Hybrilides. <i>Hal. Pausan.</i>	490. Aristides. <i>Bataille de Marathon.</i>	
	490. Ol. 72. 3. Aristides. <i>Plut.</i>	489. Aristides.	
	<i>Marm.</i>		

Plutarch only mentions the archon *Phænippus*^a, to tell us that he was archon in the year of the battle of Marathon; and intimates that *Aristides* was archon immediately after him: μετὰ Φαίνιππον, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐνίκων, εὐθὺς Ἀριστείδης ἄρχων ἀναγέγραπται. The Parian Marble confirmed this testimony^b, by

^y No. 37.^z P. 223.^a Aristid. c. 5.^b No. 49, 50.

making *Phænippus* archon at the year of Marathon, and *Aristides* archon the year after. In the present state of that monument, *Phænippus* is effaced, but his date remains; while *Aristides* remains and his date is effaced. The date that remains is equivalent to B. C. 491, to which the battle of Marathon is annexed; a plain argument, that the Marble antedated these epochs a year. But Stanley and Du Fresnoy have so managed these testimonies, that they have disjoined *Phænippus* from the battle of Marathon, and have inserted him in the year which was already occupied by *Hybrilides*. Dr. Hales has rectified the errors of his predecessors.

DR. HALES.	STANLEY.	DU FRESNOY.	xii
B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	
481. Calliades. <i>Herod. Par.</i>	480. Ol. 75. 1. Xanthippus. <i>Mar.</i>	481. Callias.	
Mar.	Calliades. <i>Dionys. Diod.</i>	480. Callias. <i>Bat. de Salamine.</i>	
480. Callias. <i>Diod.</i>	479. — Timosthenes. <i>Mar.</i>		
	Xanthippus. <i>Diod.</i>		
	478. — Adimantus. <i>Mar.</i>		
	Timosthenes. <i>Diod.</i>		
	477. — Adimantus. <i>Diod.</i>		

Herodotus, the Marble, and Diodorus, all mention *Calliades* or *Callias*, (various forms of the same name,) to fix the time of the same event, the battle of Salamis; which happened in an Olympic year, B. C. 480. But because the Marble according to custom antedated a year, and placed that battle in 481, *Callias* is separated from the fact with which he was connected, and two archons are made out of one. Because Stanley did not advert to this peculiarity, the remarkable coincidence of the Marble and Diodorus in the stations of three successive archons is obliterated and lost.

It is needless to accumulate more instances. One example, however, of the hazard of transcribing or quoting at second hand, may be not unseasonable.

B. C.

393. Arches. *Diodor.*

The foundation of this error will be best explained in the words of Wesseling. *A Dion. Petavio hujus anni archon ex Diodoro constituitur* ARCHES: *quem, si penitius cognoscere velis, atque unde natales acceperit, Rhodomanni Latina inspice.* — *Nos, inconsiderantiam hanc viro doctissimo ex inspecta obiter Rhodomanni versione invisitatum archontem exstruendi, condonamus* ^c. Rhodoman had translated;

^c Ad Diod. XIV. 90.

—*Athenis, Arches, quam appellitant, dignitatem accepit Demonstratus.* By some means or other, *Arches* has found his way into the list of Dr. Hales.

The valuable labours of Corsini have cleared away these errors. And we possess, by the benefit of his diligence, a more perfect catalogue than former chronologers had published. We must not, however, withhold from Wesseling his due share of praise. This admirable critic has illustrated the archons, in his notes to Diodorus, so copiously, and has brought together all the testimonies with so much clearness and accuracy, as to supersede and surpass Corsini, xiii within the period embraced by the remains of Diodorus. He who possesses the Diodorus of Wesseling will have no need of Corsini.

We possess the names of about twenty-four annual archons, in the 122 years which intervened between *Creon* the first annual archon, B. C. 683, and *Comias*. In the eighty years which followed, from the year of *Comias* to the expedition of *Xerxes* [B. C. 560—480], the names and stations of about twenty-four more have been recovered. But from B. C. 480 to B. C. 303 we have an unbroken series, by the combined assistance of Diodorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This last-mentioned writer enables us to continue them to B. C. 292^d. So that we have an uninterrupted succession of the archons (with one exception, to be mentioned presently) for a space of nearly two hundred years. In this unbroken list, the only real difficulty which occurs is found in the twelve years contained within the 113th, 114th, and 115th Olympiads; where the text both of Diodorus and Dionysius has suffered mutilation. But by comparing the two together we can correct the one by the help of the other.

^d After this date, Corsini F. A. tom. II. p. 93—96. quoting Plutarch. Demetr. c. 46. and Vit. X. Or. p. 851. places *Diphilus* at Ol. 123. 1. and *Diocles* at Ol. 123. 2. *Diphilus* was in office at the time of the fall of Demetrius Poliorcetes: Plutarch. Demetr. c. 46. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἀπεστήσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τε Δίφιλον, ὃς ἦν ἱερεὺς τῶν Σωτήρων ἀναγεγραμμένος [conf. Plutarch. Demetr. c. 10], ἐκ τῶν ἐπώνυμων ἀνείλον, ἄρχοντας αἰρεῖσθαι πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἦν πατριον, ψηφισάμενοι, τὸν τε Πύρρον ἐκ Μακεδονίας

μετεπέμποντο. The coincidence of Pyrrhus in Macedonia (which he occupied in the middle of B. C. 287) fixes the year of *Diphilus* either to Olymp. 123. 1. or rather perhaps to Olymp. 123. 2. one year below the date assigned by Corsini. The station of *Diocles*, who was archon at the return of Demochares from exile, is not so certain. See this question examined in *Appendix* c. 21. art. DEMOCHARES.

INTRODUCTION.

xv

	B. C.	DIODORUS.	DIONYSIUS ^c .
Ol. 113.	328.	Euthyritus.....	Euthyritus.
	327.	<i>Hegemon</i>	Hegemon
	326.	Chremes.....	Chremes.
	325.	Anticles.	Anticles.
		[<i>Sosicles</i> .]	
Ol. 114.	324.	Hegesias.	<i>Hegesias</i> .
	323.	Cephisodorus.	Cephisodorus.
	322.	Philocles.	Philocles.
	321.	<i>Archippus</i>	Archippus.
Ol. 115.	320.	<i>Neæchmus</i>	Neæchmus.
	319.	Apollodorus.....	Apollodorus.
	318.	Archippus.	Archippus.
	317.	Demogenes.	Demogenes.

The first *lacuna* in Diodorus, where *Hegemon* is omitted, is manifest; and has xiv been noticed, before Corsini, by Rhodoman; and the archon *Hegemon* inserted by Palmerius and Wesseling. Corsini treats the point fully in his ninth dissertation^f. In the rejection of the interpolated archon *Sosicles*, Corsini has been anticipated by Wesseling^g. He has also been anticipated in the insertion of the two omitted archons, between *Philocles* and *Apollodorus*, by Rhodoman, (who properly inserts them *before* Apollodorus, and therefore Corsini^h misrepresents him,) by Dodwell, and by Wesselingⁱ.

The omission of *Hegesias* in Dionysius is pointed out by Corsini, who minutely and accurately^k examines that list of Dionysius. He shews, that out of seventy archons, only sixty-eight appear in the present text: he shews, from Dionysius himself, that in the present list the first twenty-six are complete: he proves, from Dionysius himself^l, that *Cephisodorus* B. C. 323 is the 13th archon from *Euænetus*: but in this list of seventy^m, *Cephisodorus* is only the 12th from *Euænetus*; one archon then is wanting before *Cephisodorus*, and that archon is *Hegesias*.

^c Dinarch. p. 650. Reisk.

^f Sect. 15. where, however, he observes, ΜΥΝΥΧΙΟΝΕ mense Porus victus; not being aware of the corruption, or error, in the text of Arrian, where the month of that battle is specified. See the Tables B. C. 327, 2.

^g Ad Diod. XVII. 112.

^h P. 14. tom. II. dissert. IX.

ⁱ See Wess. ad Diod. XVIII. 44.

^k P. 24—29. dissert. IX.

^l Ad Ammæum p. 728. Reisk.

^m Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648—651. Reisk.

But still the number is incomplete; one name of the seventy is wanting. This Corsiniⁿ supplies by imagining *two archontes eponymi* in one year; an unskilful expedient, which would not remove the difficulty. As if Dionysius, in computing seventy years, would have reckoned the archons of a single year as two years. Nor does Corsini produce any example of two *archontes eponymi* in one year^o. Another name, then, is wanting after the archon Philocles B.C. 322. We may gather from Diodorus compared with Dionysius, that the next twenty archons, after *Philocles*, are complete; the defect, then, is in the latter years of the list. Corsini affirms that the last fifteen of the seventy are perfect, because Dionysius reckons fifteen years between *Anaxicrates* B.C. 307 and *Philippus*. Between these, then, he thinks nothing is wanting. This may be doubted: for, by the terms, *Philippus* should be the *sixteenth* from *Anaxicrates* and not the xv fifteenth: otherwise the time of exile is not fifteen but fourteen years. *Dinarchus* returned from exile in the year of *Philippus*; he was absent fifteen years, and returned in the sixteenth^p. The seventieth name therefore seems wanting somewhere in the last ten years of the series, below the present limits of the history of Diodorus. With this single exception, we have an unbroken series, verified in most cases by many collateral evidences, from B.C. 481 to B.C. 292.

ⁿ Pag. 29.

^o Biagi de decret. Athen. p. 38. *Nullum afferri potest exemplum, quo probetur plures in iisdem fastis eodem anno adnotatos fuisse archontes eponymos.* He observes very justly; *Quot consules Romæ eponymis consulibus suffecti fuere! Attamen qui primi electi sunt consules annui eponymi extitere.*

^p See the Tables B.C. 292, 3. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. IV. p. 74, 76 (who is followed by Larcher Hérodote. tom. VII. p. 717) having placed *Philippus* one year too high, at Ol. 121. 4 B.C. 293, imagines a *second Philippus*, in whose year Menander died, whom he assigns to the year 290, Ol. 122, 3. He obtains this date by computing 52 years complete from the birth of Menander in the archonship of *Sosigenes* B.C. 342 Ol. 109. 3. *Si Menander 52 ætatis anno e vivis excessit, atque Sosigene archonte natus erat, 52^{us} ipsius annus adeoque Philippi magistratus in Ol. 122, 3 incidisse debuit. Id optime accurateque ex adjecto Ptolemæi regis anno confirmatur. Siquidem ille Ol. 114. 4 Archippo archonte regnum suscepit:*

ideoque 32^{us} ipsius annus cum Ol. 122. 3 concurrat. Denique Ol. 122 Menandrum obiisse Eusebius etiam adnotavit, quamvis ipsius mortem non in 3^o sed in 1^o anno collocaverit. But the reign of Ptolemy, as of the other successors of Alexander, is computed by ancient writers, not from the year of Archippus, but from the archonship of *Cephisodorus*, two years earlier. See the Tables B.C. 306, 2. And Eusebius, according to Corsini's own representation, contradicts the date which is assigned to Philippus. Both these authorities, then, agree in Ol. 122. 1. two years earlier than the date of Corsini. To these testimonies is to be added a third (see the Tables, 291, 4) which places the death of Menander 52 years before U.C. Varr. 514. All these characters of time coincide, and agree in B.C. 292 Ol. 122. 1 for the archonship of Philippus. And this is the *seventieth* year from the archonship of *Nicophemus*. (See the Tables, 292, 1.) Whence it appears that Philippus, in whose year Menander died, is the identical Philippus in whose year Dinarchus returned from exile.

In the present Tables, *Themistocles* is inserted as archon of the year B. C. 481. Since Corsini excludes *Themistocles*, it is necessary to examine his claims for admission. Corsini contends ^q, 1. That the construction of the Piræus was completed in two years, B. C. 478, 479, when the *fasti* are full. 2. That *Themistocles* could not be archon before B. C. 477, because in that year he was *choragus*; from which office his dignity would have exempted him. This latter argument will have weight, when it shall be proved that he who had been archon was *afterwards* exempt on that account from the *λειτουργίαι* to which his property subjected him. The immunity of the archon only lasted during the continuance of his office ^r. As to the first argument, it is nowhere in Plutarch or elsewhere expressed, that the Piræus was *commenced* after the defeat of *Xerxes*, but only that the work was seriously prosecuted and completed within those two years.^{xvi} Thucydides seems to imply that the building was commenced some while before, and then laid aside. And as two years of Olymp. 74 have no archon, *Themistocles* might have filled one of those years ^s.

Thucydides ^t thus speaks: ἔπεισε τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν [this refers to B. C. 479, 478, εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν] ὑπῆρκετο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἥς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε. Pausanias ^u—ὁ Πειραιεὺς δῆμος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦρξεν ἐπίνειον οὐκ ἦν. Φαληρὸν δὲ—τοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπίνειον ἦν. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ὡς ἦρξε (τοῖς γὰρ πλείουσιν ἐπιτηδεύτερος ὁ Πειραιεὺς ἐφαίνετο—) τοῦτο σφίσιν ἐπίνειον εἶναι κατεσκευάσατο. *Themistocles* therefore was archon: and archon before the Median war. Corsini, indeed, has proved that he could not have been archon after it, when the *fasti* are full. Why then should we reject the testimony of the Scholiast ^x, who affirms that *Themistocles* was archon the year before the Median war—πρὸ δὲ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα—when it is in entire conformity with Thucydides upon the subject?

An unlucky theory which Dodwell has adopted, respecting the archons *Phædon*, *Bion*, and *Apseudes*, has led him to derange the archons of that period, and to falsify their chronology to such a degree, that, in a series of forty-five years,

^q Tom. I. p. 336.

^r No more than this is implied by Demosthenes Leptin. p. 465. Reisk. or by his argument in the same oration p. 463; where he asserts, that only five or six citizens enjoyed the immunity. But it is not credible that the number should have been no more than five or six, if every man

who had served the office of archon had enjoyed the immunity during life.

^s Corsini resumes the subject, tom. III. p. 146. where he merely repeats his former arguments.

^t I. 93.

^u I. 1, 2.

^x Ad Thucyd. I. 93.

B. C. 476—432, twenty-one archons are out of their proper places. There is no need to discuss this question, since he has been sufficiently refuted by Wesseling^y and Corsini^z. Notwithstanding the bold alterations of Dodwell, the chronology of this period is still safe, and the archons, upon the joint authority of Diodorus and Dionysius, (with many collateral witnesses,) are placed in their proper stations.

The Attic year, after the archonship of *Apseudes* B. C. 433, commenced at midsummer with the month Hecatombæon; which from that date we know to have been the first month of the Attic year. About this there is no difference of opinion. But it is not so easy to determine what was the beginning of the Attic year *before* that period. Some writers have held that it always began at midsummer; others, that it originally began at the winter solstice; that Gamelion was the first month, and that the change was made, and Hecatombæon became the first, in the year of *Pythodorus*, the first year of the 87th Olympiad. Let us hear the arguments of each.

- xvii Jackson^a thus states the question: "The Attic Greeks began their year at or
 " about the summer tropic, or at the new moon which was nearest to it: this is
 " agreed by all. But Scaliger thinks that they had two beginnings of their year:
 " one, the oldest, at the winter solstice; the other, at the summer tropic. But
 " for this he has not the least evidence or foundation. And our learned Mr.
 " Dodwell, following Scaliger, thinks that the institution of the year at the sum-
 " mer solstice was occasioned by Meton's cycle of 19 lunar years, which took its
 " epoch from that cardinal point of the year.—Meton probably made the epoch
 " of his lunar cycle commence at the same time with the ancient solar year.—
 " It is, I think, sufficiently evident, that the old Attic year began about the sum-
 " mer tropic, before the cycle of Meton and Euctemon was known."—He
 quotes Thucyd. II. 1. Plato de Leg. lib. VI. where the magistrates are directed
 to meet *ἐπειδὴν μέλλῃ ὁ νέος ἐνιαυτὸς μετὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς τῇ ἐπιόντι μηνὶ γενέσθαι*
 —and Theod. Gaza de Mensibus: *Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἤρχοντο ἀπὸ Ἑκατομ-*
βαῖωνος, κ. τ. λ.—"Had any alteration been then made, Thucydides and Plato
 " could not, in speaking of times contemporary with this alteration, have avoided
 " taking notice of it." In another part of his work^b he argues thus: "Mr. Dodwell

^y Ad Diod. XI. 48, 89.

^a Chron. Ant. vol. I. p. 23, 24, 25.

^z In his ninth dissertation, Fast. Att. tom. II.
 p. 51—58.

^b Vol. II. p. 44.

“thinks, after Scaliger, that the old Attic year before Meton’s cycle began at the winter solstice.—Petavius (Doct. Temp. I. 12.) has proved against Scaliger, that the most ancient Attic year commenced at the summer solstice: and has given sufficient evidence from ancient testimonies:—Festus Avienus—

Sed primæva Meton exordia sumsit ab anno

Torreret rutilo cum Phæbus sidere Cancrum.

“Theod. Gaza de Mensibus—ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπὸ τροπῶν θερινῶν Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς Σιμπλίκιος λέγει—ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἔτους ὁ Ἑκατομβαιῶν τροπικὸς ὢν θερινός. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐορτὴν Ἀθηναῖοι τοτὲ ἡγόν δημοτελεῖ, καὶ ἔθουον μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῇ ἡλίῳ ὡς περὶ τροπὰς ὄντι ὅθεν καὶ τοῦνομα τῇ μηνὶ Ἑκατομβαιῶν, Κρονίῳ πρότερον καλουμένῳ, ὡς Πλούταρχός φησι^c.”

On the other side of the question, Corsini^d, who follows Dodwell in fixing the beginning of the year at Gamelion before B. C. 432, although he avoids the blunder of Dodwell, by supposing *Apseudes* to have held his office eighteen months instead of six^e, reasons in this manner; *Civiles Atheniensium annos* [before Ol. 87] *a Gamelione incepisse plurima ostendunt quæ Dodwellus accurate* xviii *complectitur* (Dissert. I. s. 4) *atque illud imprimis, quod embolimus mensis “Poseidon II.” appellari consueverit. Clariori tamen longeque certiori argumento esse poterit, quod Cleostrati simulque Harpali cyclis quo Athenienses ante Metonem utebantur a solstitio hyberno ducebatur. Avienus—*

Nam quæ solum hiberna novem putat æthere volvi

Ut lunæ spatium redeat, vetus Harpalus, ipsa

Ocyus in sedes momentaque prisca reducit.

Sed primæva Meton exordia sumsit ab anno

Torreret, et cet.^f

Scaligerus vetus illud anni principium a Gamelione ad Hecatombæonem translatum esse putavit Ol. 53.3 [B. C. 566] quo majora Panathenæa festa sunt instituta.

^c Plutarch had said this, Vit. Thes. c. 12. t. I. p. 23. Reisk.—Κρονίου μηνός, ὃν νῦν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα καλοῦσι.

^d Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 91, 92.

^e Dodwell supposes *Apseudes* to have commenced his office at Gamelion, or January, B. C. 432, to have been deposed or removed in six months, and Pythodorus to have succeeded in Hecatombæon, or July, B. C. 432. By this ar-

range of *Apseudes* he has incurred a difficulty from which he vainly endeavours to escape. Annal. Thucyd. p. 139.

^f These lines are thus represented in Fast. Att. but in the edition of Buhle, (Arat. tom. II. p. 177) more correctly—

Nam qui solem hiberna novem—

—————Harpalus ipsam

Ocyus, &c.

Petavius—*fatetur se ignorare quando Gamelion primus anni mensis esse desierit, longe tamen antiquius hoc institutum esse putavit quam Scaligero videbatur.* He himself thinks, with Dodwell, that the change was made B.C. 432.—*Licet perspicua veterum testimonia deesse ego videam, quibus annus usque ad Ol. 87 semper a Gamelione incepisse ostendatur, facile tamen id ex ipso periodorum initio, quibus Athenienses ante Metonem utebantur, inferri posse putaverim.*

He has an argument ^s from the age of *Socrates*: “who lived seventy years, and “was born in Thargelion of the archon *Apsephio*: but, if the archon commenced “at Hecatombæon or Midsummer, this would be Thargelion B.C. 468; and “*Socrates* could not be seventy at his death in the year of *Laches*. It was there- “fore Thargelion B.C. 469, and *Apsephio* commenced at Gamelion.”

He reasons from the Parian Marble ^h: “This monument, in all the dates pre- “ceding B.C. 432, has the archon a year too high, while in the dates subsequent “to that year the archons are placed in their true stations.”—*archontes omnes ante Olymp. 87. 1 exeuntibus, post Olympiadis ejus initium ineuntibus Olympicis* xix *annis adscribit. Sic Phænippus archon exeunti anno Ol. 72. 2 adscribi debet; quamvis in Dionysii sententia anno tertio ineunti adscribatur, quod revera Phæ-* nippus *primis etiam anni tertii mensibus imperaverit.*

He argues ⁱ, that *Calliades* began in Gamelion: *Xerxis transitus in Helles-* ponto, *pugnaque ad Thermopylas, quæ Calliadis archontis anno adscribuntur, ante Ol. 75 initium contigere: Salaminia vero pugna, quæ eodem Calliade archonte commissa fuit, Boëdromione, adeoque Ol. 75. 1 incepto pugnata fuit. Ergo Calliadis annus postremos sex anni quarti, totidemque proximos anni primi menses complectitur.*

Fréret believed the change to have been made earlier than the 87th Olympiad ^k: *On ignore de quel temps est le changement, qui a porté le commencement de l'année civile du solstice d'hiver au solstice d'été.*—*Dodwell a placé l'époque du changement arrivé dans l'année Athénienne à peu près vers le temps de Méton.*—*Mais il a moins prouvé cette opinion qu'il ne l'a supposée.*—*Dodwell a eu raison de supposer un changement arrivé dans le commencement de l'année Athénienne, mais je crois qu'il a eu tort d'en placer l'époque aussi bas qu'il l'a fait, c'est-à-dire, à la première année de la 87^e Olympiade.* Larcher ^l follows Corsini, but does not go into any proofs upon the subject.

^s Tom. II. p. 46. dissert. IX.

^h Tom. III. p. xl. xli.

ⁱ Tom. III. p. 164.

^k Mém. Acad. tom. XXVI. p. 163, 164.

^l Chron. d'Hérodote p. 543, 558, 559.

There are, therefore, two questions for consideration: first, whether the Attic year ever began at all at the winter solstice: secondly, whether it ceased to commence at Gamelion in B. C. 432. This latter question alone is material to our present subject.

Some of the arguments adduced by Dodwell and Corsini are open to objection.

1. The insertion of the intercalary month after Posideon does not prove the change to have been made at the cycle of *Meton*; because Posideon II. remained the intercalary month *after Meton's* time no less than before: *Perspicue ex Ptolemæi testimonio colligitur Olymp. 99. 3* [the archonship of Evander] *embolimum tamen mensem Posideonem adhuc fuisse: idque sequioribus etiam temporibus obtinuisse ex Sponiana inscriptione manifestissime demonstratur*^m. The utmost that can be inferred from the station of the intercalary month is, that Posideon was once the last month of the year: *when* it ceased to be the last is not intimated; still less is it proved that Posideon continued to be the last month till the cycle of *Meton*. 2. The argument from Avienus is equivocal; since the word *primæva* seems rather to imply that *Meton* adhered to the old beginning of the year, from which *Harpalus* had deviated. And in this sense it is understood by ^{xx} Jackson. 3. The archon *Calliades* proves nothing in favour of the theory of Corsini. Diodorus is not a valid witness. It is his practice, as any one knows who is familiar with his history, to condense into one year transactions which occupied parts of two successive years. The season of military action (after the cycle of *Meton* at least, as all agree) did not coincide with the Attic year: a campaign, which was begun under one archon, would be completed in the first months of the year of his successor. Hence, not so much from inaccuracy, as from the necessity of the case, Diodorus frequently places the commencement of a transaction under the year of that archon in whose time it was completed. He has done this in the case of the expedition of *Xerxes*. That expedition coincided with *Olymp. 75. 1* in its conclusion; Diodorusⁿ therefore relates the beginning in that year: at the same time that he names the archon, he names the Olympic year, anticipating both. Herodotus indeed mentions the archon *Calliades*; but he mentions him to shew the year of the battle of *Salamis*. Herodotus, then, proves that *Calliades* was archon in *Boëdromion* B. C. 480; which was never doubted—he does not prove that *Calliades* was in office nine months before that date. And

^m Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 94, 95.

ⁿ XI 1.

that Herodotus did not commence the year from the winter solstice may be collected from his own expressions in another passage of his history ^o. Dionysius^p, also quoted by Corsini, only states, that *Calliades* was archon Olymp. 75. καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐστράτευσε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα—a general statement, which by no means affirms that he was archon when *Xerxes* passed the Hellespont. 4. The argument from the age of *Socrates* is this: had he been born in Thargelion B. C. 468, he would have been only sixty-nine complete in Thargelion of the archon *Laches*, May or June B. C. 399. It is therefore inferred that he was born in B. C. 469; that is to say, his birth happened in Thargelion of Olymp. 77. 3, and not in Thargelion of Olymp. 77. 4. But this inference is defeated by the chronology of the birth of *Socrates* himself, as it is stated by Apollodorus and Thrasyllus: both of whom place his birth in the *fourth* year of that Olympiad, and not in the third: ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Ἀψηφίωνος—ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος^q.—γέγονε (Δημόκριτος), ὡς Θράσυλλος, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐμμαντῶ, φησὶ, πρεσβύτερος ὢν Σωκράτους^r. Both these chronologers, then, supposed *Socrates* to be born in Thargelion of the 4th year of xxi the 77th Olympiad, or May B. C. 468. And the year of *Apsephio* in their opinion coincided with the Olympic year. At the period of his death, in Thargelion of the archon *Laches*, *Socrates* would have just entered his seventieth year: a term of life sufficiently corresponding with the description, γεγονὼς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη, in Apollodorus and Demetrius^s, understood of current years. The expressions of Plato^t—ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πλείω—might seem to be at variance with these computations. But the authority of Plato is perhaps of less value in this case, from his known inaccuracy upon such points. Intent upon greater things, he is negligent of years and dates. Historical precision is nowhere his object. It must be farther observed, that if the age of *Socrates* might seem to require that the year should commence at Gamelion, other cases occur which require the archon to commence at midsummer. *Lysias* was born in the year of *Philocles*: and was twenty-two years older than *Isocrates*, who was born in Ol. 86. 1, and in the year of *Lysimachus*. Now as there are twenty-two archons between *Philocles* and *Lysimachus*, it is plain that *Lysias* was born towards the end of the year of *Philocles*, and that *Philocles* was in office till midsummer B. C. 458. Again;

^o IX. 121. See the Tables B. C. 479, 2.

^p Ant. IX. p. 1739. Reisk.

^q Apollodor. apud Laërt. II. 44.

^r Laërt. IX. 41.

^s Apud Laërt. II. 44.

^t Apol. Socrat. p. 17. d.

Lysias was forty-seven at his return from Thurium, in the end of the year of *Callias*: and as there are forty-six archons between *Philocles* and *Callias*, this is also an argument that *Lysias* was born at the end of the year of *Philocles*, and that *Philocles* was in office till midsummer B. C. 458. otherwise *Lysias* would have been in his 48th and not in his 47th year, at his return to Athens in B. C. 411. *Euripides*, who was born in Boëdromion B. C. 480, was twenty-five at the *Dionysia* of the archon *Callias*. Had that archon commenced at Gamelion, those *Dionysia* would have fallen upon his *third* month instead of his *ninth*; or March B. C. 456, when *Euripides* would have only been twenty-three complete. The *Peliades* were therefore exhibited rather in the *ninth* month of *Callias*, or March B. C. 455, and that archon commenced at Hecatombæon. It may be also inferred, that the *Dionysia* of the abovementioned archon *Philocles* were in the end of his year, or March B. C. 458; because the *Agamemnon* of *Æschylus* was exhibited ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδοηκόστῃ ἔτει δευτέρῳ. If *Philocles* had begun his office at Gamelion, that exhibition would have fallen upon his *third* month, and consequently would have happened in the preceding Olympic year, or Olymp. 80. 1. As it fell upon the end of his year, and Olymp. 80. 2, or spring B. C. 458, *Philocles* must have commenced at Hecatombæon: which confirms the conclusion drawn from the age of *Lysias*. More examples to the same purpose might be produced; xxii but these are enough to shew, that the argument derived from the age of *Socrates* is insufficient for determining the question.

The arguments of Corsini, then, are reduced to that single one founded upon the dates of the Parian Marble; an argument of great weight, which might go far to prove that the Attic year before the cycle of *Meton* commenced at Gamelion. But the authority of the Marble is hardly sufficient to establish the point, unless supported by some collateral proofs: much less, to establish it, when other authorities appear against it. To the inference drawn from the Marble we may oppose the silence of contemporary writers, when they had a fair occasion of alluding to the change. The Roman writers are careful to inform us of the change of style in the Roman year: it may be presumed, that the Greek or Attic writers would have done the same, had any such change fallen within their own times.

Larcher ^u, who follows Corsini and Dodwell, has added no new arguments, but has made an observation which deserves notice: *L'année civile des Athéniens*

^u Hérodote tom. VII. p. 543.

concourant alors avec l'année Olympique, [after the cycle of Meton,] *les auteurs qui parlèrent des temps antérieurs à cette établissement fixèrent presque toujours les dates, comme s'il n'étoit point arrivé de révolution dans l'année civile, et comme si cette année avoit toujours commencé avec l'année Olympique.* This observation would be applied to some of the preceding cases: as to *Arg. Agamemnon*. where the *Dionysia* of the archon *Philocles* are made to fall within Olymp. 80. 2; or to *Laërt.* II. 44, where Thargelion of *Apsephio* is brought within Ol. 77. 4. But it is obvious that such passages do not *favour* the system of Corsini. They are obstacles in the way. They must be disposed of by supposing the authors inaccurate and inattentive to the *change of style*. This is doubtless possible: and such passages might give way to positive testimony; such as the testimony in the case of the Roman consuls^x: *Hi primi consules Calend. Januar. magistratum inierunt.* But in the absence of all positive evidence the presumption is, that the Attic and Olympic year were conumerary, when they are affirmed to be so by any such texts of ancient authors. Besides, there is an inconsistency in the observation of Larcher. For the whole argument derived from the Parian Marble is founded upon the supposition, that the author of that monument *attended to the* xxiii *change of style*; while such authors as Apollodorus and Thrasylus are supposed to have neglected it. Is it probable, that this material change in the Attic year in the 87th Olympiad, if any such change existed, should have been overlooked by all other writers, even by the best chronologers, and should have been observed only by one nameless author, of the age of Timæus?

The first column, then, of the present Tables, contains the *archons*; recites the testimonies upon which their stations are assigned to them; and supposes them to commence at Hecatombæon, or July. Those, who still incline to agree with Dodwell and Corsini upon this latter point, will raise the date of the births of *Lysias* and *Socrates*, and the time of some few dramatic *didascalix*, preceding the representation of the *Medea* in B. C. 431, one year higher respectively.

The second column in the Tables is reserved for *civil and military events*. It may be asserted, that, notwithstanding the labours of Dodwell and Corsini, notwithstanding the elaborate and valuable history of Mr. Mitford, this portion of the chronology is not yet arranged in a manner to satisfy the student of ancient history; and that something still remained to be done, in order to bring it to that degree of accuracy and clearness of which the subject was capable. The

^x Cassiodor. Chron.

labours of Dodwell are highly valuable. His copious exhibition of the original authorities is eminently useful to the reader of Grecian history, or to the compiler of Grecian chronology. Dodwell, however, treats only a part of the present period: and his chronology is not free from considerable defects. Some of his erroneous theories (for when Dodwell errs, he errs upon system, and not through negligence) have been examined and refuted by Corsini and others. Some, however, remained untouched. Corsini does not lend much assistance in this part of the subject; since it did not fall within the scope and object of his work to treat the civil affairs minutely. Nor has Mr. Mitford fully supplied what was wanting in the chronology. While his attention is engaged with political and philosophical speculations, and with the facts themselves, (in illustrating which, he is far superior to any former writer,) he has not always been diligent in the dates of his history^y. Within the period embraced by Thucydides and Xenophon, he generally follows Dodwell, and is sometimes misled by his guide. An example will be found in the date of the Athenian empire, which is examined in the present work, in the appendix to B. C. 477. In the times of *Philip* and *Alexander*, where no such writer as Dodwell had preceded him, Mr. Mitford has often left the arrangement of the dates to future investigators. The reader will see an instance, by comparing the Asiatic campaigns of *Alexander*, recorded in these Tables B. C. 334—325, with the observations contained in the appendix there referred to. xxiv

The third and fourth columns are assigned to the *literary chronology*. One of these is allotted to the prose writers, the other to the poets. Various learned men have illustrated portions of the literary chronology, by collecting the detached notices which are yet extant: but as they have chiefly compiled such tables as supplements or appendages to some other work, they have executed their task for the most part in a brief and summary manner.

The earliest collection of this kind appears to be the compilation of the celebrated Scaliger, written in the Greek language, and entitled *Συναγωγή Ἱστορικῆ.—Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ*. Scaliger himself thus describes his own work^z: *A nobis partim ex editis partim ex nondum editis scriptoribus collectam; quæ non solum*

^y No reference is here intended to Mr. Mitford's early Grecian chronology, contained in his first volume: in which he boldly and fairly avows himself a follower of Newton, and dissatisfied with

the vulgar systems. That belongs to another inquiry.

^z Pag. 431. Euseb. Chron. edit. Amst. 1658.

ad Eusebiana sed etiam ad memoriam veteris historiæ illustrandam magno præsidio erit. In the table of contents prefixed, the piece is described as 'Ἱστοριῶν Συναγωγὴ, *Collectanea Historiarum partim ex iis scriptoribus qui nondum editi sunt, partim ex iis qui editi.* This work is a chronicle of affairs from the Olympiad of Coræbus to the end of the 249th Olympiad, [B. C. 776—A. D. 220] occupying thirty pages [p. 313—343] of his edition of the Chronicon of Eusebius. The chronicle is interspersed with notices of the times of ancient authors extracted from Eusebius and other sources. It is followed by a list of Olympic victors; [p. 343—350.] and these are followed by lists of ancient kings, of whom he has collected twenty dynasties, beginning with the kings of Egypt, and ending with the kings of Persia who succeeded the Arsacidæ. [p. 351—399.] As that work of Scaliger's has had the singular fortune of being generally quoted as an ancient piece, this description of its contents will not be thought unseasonable.

Indeed, it is truly unaccountable by what chance so many learned men, from Meursius and Vossius down to the present day, should persevere in appealing to this piece as if it were an ancient monument. Vossius, throughout the whole of his treatise "de Historicis Græcis," refers to the "anonymous author of the
 xxv "Ὀλυμπιάδων Ἀναγραφὴ" with entire satisfaction. Meursius has corrupted texts of ancient authors, to adapt them to the mistakes of Scaliger: see a memorable instance pointed out by Bentley^a. Petitus has corrected texts by this piece: *Correctionis nostræ* [of Olymp. O. for Olymp. Θ. in Suid. v. Αἰσχύλος^b] *fundus est anonymus auctor in descriptione Olympiadum ad annum primum Olymp. 70.*^c Jonsius^d employs much labour in refuting the errors of the "anonymous author" from whom he supposes Suidas to have copied. Perizonius^e quotes, as authority, Συναγωγὴν Ἱστοριῶν *a Scaligero editam*: again^f, *error in his: quod Euseb. in Chron. hæc tradatur dicere, cum occurrant in anonymi Olympiadum catalogo*^g.

More recent critics might have learned the true author from Bentley, who points him out to be Scaliger in many passages of his Dissertation on Phalaris^h. Stanley had already done it before him in the notes to Æschylus: *Viris doctis*

^a Diss. Phalar. p. 282, 283.

^b The correction is judicious. But the authority to which Petitus appeals is no other than the authority of Suidas v. Παρίδας, whose words Scaliger has transcribed. See the Tables B. C. 499, 4.

^c Miscell. III. 14.

^d Hist. Philosoph. Scriptor. I. 9, treating of Theopompus.

^e Ad Ælian. V. H. XII. 35. ^f Ad XI. I.

^g And yet, in his note to III. 21, he suspects the real author: *Auctor, sive is ipse fuerit Scaliger. sive alius—*.

^h See pages 214, 158, 282. ed. 1699.

*erratum comperimus; qui Josephi Scaligeri Græca Eusebio adjuncta quasi anonymi cujusdam antiqui auctoris (aliquando non sine infelicissimo eventu) adducunt*ⁱ. In another place^k he remarks—*Quod si animadvertisset Meursius, Diogenem Laërtium non temere correxisset: neque, ut Leo Allatius (de Script. Socrat.) errorem secutus fuisset Josephi Scaligeri (quem pro anonymo quopiam auctore sumit uterque) Aphepsionem ad Olymp. 74 constituentis*. Bentley, in what he has written concerning this mistake of Meursius^l, may have borrowed a hint from Stanley.

After Bentley, Kuster^m has more distinctly described this piece and its author; has admonished the learned world of their mistake; and has expressed his wonder that the mistake should have been committed. But notwithstanding his admonition, the same error has been propagated down to the present time; and many recent, and some living critics, have continued to quote the “anonymous author of the Olympiads.” Dukerⁿ refers to the piece as an ancient testimony. Heyne, in the last edition of Apollodorus^o, quotes *anonymum descript. Olympiadum*, 80. 1. as authority for a fragment of Apollodorus. And these *anonymi* xxvi *Olympiades* appear regularly in his Index of Ancient Authors. The editor of the fragments of Antimachus does the same: *Floruit Antimachus, ut Diodorus prodidit, cui auctor τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδων Ἀναγραφῆς assentitur, &c.*^p Mr. Göller, in his dissertation *de Ortu Syracusarum*^q, after quoting Diodorus, cites the author Ἀναγραφῆς Ὀλυμπιάδων *ad calcem Eusebii*, apparently not knowing that the words which he cites are no other than the words of Diodorus himself, which Scaliger had transcribed^r. We can hardly imagine that all those, who have so strangely mistaken the authority of this work, can have quoted from actual inspection.

This collection, made by Scaliger, is far from accurate. Bentley^s has pointed out some oversights, and has remarked, that “this great man mistook himself, either by haste, or by trusting to his memory.” The inaccuracies may be partly ascribed to a want of sufficient attention to the value of authorities. He often follows Diodorus or Eusebius, neglecting the surer testimonies of Xenophon or the orators. And yet when we consider that he had no predecessor in such a

ⁱ Ad Choëph. V. 1.

^k Ad Æschyl. p. 706.

^l Diss. Phalar. p. 282.

^m In his note upon Suidas v. Λάσος. tom. II. p. 417.

ⁿ Ad Thucyd. V. 49. ^o Vol. I. p. 412.

^p *Antimachi Reliquiæ*, p. 9. He is however

warned of his error by Wolf, p. 124, 125.

^q Pag. 126.

^r To these may be added Biagi de decretis Atheniensium p. 232—234. who draws his materials *ex anonymo veteri scriptore Olympiadum atque ex Athenæo*.

^s Diss. Phal. p. 214.

work, and that the plan and arrangement was original and his own, we shall give him due credit for having performed so much. His method of giving the archons, and of citing the original words of Diodorus and others, where his plan permitted him to do so, is judicious.

A literary chronology was projected by Gray. He describes his scheme in a letter to Dr. Wharton^t: “ You ask after my chronology. It was begun, as I told “ you, almost two years ago, when I was in the midst of Diogenes Laërtius, &c. “ My intention in forming this table was not so much for public events, though “ these too have a column assigned to them; but rather in a literary way, to “ compare the time of all great men, their writings, and their transactions. I “ have brought it from the 30th Olympiad, where it begins, to the 113th; that “ is, 332 years. [B. C. 660—328.] My only modern assistants were Marsham, “ Dodwell, and Bentley.” Had this work been completed by a writer of Gray’s taste, learning, and accuracy, it would have undoubtedly superseded the necessity
xxvii of any other undertaking of the same kind. But since no part of this compilation appears now to exist, the fact of its having been designed only serves to shew the want of such a work.

What Mr. Gray projected, but did not accomplish, has been, in part at least, performed by Dr. Musgrave: who has exhibited seventy-five years of the dramatic chronology, in the *Chronologia scenica* prefixed to his edition of Euripides. That piece is a valuable specimen of the literary chronology. The references are given, and the whole is executed after a method far more exact and critical than that adopted by Scaliger, or by any other compiler of similar tables. The present work has many obligations to the *Chronologia scenica*. In some instances, where it was found necessary to differ from Musgrave, the reasons for that dissent are stated in the proper places.

In the third and fourth columns, then, of the present Tables, it is proposed, in the words of Gray, “ to compare the times of great men, their writings, and their “ transactions.” The third column contains the *philosophers, historians, and orators*. What was to be told of the philosophers was capable of being compressed within a narrower compass than the plan of Gray proposed. Their times

^t Dated April 25, 1749. In this table, “ every third for the public affairs of Greece: the three “ page was to consist of nine columns: one for “ next for the philosophers: and the three last “ the Olympiads: the next for the archons: the “ for the poets, historians, and orators.”

and chronology, in the early periods, are little known to us. In the chronology, for instance, of *Solon*, there are great difficulties. The substance of what we know concerning his time will be found in the Appendix ^u. We can arrange with precision the times of *Anaxagoras*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*; but the dates for the births or deaths of *Pythagoras*, *Xenophanes*, *Anaximenes*, are wholly doubtful and uncertain. In these cases I have been careful to record the contradictory or doubtful testimony, that the degree and amount of the uncertainty might be brought into view. The investigator of these ancient monuments should not set out upon his inquiry with the persuasion that it is his office to clear every doubt, and to settle every difficulty. He should rather proceed with the determination of stating the exact proportion and amount of the uncertainty which exists; and if, among many positions that are certain, some appear doubtful, he will be careful to specify these; to separate and distinguish the one from the other; and to remember, that when the two are blended together, they will appear to stand upon the same authority, and the credit of what is true will be impaired by its admixture with what is false or doubtful ^x.

^u C. 17, Kings of Lydia: under the article *Cræsus*.

^x Jackson, Chronol. Antiq. vol. II. p. 372—375. who follows Dodwell for the age of *Pythagoras*, quotes Porphyry and Jamblichus, upon whom the computation of Dodwell was founded; [see these Tables B. C. 539, 3. 472, 3.] but takes no notice of the testimonies of Eratosthenes and Antiochus, which overthrew that computation. Larcher on the contrary, Chron. Hérodote c. XXI. p. 549—554, who prefers the chronology of Bentley, produces the testimonies of Eratosthenes and Antiochus, upon which Bentley had founded his dates; [see the Tables B. C. 539, 3. 510, 3.] but suppresses the accounts of Jamblichus, and of Aristoxen. apud Porphyr. which were adverse to those dates. A practice not to be imitated.

While, however, I have laboured to conceal nothing, I have incurred the charge upon some occasions of telling too much. A writer in a periodical journal is “much struck with a species of tautology” of which I am guilty, in “mentioning particular persons as flourishing in many different years.” It is remarked, that “if Py-

thagoras flourished in B. C. 539, and died in “B. C. 472, he must have flourished during the whole intermediate time, and it was unnecessary to mention this. But in the years 533, 531, 525, 520, 510, Pythagoras is stated to have flourished. So in the case of Hipponax, who flourished 546, 539.” Now, as my purpose was through the whole course of the work to assemble all the evidence that could be collected to each particular fact, when the times of Pythagoras were to be determined, it was material to record where he was placed by the testimonies of ancient writers. Thus, in 533, I inform the reader that Diodorus placed this philosopher at Ol. 61; in B. C. 531, that Clemens, Eusebius, and Cyril placed him at Olymp. 62. The reader learns at B. C. 520, that he is mentioned again by Eusebius at Ol. 65. All these were necessary as particles of that mass of evidence which collectively enables us to fix the time of Pythagoras. The reader again is informed at 546 that *Hipponax* is placed by the Marble in the times of Cræsus and Cyrus, and at 539 that Pliny refers him to Ol. 60. These are two concurring witnesses, each confirming the other.

xxviii In treating the historians, two things were to be done. The times of the historian himself were to be described, and the periods of history which his work embraced were to be marked: two points of time not necessarily coincident. Thus *Herodotus* is mentioned at B. C. 478, where his history terminates; but the memorials of his life must be looked for nearly half a century below that date. *Ephorus* closed his history at the year B. C. 340, but he was still employed in writing it after the passage of *Alexander* into Asia^y. The Grecian History of *Callisthenes* is noticed at the years 387. 357; but *Callisthenes* himself flourished in the reign of *Alexander*^z.

In the extant works of the orators, the dates of many pieces are accurately fixed by internal evidence or ancient testimony. There are others, of which although we cannot assign the actual year, yet we can approach it very nearly; although the dates are uncertain, yet we can define the limits of that uncertainty.

xxix As, for example, the oration of *Demades*, of which we have a fragment, must have fallen between B. C. 326 and B. C. 318: the oration against *Aristogiton* was after the battle of Chæronea, and before the flight of *Harpalus*; the oration of *Lysias* ὑπὲρ Μαντιθέου was soon after B. C. 394. These, then, are inserted at no great distance from their actual dates. The same remark is to be applied to some dramatic pieces in the fourth column. The dates of the Ἀνθρωπορῥαστῆς of *Strattis*, and the Δανάη of *Sannyrio*, are unknown; but we know that they were subsequent to the archonship of *Diocles*. I have therefore introduced the mention of these pieces at B. C. 407. It is not pretended in these cases to define the year; it is only proposed to record the extent of what is ascertained concerning their chronology^a.

The fourth and last column belongs to the *poets*. In the literary history of this department, by far the largest space is occupied by the *tragic and comic* poets of Athens^b. Particles of information preserved to us from the works of

Passages like these are not tautology, but the production of new evidence. Some farther observations upon this subject will be found in the *Classical Journal* No. LXIII. p. 114.

^y See the Tables B. C. 340. 333.

^z In the Appendix c. 21, will be found the names, in chronological order, of the philosophers historians and orators who are mentioned in the Tables.

^a These passages in the Tables are distinguished thus ().

^b The following is a list of the poets, *not* dramatic, who are inserted in the fourth column:—

1. Stesichorus, at B. C. 553.
2. Ibycus, 560. 539.
3. Anacreon, 559. 531. 525.
4. Hipponax, 546. 539.
5. Theognis, 544.

the ancient critics, or from old inscriptions, enable us to fix the dates of some dramas: of others, the time may be determined upon the internal evidence of fragments. There are still, however, many poets, whose age is expressed to us in general terms, but of whose time our knowledge is so vague and indistinct, that they cannot be recorded under any particular year. These, as they have no appropriate place in the Tables, may be conveniently described in this Introduction.

The catalogues which Fabricius^c has given of the tragic and comic poets are not the most satisfactory on many accounts. Not a few of the names which he has inserted have no title to a place among the dramatic poets. We find there corruptions of names; as *Amorphus*^d: of whom all that can be told is, that the xxx word is a wrong reading for Phormis. Sometimes *comic* poets who are called *tragic*, or *tragic* who are called *comic*, by an error in the text of Suidas or a scholiast, or on account of the ambiguous title of a drama, are recorded by Fabricius in both lists and under both characters: thus *Cephisodorus*, *Anaxandrides*, *Cantharus*, *Callias*, comic poets, have been presented to us already in the list of *tragic*; while *Philocles*, *Agatho*, *Iopho*, *Dionysius*, after having been described in the tragic catalogue, appear a second time as *comic* poets. His numbers are enlarged with the names of *actors*; as *Archias*, *Aristodemus*, *Athenodorus*, *Callipides*: of *lyric* poets; as *Ibycus* and *Arion*: of *grammarians*, as *Eratosthenes*. We meet with *Cleon the demagogue* as a comic poet, because he is mentioned in the "Knights" of Aristophanes, and with *Æschines the orator*

6. Phocylides, 544.

7. Simonides Ceus, 556. 525. 476. 467.

8. Melanippides, 520.

9. Telesilla, 510.

10. Lasus, 504.

11. Pindarus, 518—439.

12. Timocreon Rhodius, B. C. 471.

13. Bacchylides, 450. 431.

14. Chœrilus Samius, 479.

15. Melanippides junior, 520.

16. Panyasis, 489. 457.

17. Antimachus, 405.

18. Telestes, 401. 398.

19. Philoxenus, 398. 380.

20. Timotheus, 398. 357.

21. Polyidus, 398.

22. Erinna, 352. To these may be added

Sappho, of whom an account is given at B. C. 559.

^c Bibl. Gr. lib. II. c. 19, Notitia Tragicorum deperditorum. lib. II. c. 22. Notitia Comicorum deperditorum.

^d It may be doubted whether *Amorphus* has the authority of Fabricius himself. In the Hamburg edition of 1718, I do not find *Amorphus*: although he appears in the edition of Harles; who recites the criticism of Bentley Diss. Phalar. p. 201. The late editor, then, if he has not *inserted* this word in the list of his author, has at least *restored*, from an earlier edition of the *Bibliotheca Græca*, a name, which Fabricius himself, in his subsequent impression of the work, had prudently omitted.

among the tragic poets, because he is mentioned as an actor. If the catalogues of Fabricius were cleared of these names, and reduced to those who really have a claim to be inserted, his dramatic poets would sink to half their present numbers. Moreover, the alphabetical form of arrangement which he has adopted is not the most convenient for bringing into view the progress of the dramatic art, or the times in which the poets flourished. Writers of all periods, of the age of *Pericles*, of the age of the *Ptolemies*, of the times of the Romans, are brought together without distinction: *Lycophron*, *Sositheus*, and the *Pleias*, are found in the same list with *Thespis* and *Pratinas*: the poets of the old, the middle, and the new comedy, are treated of in one class.

The literary history of the Greek dramatic poets should be arranged upon a plan altogether different from that of Fabricius. The catalogues both of authors and dramas should be purified from corrupt names and titles. The poets should be distributed in the order of time: thus, the tragic poets who flourished at Athens before the time of *Alexander* should be separated from those who flourished under the *Ptolemies*. Consequently, in a list of tragic poets of the period now under review, *Lycophron*, *Sositheus*, and their contemporaries, are to be omitted.

xxxix These are to be considered under the times of the *Ptolemies*. In the same manner, the comic poets are to be classed chronologically; *Epicharmus*, *Chionides*, and *Phormis*, are the first, and *Posidippus* is the last, among those who belong to the times included within the present work: *Posidippus* may be accounted the last writer in this department for the Athenian stage; and if there are any other comic poets later than *Posidippus*, of whom memorials or fragments remain, as *Macho*, *Apollodorus Carystius*, *Epinicus*, and others, these belong to the Ptolemæan age of literature. The comic poets are farther to be divided into their three classes: 1. The old comedy, from *Epicharmus* and *Phormis* down to *Strattis* and *Theopompus*. 2. The writers of the middle comedy; the first of whom are *Eubulus*, *Araros*, and *Antiphanes*, and the last, *Xenarchus* and *Dromo*. 3. The writers of the new; who begin with *Philippides* and *Philemon*, and end with *Posidippus*.

Among the *tragic poets*, who flourished from the beginning of the tragic art down to the time of *Aristotle*, were the following:

1. *Thespis*, mentioned in the Tables at B. C. 535.
2. *Chærilus*, 523. 499. 483.

3. *Phrynichus* †, 511. 483, 476.
4. *Æschylus*, 525. 499. 484. 472. 458. 456.
5. *Pratinas*, 499.
6. *Sophocles*, 495. 468. 447. 440. 431. 409. 405. (401.)
7. *Aristarchus*, 454.
8. *Ion Chius*, 451. 428. 421.
9. *Achæus*, 484. 447.
10. *Neophron*, before *Euripides*. See the satisfactory argument of Elmsley *ad Argum. Med.* p. 68.
11. *Euphorion*, B. C. 431. υἱὸς Αἰσχύλου τοῦ τραγικοῦ, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικὸς καὶ αὐτός· ὃς καὶ τοῖς Αἰσχύλου τοῦ πατρὸς, οἷς μήπω ἦν ἐπιδειξάμενος, τετράκις xxxiii ἐνίκησεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ οἰκεῖα. *Suid.* Εὐφορ.
12. *Cleomachus*, an unworthy rival of *Sophocles*. *Athen.* XIV. p. 638. f.
13. *Euripides*, 480. 455. 447. 441. 438. 431. 428. 415. 408. 406.
14. *Aristeas*, son of *Pratinas*, contended with *Sophocles*, *Æschylus*, and *Euripides*. *Vit. Sophocl.*
15. *Chæremón*. *Conf. Aristot. Poët.* c. 2. 25. *Rhet.* II. 23, 29. III. 12, 2. *Problem.* III. 16. p. 697. B. *Theophrast. Hist. Plant.* V. 9, 5. *Theophrast. apud Athen.* XIII. p. 562. e.^u
16. *Theognis*, before the Ἀχαρνεῖς. [B. C. 425.] *Acharn.* 11. 140. Mentioned again in the Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι. [411.] *Thesmoph.* 170.
17. *Nicomachus*.—παραδόξως Εὐριπίδην καὶ Θέογνιν ἐνίκησε. *Suid.* Νικόμαχ.
18. *Philocles*, mentioned in the Σφήκες. [422.] *Aristoph. Vesp.* 462. *et Schol.*

† The tragic poet *Phrynichus* was the son of *Polyphradmon*, or *Phradmon*: *Pausan.* X. 31, 2. Φρύνιχος ὁ Πολυφράδμονος ἐν δράματι Πλεῦρωνι. *Suid.* Φρύνιχος Πολυφράδμονος ἢ Μινύρων, οἱ δὲ, Χοροκλέους. *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 750. τέσσαρες δὲ ἐγένοντο Φρύνιχοι· ὁ μὲν εἰς, οὗ νῦν μνημονεύει, Πολυφράδμονος παῖς, ποιητὴς ἦδ' ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν· [conf. *Schol. Ran.* 941, 1334.] ὁ ἕτερος, Χοροκλέους παῖς, ὑποκριτὴς· [confounded by *Suidas* with the tragic poet,] τρίτος, Φρύνιχος ὁ κωμικός—while the comic poet *Phrynichus* was the son of *Eunomides*: *Schol. Ran.* 13. Φρύνιχον τὸν κωμικόν—ἔστι δὲ πατὴρ Εὐνομίδου. It appears from hence that a notice in *Prolegom. ad Aristoph.* p. xxix. Beck. Φρύνιχος Φράδμονος ἔθανεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, belongs in reality to

the tragic *Phrynichus*, and that it has found its way by an error into that account of the comic poets. *Phrynichus*, then, the tragic poet, like *Æschylus* and other contemporary poets, probably visited the court of *Hiero*; and, like *Æschylus*, died in *Sicily*: perhaps soon after his tragic victory at *Athens* in the year of *Adimantus* B. C. 476. See the Tables.

^u *Chæremón* had been already quoted by the comic poet *Eubulus*: *Athen.* II. p. 43. c. τὸ ὕδωρ ποταμοῦ σώμα φησὶ πον Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς εἰρηκέναι Χαιρήμονα τὸν τραγικόν. And this is perhaps the earliest testimony which remains to the time of *Chæremón*.

ad loc. in the *Ὀρνιθες*. [414.] *Av.* 281.^x in the *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι*. [411.] *Thesmoph.* 168. The nephew of *Æschylus*: *Αἰσχύλου ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ ἔσχεν υἱὸν Μόρσιμον τὸν τραγικόν. Suid.*^{xx}

19. *Agathon*^y, 416.

xxxiii 20. *Antiphon*, contemporary with the elder *Dionysius*. *Aristot. Rhet.* II. 6, 27.

21. *Carcinus*, noticed in the *Σφήκες*, [422.] *Vesp.* 1501—1512. in the *Νεφέλαι*, [422.] *Nub.* 1261. in the *Εἰρήνη*, [421.] *Pac.* 782. 864. *conf. Schol. Pac.* 778. *Schol. Nub.* 1264.

22. *Nothippus*, ridiculed by *Hermippus* the comic poet. *Athen.* VIII. p. 344. c.d.

23. *Acestor*, ridiculed in the *Σφήκες*, [422.] *Vesp.* 1216. *et Schol. ad loc.* and in the *Ὀρνιθες*, [414.] *Av.* 31. *et Sch. ad loc.*

24. *Pythangelus*, noticed in the *Βάτραχοι*, [405.] *Ran.* 87. *et Schol. ad loc.*

^x The *Πανδιονίς* of *Philocles* had been already represented before the date of the *Ὀρνιθες*. *Schol. Av.* 282. οὗτος ὁ Φιλοκλῆς ἔποπα ἐσκέυασεν ἐν τῇ Πανδιονίδι τετραλογίᾳ.—Φιλοκλεῖ ἐστὶ δρᾶμα Τηρέως ἢ Ἐποψ. ὁ Σοφοκλῆς πρῶτον τὸν Τηρέα ἐποίησεν, εἴτα Φιλοκλῆς.

^{xx} His victory over *Sophocles* is related by *Aristides pro quatuorv.* tom. II. p. 334. *Dindorf. Σοφοκλῆς Φιλοκλέους ἡττᾶτο ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὸν Οἰδίπουν, ὃ Ζεὺ καὶ Θεοὶ, πρὸς ὃν οὐδ' Αἰσχύλος εἶχε λέξει τι. ἀρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρων Σοφοκλῆς Φιλοκλέους; αἰσχύνῃ μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον ἀκοῦσαι, ὅτι βελτίων Φιλοκλέους.*

^y *Agathon*, who first exhibited in the year of *Euphemus* B. C. 416, withdrew to the court of *Archelaüs* king of *Macedonia*, where he was residing at the representation of the *Βάτραχοι* in B. C. 405. This appears to be the meaning of the allusion of *Aristophanes Ran.* 85.—ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν. *Schol. ad locum*: ἡ ὡς περὶ τετελευτηκότος λέγει, ὡσανεὶ περὶ τὰς μακάρων νήσους· ἡ ὅτι Ἀρχελάφ τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. καὶ μακάρων εὐωχίαν ἔφη τὴν ἐν βασιλείᾳ. That the latter interpretation is the true one appears probable from the time, only eleven years after his first exhibition, and from *Ælian.* V. H. II. 21. XIII. 4. and the notice of *Schol. Platon.* cod. Clark. *apud Gaisford. Lect. Platon.* p. 173. supplied by *Cramer Anecd.* tom. IV.

p. 269. Ἀγάθων τραγωδίας ποιητὴς εἰς μαλακίαν σκωπτόμενος Ἀριστοφάνει τῷ Γηρυτάδῃ· ἦν δὲ Τιταμενοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου υἱός, παιδικὰ γεγονώς Πανσανίου καὶ Εὐριπίδου τοῦ τραγικοῦ, μεθ' οὗ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον τὸν βασιλέα ᾤχετο, ὡς Μαρσύας ὁ νεώτερος· ἐμμέϊτο δὲ τὴν κομψότητα τῆς λέξεως Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὡς Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν Συμποσίῳ. According to *Schol. Aristoph. Thesmoph.* *apud Aristoph. Dindorf.* tom. XI. p. 945. *Agathon* first exhibited three years before the representation of the *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι*. [ἐπ'εὶδὴ οὐ πάλαι ἤρξατο διδάσκειν ἀλλὰ τρισὶν πρὸ τοῦ[του] ἔτεσιν. This computation would either bring down the first prize of *Agathon* to B. C. 414 or raise the date of the *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι* to B. C. 413. But we know that *Agathon* gained his prize in the year of *Euphemus*; see the *Tables* B. C. 416, 4. and another passage of these very *Scholia* places that comedy six years before the death of *Euripides*: a date to which it is determined by other testimony. See the *Tables* B. C. 411, 4. The interval therefore, between the first tragedy of *Agathon* and the *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι*, was five years instead of three. That *Agathon* was living, and at Athens, in B. C. 411 appears from *Aristot. Eudem.* III. 5. p. 1232. b. Ἀντιφῶν ἔφη πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα κατεψηφισμένους τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐπαίνεσάντα.

25. *Xenocles*, 415. son of *Carcinus*. *Aristoph. Thesm.* 440. *Vesp.* 1511. *Schol. ad Nub.* 1264, *ad Vesp.* 1493. 1501. *ad Ran.* 86. He was still living in B. C. 405. *Aristoph. Ran.* 86.
26. *Sthenelus*, ridiculed in the *Σφήκες*, [422.] *Vesp.* 1313. and in the *Γηρυτάδης*. *Schol. Vesp.* 1303.
27. *Morsimus*, before the *Ἰππεῖς*. [424.] *Aristoph. Equit.* 401. *et Schol. ad loc.* the son of *Philocles* and father of *Astydamas*. See the Tables B. C. 398. and No. 38. *ASTYDAMAS JUNIOR*, note ^d.
28. *Melanthius*, ridiculed in the *Εἰρήνη*, [421.] *Pac.* 803. and in the *Ὀρνίθες*. [414.] *Av.* 151.^z
29. *Morychus*, noticed in the *Ἀχαρνεῖς*. [425.] *Acharn.* 887. *et Schol. ad loc.* in the *Εἰρήνη*. [421.] *Pac.* 1008. *conf. Schol. cod. Rav. ad loc.*
30. *Iophon*, 428. 405. υἱὸς *Σοφοκλέους*. *Suid. Schol. Ran.* 73. 78.
31. *Cleophon*^a, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός. *Suid.* (who names the titles of ten dramas.)
32. *Astydamas*, 398. xxxiv
33. *Meletus*, 399. before the *Βάτραχοι*. [405.] *Schol. Ran.* 1337. τραγικὸς ποιητῆς ὁ Μέλητος. οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Σωκράτην γραψάμενος. κωμωδεῖται δὲ καὶ ὡς ψυχρὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει καὶ ὡς πονηρὸς τὸν τρόπον^b.

^z I correct the error into which I had been led by Fabricius, making *Melanthius* brother of *Morsimus*, from the following passage of Aristophanes and his Scholiast: *Pac.* 803. χορὸν δὲ μὴ ᾗ Μόρσιμος | μηδὲ Μελάνθιος· οὐ δὲ | πικροτάτην ὅπα γῆ | ρύσαντος ἤκουσ', | ἥνικα τῶν τραγῳδῶν | τὸν χορὸν εἶχον ἀδελ | φός τε καὶ αὐτός.—*Schol.* ἀδελφός τε καὶ αὐτός] ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Μελανθίου τραγικοῦ ὄντος ἀσήμεν. These passages do not warrant the conclusion that *Morsimus* was the brother of *Melanthius*. I have been guided to the correction of this error by the note of Elmsley ad *Eurip. Med.* 96. who has collected the other testimonies in which *Melanthius* is noticed.

^a It was asserted in the first edition that *Cleophon* was contemporary with Critias, upon the authority of *Aristot. Rhet. I.* 15, 13. I now think it doubtful whether that testimony can be used for this purpose. The passages in which Aristotle mentions *Cleophon* are these: *Poët.* 3, 3. Ὀμηρος μὲν βελτίους (μιμείται), Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁμοίους, Ἡγήμων δὲ ὁ Θάσιος—χείρους. 23, 2. σαφεστάτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ

τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων (λέξις), ἀλλὰ ταπεινὴ παράδειγμα δὲ ἡ Κλεοφῶντος ποίησις καὶ ἡ Σθενέλου. *Sophist. Elench. I.* 15, 14. tom. III. p. 581. Buhle. Οἶον ὁ Κλεοφῶν ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ Μανδροβούλῳ. *Rhet. III.* 7, 2. τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐστὶν, ἐὰν μήτε περὶ εὐλόγων αὐτοκαθδάλως λέγῃται μήτε περὶ εὐτελῶν σεμνῶς· μηδ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐτελεῖ ὀνόματι ἐπὶ κόσμος· εἰ δὲ μὴ, κωμωδία φαίνεται· οἶον ποιεῖ Κλεοφῶν· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἔνια ἔλεγεν καὶ εἰ εἴπειεν ἂν “ πότνια συκῇ.” In all these passages the tragic poet *Cleophon* is clearly meant. In *Rhet. I.* 15, 13. Aristotle has this remark: Κλεοφῶν κατὰ Κριτίου τοῖς Σόλωνος ἐλεγείοις ἐχρήσατο, λέγων, ὅτι πάλαι ἀσελγὴς ἡ οἰκία, κ. τ. λ. This doubtless refers to the demagogue *Cleophon*, and to his political contests with the well-known Critias, one of the Thirty: and, as there is no sufficient proof that the demagogue *Cleophon* was the same person as the writer of tragedy, I have thought it safer to expunge that notice.

^b *Meletus* was noticed by Aristophanes in other comedies: *Schol. Platon. apud Catal. Cod. MS. Clark. p.* 72, 4. *et Gaisford Lect. Platon. p.* 170.

34. *Aphareus*, 368. 341. see also 355, 3.

35. *Diogenes*, γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν λ' καταλύσεως. *Suid.* Διογέν.

36. *Euripides junior*. Εὐριπίδης τραγικός, τοῦ προτέρου ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὡς Διονύσιος ἐν χρονικοῖς^c. *Suid.* Εὐριπίδης—νίκας εἴλετο ἐ.—μίαν μετὰ τελευτήν, ἐπιδει-
ξαμένου τὸ δράμα τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐριπίδου. *Suid.*

37. *Dionysius tyrannus*.

xxxv 38. *Astydamas junior*, 372.^d

Μέλητος δὲ τραγωδίας φαῦλος ποιητής, Θράξ γένος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης Βατράχοις Πελαργοῖς Λαίου υἱὸν αὐτὸν λέγων· ἐφ' ᾧ ἔτι οἱ Πελαργοὶ ἐδιδάσκοντο καὶ ὁ Μέλητος Οἰδιπόδειαν ἔθηκεν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης διδασκαλίαις ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ὡς Καλλιαν περαίνοντος αὐτοῦ μέμνηται· μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Λυσίας ἐν Σωκράτους ἀπολογία. We are enabled by this Scholiast to correct and explain Suidas v. Μέλιτος. Μέλιτος, Λάρου, [*legendum* Μέλητος Λαίου,] Ἀθηναῖος, ῥήτωρ. οὗτος ἐγράψατο Σωκράτην μετὰ Ἀνύτου· πεποιήνται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τραγωδίαι. κατελιθώθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. The description Μέλητος Λαίου was derived from Aristophanes: the real designation was Μέλητος Μελήτου Πιθεύς. Laërt. II. 40. Athenæus XII. p. 551. c. has preserved other notices of *Meletus*: Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ λεπτοῦς τοῦσδε καταλέγει·

——— πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων

ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγῶδων· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν
Μέλητος·———

περὶ δὲ Μελήτρου καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σαννυρίων ἐν Γέλωτι·

——— Μέλητον τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίου νεκρόν.

That this name should be written Μέλητος is abundantly proved by the testimonies which Mr. Dobree has accumulated, ad Porsoni Aristophanic. p. (124.) To these it may be added that the Paris edition of Theodoret. tom. IV. p. 603. C. has Μέλητος. that the text of Plato, in Cod. Clark. has Μέλητος. conf. Gaisford. Lect. Platon. p. 1, 2, 6. and that Μέλητος for Μέλιτος has been restored by Mr. Bekker from MSS. to Andocides. conf. Bekker. ad Andocid. p. 103=p. 2, 41.

Whether *Meletus*, who was implicated in the charge of profaning the mysteries, Andoc. 2, 41. 3, 4. and in the affair of the Hermæ, Andoc. p. 5, 40. in B. C. 415. and who participated in the acts of the Thirty in B. C. 404, (Andoc. p. 12,

34. conf. Xenoph. Hellen. II. 4, 36) was the same Meletus, does not appear. The times were not too remote, because Meletus at the death of Socrates was between thirty and forty years of age; as will be seen in the Tables 399, 4.

^c His nephew, according to Dionysius; his son according to other authorities: Schol. Ran. 67. αἱ διδασκαλῖαι φέρουσι, τελευτήσαντος Εὐριπίδου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δεδιδαχέναι ὁμώνυμον ἐν ᾧσται Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν ἐν Αἰλίδι, Ἀλκμαίωνα, Βάκχας. Vit. Eurip. apud Elmsl. ad calcem Bacch. Εὐριπίδης υἱὸς κατέλιπεν τρεῖς, Μνησταρχίδην πρεσβύτερον, ἔμπορον· δεύτερον δὲ Μνησίλοχον, ὑποκριτὴν· νεώτερον δὲ Εὐριπίδην, ὃς ἐδίδαξε τοῦ πατρὸς ἔνια δράματα.

^d To the younger *Astydamas* may be added a younger *Philocles*, his brother: Schol. Aristoph. Av. 282. ἔστι δὲ Φιλοκλῆς τραγωδίας [*sic leg. cum Kuster. ad locum*] ποιητής, καὶ Φιλοπείθους υἱὸς ἐξ Αἰσχύλου ἀδελφῆς.—γεγόνασι δὲ Φιλοκλείς δύο, τραγωδιῶν ποιηταί· εἰς μὲν ὁ Φιλοκλέους ἀπόγονος· ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ υἱὸς Μόρσιμος· ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀστυδάμας· ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φιλοκλῆς καὶ ἕτερος ὁ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν περιπεπτωκὸς τῷ νεωτέρῳ Φιλοκλεί. Suidas: Φιλοκλῆς Πολυπείθους (*sic*), Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, τοῖς χρόνοις μετὰ [*leg. κατὰ*] Εὐριπίδην. ἐπεκαλείτο δὲ χολὴ διὰ τὸ πικρόν. ἔγραψε τραγωδίας ρ'.—Αἰσχύλου δὲ τοῦ τραγικοῦ ἦν ἀδελφιδοῦς, καὶ ἔσχεν υἱὸν Μόρσιμον τὸν τραγικόν· οὗτινος γίνεται Ἀστυδάμας ὁ τραγικός· τούτου δ' ἕτερος Φιλοκλῆς στρατηγός. [*leg. τραγικός.*] μετὰ has been substituted for κατὰ. Thus, in the account of *Isæus*, [see the Tables 364, 3.] by an opposite error, we have κατὰ for μετὰ. The word τραγικός has been corrupted into στρατηγός, as in Arg. III. Sophocl. Œd. Colon. apud Elmsl. we have τοὺς στρατηγούς instead of the true reading τοὺς τραγικούς, and in Syncellus p. 518. ed. Dindorf.

39. *Sophocles*, ὁ Σοφοκλέους υἱοῦς^e—401. 396.

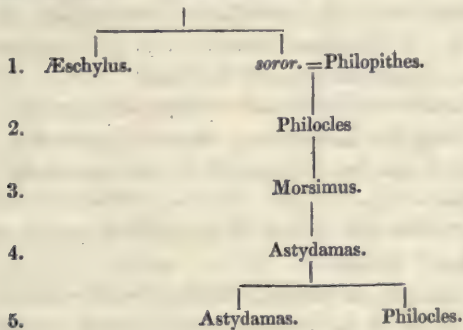
40. *Dicæogenes*^f. Consult *Harpocr.* v. Δικαιογένης. *Aristot. Poet.* c. 17. Bipont. *Schol. Medea*, 169.

41. *Theodectes*, 352. 333.

From the earliest comedies of *Epicharmus* (for Aristotle does not condescend xxxvi to mention the rude farces of *Susarion*) to the latest exhibitions of *Posidippus*, was a period of about 250 years. About one half of this space belonged to the *old comedy*, while the *middle* and the *new* occupied the other half.

These were among the poets of the *old comedy*:

Θεόδεκτος στρατηγικὸς for Θεοδέκτης τραγικός. The descent of the younger Astydamos and the younger Philocles may be thus deduced:



^e According to an accurate judge of the proprieties of Attic language, it should be written υἱοῦς. Elmsl. ad Sophocl. CEd. Colon. p. 83. *Diphthongus vi neque ante vocalem i neque ante consonam stare potest in eadem voce. Scribendum igitur υἱοῦς. Sic etiam υἱδίων apud Aristoph. Vesp.* 1347. Elmsley ad Eur. Heraclid. 84. has the same remark.—Part of the rule is delivered by Etymolog. v. ἀλνύω.—οὐδέποτε μετὰ τὴν υἱ δίφθογγον σύμφωνον ἐπιφέρεται. Again, v. υἱεύς.—τοῦ υἱς ἢ εὐθεία οὐ συναιρείται· οὐδέποτε γὰρ μετὰ τὴν υἱ δίφθογγον ἐπάγεται σύμφωνον. But, as in Demosth. Macartat. p. 1057. Mr. Bekker has preferred υἱοῦς on the authority of MSS. I hesitate. Isocrates p. 424. a. has υἱδεῖς. improperly printed υἱδεῖς in some edd. With respect to the younger Sophocles, Suidas has the following account: Σοφοκλῆς Ἀρίστωνος, υἱωνὸς δὲ τοῦ προτέρου Σοφο-

κλέους, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός· ἐδίδαξε δὲ δράματα μ'. οἱ δὲ φασὶν, ιά. νίκας δὲ εἶλεν ζ'. Mr. Boeckh, de trag. princip. p. 116. following Petitus, upon mere conjecture alters these numbers: ἐδίδαξε δὲ δράματα μ'. οἱ δὲ φασὶν ιά. [*leg. νά.*] νίκας δὲ εἶλεν ζ'. [*leg. ιβ'.*] *Quod legendum dico νά Wesselingius* [not. ad Petit. leg. Att. p. 143.] *Petitum ait fecisse "nemine jubente;" cui qui jusserit nescio: mihi Diodorus jussit, qui duodecies minorem Sophoclem vicisse tradit. non potest igitur tantum undecim fabulas scripsisse. Eodem duce, pro εἶλεν ζ'. rescripsi εἶλε ιβ'. a quo facilis ad illud lapsus erat: nam apud Diodorum XIV. 53. disertis verbis duodenarius numerus legitur.* As if Diodorus and Suidas must necessarily agree! They might follow different accounts, as they have done in the case of the elder Sophocles; who has 18 prizes in Diodorus, and 24 in Suidas. The passage of Suidas is to be amended by a slight transposition, thus: ἐδίδαξε δὲ δράματα μ'. νίκας δὲ εἶλεν ζ'. οἱ δὲ φασὶν, ιά. So Suidas v. Αἰσχύλος. νίκας δὲ εἶλεν κή. οἱ δὲ τρισκαίδεκα φασι. To the younger Sophocles there might be ascribed 7, 11, or 12 victories, as 28, or 13, were ascribed to Æschylus, and 18, 20, or 24 to the elder Sophocles.

^f *Dicæogenes* is mentioned by Schol. Aristoph. Eccles. 1. ὑποπτεύεται ὁ ἱαμβος ἢ τοῦ Ἀγάθωνος ἢ τοῦ Δικαιογένηος. From whence it may be collected that Dicæogenes was known as a tragic poet at least before the date of that comedy, B. C. 392.

1. *Epicharmus* §. See the Tables B. C. 500. 485. 477.

§ Mr. Mitchell, Vol. I. p. LI. of his translation of Aristophanes, has this remark : “ In Mr. Twining’s notes upon Aristotle, some surprise is expressed that Epicharmus should have selected “ so unsuitable a vehicle for his speculations as “ the trochaic tetrameter. The philosophical opinions of the old Greeks were usually conveyed in “ Hexameter verse ; there is therefore room for “ suspecting that in the verses (in Laërt. III. 10.) “ Mr. Twining and Aldobrandinus have agreed in “ attributing to Epicharmus, son of Helothales, “ the philosopher, what more properly belonged “ to Epicharmus the father of the old comedy. “ The verses are evidently part of a dialogue ; and “ the metre——was well suited to a parody upon “ philosophical poetry.” Epicharmus, son of Helothales, is known to us from the following account : Laërt. VIII. 78. ‘Επίχαρμος Ἡλοθαλοῦς, Κῶιος, καὶ οὗτος ἦκουσε Πυθαγόρου. τριμηνιαίος δ’ ὑπάρχων ἀπηνέχθη τῆς Σικελίας εἰς Μέγαρα· ἐντεύθεν δὲ εἰς Συρακούσας, ὥς φησι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι· καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·

εἴ τι παραλλάσσει φαέθων μέγας ἄλιος ἄστρον,
καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζον’ ἔχει δύναμιν,
φαμί τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφία προέχειν Ἐπίχαρμον,
ὃν πατρίς ἑστεφάνωσ’ ἄδε Συρακοσίων.

οὗτος ὑπομνήματα καταλέλοιπεν, ἐν οἷς φυσιολογεῖ, γνωμολογεῖ, ἱατρολογεῖ.—βιοὺς δὲ ζῆτη ἐνενήκοντα κατέστρεψεν τοῦ ζῆν. But, although no mention is here made of comedy, there is abundant proof that Epicharmus the Pythagorean and Epicharmus the father of the old comedy were one and the same person. This was the opinion of Menagius ad Laërt. VIII. 78. of Perizonius ad Aelian. V. H. II. 34. and Bentley Diss. Phalar. p. 201. of Fabricius, of Ernesti Clav. Ciceron. v. *Epicharmus*, of Barthélemy Anachars. tom. III. p. 140. VI. p. 46. Buhle ad Aristot. tom. V. p. 300. and Wyttenbach ad Plutarch. Mor. p. 175. C. and their opinion is justified by a sufficient weight of testimony : Plutarch. Vit. Numæ c. 8. Πυθαγόραν τῇ πολιτείᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι προσέγραψαν, ὡς ἰστόρηκεν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικός ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ πρὸς Ἀντήνορα γεγραμμένῳ· παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ, καὶ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς διατριβῆς

μετεσχηκός. Jamblich. Vit. Pythag. s. 266. τῶν δ’ ἐξωθεν ἀκροατῶν γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἐπίχαρμον· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ συστήματος τῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἀφικόμενον δὲ εἰς Συρακούσας, διὰ τὴν Ἰέρωνος τυραννίδα τοῦ μὲν φανερώς φιλοσοφεῖν ἀποσχέσθαι, εἰς μέτρον δ’ ἐνεῖναι τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, μετὰ παιδιᾶς κρύφα ἐκφέροντα τὰ Πυθαγόρου δόγματα. He is described as τῇ ποιήσει γνωμικός by Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxviii. = tom. iv. p. 23. Aristoph. ed. Dindorf. and evidences of this are not wanting : I. Theodoret. tom. IV. p. 478. D. κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν Πυθαγόρειον, “ Νοὺς ὀρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει· τὰλλα κωφὰ καὶ “ τυφλά.” Compare Clemens Strom. II. p. 369. D. Plutarch. Mor. p. 336. B. p. 98. C. Stob. Flor. 4, 42. Tertullian. de anima c. 18. p. 246. Julian. Or. VIII. p. 247. A. Tzetz. Chil. VII. 874. II. Clemens Strom. V. p. 597, c. ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, Πυθαγόρειος δὲ ἦν, λέγων·

οὐδὲν ἐκφεύγει τὸ θεῖον· τοῦτο γινώσκειν σε δεῖ·
αὐτὸς ἔσθ’ ἁμῶν ἐπόπτης· ἀδυνατεῖ δ’ οὐδὲν θεός·
Theodoret. tom. IV. p. 564. D. Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος—λέγει· “ Οὐδὲν διαφεύγει τὸ θεῖον—ἀδυνατεῖ
“ δ’ οὐδὲν θεῶν.” III. Plutarch. Mor. p. 110. A. καλῶς ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος·

συνεκρίθη καὶ διεκρίθη, κἀπῆνθεν ὅθεν ἦνθεν πάλιν·
γὰρ μὲν εἰς γὰρ πνεῦμα δ’ ἄνω· τί τῶνδε χαλεπὸν ;
οὐδὲ ἔν.

Clem. Al. Strom. IV. p. 541. ἀγαμαὶ τὸν Ἐπίχαρμον λέγοντα·

εὐσεβὴς τὸν νοῦν πεφυκὼς οὐ πάθοις γ’ οὐδὲν κακὸν
κατθανόν· ἄνω τὸ πνεῦμα διαμένει κατ’ οὐρανόν.

Mr. Kruger properly reminds me that the lines in Plutarch are trochaic tetrameters. In Clemens εὐσεβὴς τὸν νοῦν is the reading of Grotius. εὐσεβὴς νῶ in the edd. of Clemens. IV. Dio tom. II. p. 394. Reisk. ὁρθῶς ἔγραψεν ὁ τοῦτο γράψας τὸ ἔπος·

νῶφε καὶ μέμνασ’ ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν·
Lucian. Hermotim. tom. IV. p. 64. τινὸς τῶν σοφῶν, τὸ νῶφε καὶ μέμνησ’ ἀπιστεῖν. Schol. Ἐπίχαρμου ἀπόφθεγμα τοῦτο. Polyb. XVIII. 23. (transcribed by Suidas v. νῶφε. πρόχειρος.) τὸ παρ’ Ἐπίχαρμου καλῶς εἰρημένον· “ νῶφε καὶ μέμνασ’,” κ. τ. λ. also assigned to Epicharmus by Cic. Ep. Att. I.

2. *Phormis*, σύγχρονος Ἐπιχάρμῳ, οἰκείος Γέλωνι τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ. *Suid.* xxxvii
Φόρμος.^{εε}
3. *Dinolochus*, 487.
4. *Euetes*,
5. *Euxenides*, } 485.
6. *Mylus*,
7. *Chionides*, 487.
8. *Magnes*, after *Epicharmus*, and before *Cratinus*. Ἐπιβάλλει Ἐπιχάρμῳ νέος
πρεσβύτερ. *Suid.* Μαγν.

19. Clem. Strom. IV. p. 477. A. V. Other maxims may be collected from Stobæus; as Serm. 1, 14. οὐ μετανόειν— 29, 8. τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν — 29, 54. ἀ δὲ μελέτα — 37, 16. ὁ τρόπος ἀνθρώποισι— The fragments in Laërtius III. 9—16. are thus introduced: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἐπιχάρμου τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ προσωφέλῃται (Πλάτων) —καθὰ φησιν Ἄλκιμος—“φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Πλάτων “πολλὰ τῶν Ἐπιχάρμου λέγων,” κ. τ. λ. The trochaic tetrameters follow, in which Epicharmus treats περὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν. then part of a dialogue in iambs, in which the doctrine περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν is touched upon. Laërtius, or rather Alcimus, afterwards proceeds to another quotation; which is concluded by the following remarks: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα— παραπλήρυσιν ὁ Ἄλκιμος, παρασημαίνων τὴν ἐξ Ἐπιχάρμου Πλάτωνι περιγενομένην ὠφέλειαν. ὅτι δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἐπίχαρμος ἡγνύει τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν μαθεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων, ἐν οἷς τὸν ζηλώσοντα προμαντεύεται

ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, δοκεῖ γε μὰν σάφ' ἄμμι τοῦθ', ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν μνάμα ποκ' ἐσσεῖται λόγων τούτων ἔτι. καὶ λαβὼν τις αὐτὰ, περιδύσας τὸ μέτρον ὃ νῦν ἔχει, εἶμα δούς καὶ πορφυρᾶν, λόγοισι ποικίλας καλοῖς, δυσπάλαιστος αὐτὸς, ἄλλους εὐπάλαιστους ἀποφανεί.

In the first verse I substitute δοκεῖ γε μὰν σάφ' ἄμμι—for δοκέω γὰρ σαφὲς ἄμμι— Thus γε μὰν occurs in Theocrit. I. 95. 139. and in Aristoph. Lysist. 144. 170. in the sense expressed by Hermann. ad Vigerum p. 828. 298. In the last line I read αὐτὸς for ὦν τοὺς— Hermann apud Laërt. ed. Huebner. tom. I. p. 206. reads ὦν, τὸς ἄλλως.

But the article is better absent. Thus Bekker ad Thucyd. I. 71. has restored λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους for λυπεῖν τε τοὺς ἄλλους. Toup ad Longin. p. 414. ed. Weiske has preceded me in reading αὐτὸς. “*Epicharmus apud Laertium*: δυσπάλαιστος αὐτὸς ἄλλους εἶπαλ. ἀποφ. *Ita scribendus iste versus* [sc. αὐτὸς for ὦν τοὺς] *metro jubente.*” Mr. Kidd ad Dawes, Misc. Crit. p. 74. has misunderstood the nature of Toup's emendation. These lines were probably part of a *parabasis*.

It appears, then, that Epicharmus the Pythagorean is no other than the comic poet: and that these fragments in Diogenes Laërtius are not a parody upon philosophical poetry, but the maxims of the philosopher himself, of which he made his comedies the vehicle. The identity of the two Epicharmi is established by Laërtius himself VIII. 78. according to whose narrative Epicharmus of Cos was also Epicharmus of Megara, and Epicharmus of Syracuse or Crastus. (*Suid.* Ἐπίχαρμος—Συρακούσιος, ἡ ἐκ πόλεως Κραστοῦ τῶν Σικανῶν. Steph. Byz. v. Κραστός.—ἐκ ταύτης ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ κωμικός.) As he was removed from Cos in infancy, the name of his adopted country prevailed over that of the country of his birth; and Epicharmus is called of Syracuse, though born at Cos, as Apollonius is called the Rhodian, though born at Alexandria, or Posidonius, the Rhodian, though born at Apamea.

εε Themistius or. 27. p. 337. b. κωμωδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἤρξατο μὲν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐκείθεν γὰρ ἦσθην Ἐπίχαρμός τε καὶ Φόρμος.

9. *Cratinus*. 519. 454. 448. 436. 424. 423. 422.
10. *Crates*. 450.
11. *Ecphantides*. The authorities for placing *Ecphantides* here, are, *Schol. Vesp.* 1182, (*ubi corrupte* Φραντίδης,) where he is mentioned with *Cratinus* and *Teleclides*; and *Hesych.* v. Χορίλον compared with *Hesych.* v. Ἐκκεχοι-ριλωμένη, whence it appears that *Ecphantides* the comic poet was ridiculed by *Cratinus*. To these may be added the testimony of *Aspasius* ad *Aristot. Eth. Nicom.* p. 53. Ἐκφαντίδης παλαιότατος τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῆς, and a verse of *Cratinus* himself, preserved by *Hephæst.* p. 96.^h
12. *Pisander*, before *Plato*, who ridiculed him ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι. Cf. *Suid.* Ἀρκάδ. μιμούμ. *Schol. Av.* 1555.
13. *Epilycus*. Κράτης—οὗ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἐπίλυκος ποιητῆς ἐπῶν. *Suid.* Κράτης. *Epilycus* ποιητῆς ἐπῶν seems to be no other than *Epilycus* the comic poet. If this be so, his age is determined by the time of *Crates*.
14. *Callias*. See the Tables 432. 394.
15. *Hermippus*, 432. 430. 426.
16. *Myrtilus*. Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, υἱὸς μὲν Λύσιδος ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ κωμικοῦ Ἑρμίππου. *Suid.* Μυρτίλος.
17. *Lysimachus*. Cf. *Lucian. Jud. Vocal.* c. 7. tom. I. p. 65. *Bipont.* *Schol. ad locum*, et *Hemsterhusii notam*.
18. *Hegemon*, 413.
19. *Sophron*, τοῖς χρόνοις ἦν κατὰ Ξέρξην καὶ Εὐριπίδην. *Suid.* Σώφρων.
20. *Phrynichus*, 435. 429. 414. 405.
21. *Lycis*, before the Βάτραχοι. [405.] *Ran.* 14. et *Schol. ad loc.*
22. *Leucon*, γεγονὼς ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς. *Suid.* Λεύκων. See the Tables 422.
23. *Lysippus*, 434.
24. *Eupolis*. See the Tables 429. 425. 421. 420.
25. *Aristophanes*, 427. 426. 425. 424. 423. 422.ⁱ 421. 414. 411.^k 405. 392. 388.

^h See *Nækius*, *Chœrili Fragment.* p. 51—55, who has learnedly illustrated the time and history of *Ecphantides*; and *Gaisford* ad *Hephæst.* p. 96. who gives the passage of *Aspasius*, which is also quoted by *Zell* ad *Aristot. Eth.* tom. 2. p. 133.

ⁱ In the Tables B. C. 422, 4. the *didascalía* of the *Σφήκες* of *Aristophanes* is offered to the reader in a less corrupt form than that in which it had hitherto appeared. The words omitted in the Tables (as not material) are thus exhibited in edd.

26. *Aristomenes*, 431. 424. 388.

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27. *Ameipsias*, 423. 414.

Kuster. et Brunck.—ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀμυνίου διὰ Φιλωνίδου, ἐν τῇ πόλει Ὀλυμπίων ἦν β', εἰς Λήναια κ. τ. λ. but thus in Cod. Rav.—διὰ Φ. ἐν τῇ πόλει Ὀλυμπιάδος β' ἦν. εἰς Λήναια κ. τ. λ. This corrupt passage has led to very absurd errors. Jonsius Script. Hist. Phil. I. 16. p. 88. supposes the Σφήκες to have been exhibited at *Olympia in Elis*: Petitus Miscell. I. 7. at *Olympic games* at Athens. Larcher Chron. Hérodote tom. VII. p. 668., probably misled by the words ἐν τῇ πόλει, places this comedy *aux grandes Dionysiaques au mois de Mars*, although we are plainly told in the argument that it was presented at the *Lenæa*. From the reading of Cod. Rav. we may conjecture that this passage was only a notice of the Olympiad and the year; which was specified here, as the Olympiad and the year are specified in the *didascalia* of the Ὀρεστεία of Æschylus B. C. 458. See the Tables. And we may restore it thus :—διὰ Φιλωνίδου, ἐνάτης καὶ π' Ὀλυμπιάδος β' ἔτει εἰς Λήναια, κ. τ. λ. The source of the corruption ἐν τῇ πόλει is obvious: the transcriber out of π' Ὀλυμπ—had made πόλει Ὀλυμπ—. Other mistakes have been derived from that corrupt notice in Arg. Vesp. *Philonides* has been made to gain the first prize with the *Προάγων*, *Aristophanes* the second: and *Glaucôn* the third: Petitus Miscellan. I. 7. *In hac commissione vicit Philonides Proagone: secundus fuit Aristophanes: tertius Glaucôn Presbesi*. Barthélemy Mem. de l'Acad. tom. xxxix. p. 181. *On voit Aristophane concourir avec Philonide et Glaucôn*. Mr. Boeckh, Græc. trag. princ. p. 36. thus exhibits the passage: “*Argum. Vesp. καὶ ἐνίκα πρῶτος Φιλωνίδης “πρόαγων, Γλαύκων Πρέσβεσι τρίτος.*” But it will be seen in the Tables that Glaucôn was no other than *Leucon*; that Philonides was not a rival poet, but the actor of Aristophanes, and that the first prize was gained by the Σφήκες. This last circumstance had been already recovered by the conjecture of Palmerius; (quoted by Corsin. Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 241.) whose interpretation, *vicit primus Philonides: secundus Πρόαγων*, is confirmed, if it wanted confirmation, by the MS.

of Brunck. The fact that Aristophanes gained the first prize with the Σφήκες is material; and will contribute to explain why he should venture to produce the *Νεφέλαι* a second time the year after its failure. He had been placed not only below Cratinus, but even below Ameipsias: οὐ Κρατίνου, ἀλλ' Ἀμειψίου δεύτερος ὤφθη. Schol. Nub. 525. But the merits of his drama could be no secret to himself or his friends, and he well knew that he was overborne by the influence of those who supported Socrates and the philosophers; and not by the superior excellence of his rivals. And, although overborne on this occasion, his own credit must have been great: his success with the *Ἰππείς* had been such, as, under all the circumstances, no poet had attained before; he had received the first prize with the *Ἀχαρνείς*. In the *Νεφέλαι* he failed; but the very next year he obtained the first prize again at the Lenæan festival with the Σφήκες; and in that piece he had ventured upon dangerous ground: it was a bold attack upon the litigious spirit of his countrymen. He had now therefore recovered the station he had lost; and might think the occasion favourable at the approaching *Dionysia Magna* (when his rival Cratinus was probably dead) to offer again to the public a favourite composition, upon which he had lavished all his art and talent. The second exhibition of the *Νεφέλαι* was not so much an appeal to the taste of a new set of judges, as a trial of strength between the influence of his own friends or partisans, and the influence of the party which had supported his opponents. On this account there seems to be no good reason for rejecting, as some have done, the testimony of the Scholiast, which places the second representation of the *Νεφέλαι* in the archonship of Ameinias.

^k The Θεσμοφορίζουσαι πρότεραι is determined to the year of Callias B. C. 411 by the reasons explained in the Tables. Palmerius also agrees in the year of Callias. The arguments by which he arrives at this date are ingeniously urged, although they have not quite so much force in determining

- xl 28. *Teleclides*, contemporary with *Aristophanes*. Cf. *Schol. Av.* 1126. *Athen.* VI. p. 267. e.—269. e.

the question as he ascribes to them. He has two arguments: *Exercit.* p. 760. 761. 1. *Thesm.* 811. (804. Br.) *Ναυμαχίας μὴν ἦππων ἐστὶν Χαρμῖνος—*] *Inuit Charminum victum fuisse ab Antiocho Lacone—anno 20^o. belli Pel. hieme. Paucis igitur mensibus ante hujus dramatis didascaliam. quod validissime firmat nostram de ejus tempore sententiam. Vid. Thucyd. VIII. Unde sequitur inter eam pugnam navalem hieme anni vicesimi factam et mortem Charmini, quae sequente aestate evenit, hoc drama produsse, vivente adhuc Charmino. Non enim licebat τοὺς τεθνηκότας κωμωδεῖν. et joci in mortuos lege prohibiti, ut notat Schol. ad Pacem. 2. Thesm. 815. (808. Br.) ἀλλ' Εὐβούλης τῶν πέρυςιν τις βουλευτής—*] *Exagitat τοὺς βουλευτὰς, senatores anterioris anni, qui ignave sibi passi sunt eripi dignitatem a quadringentis viris—παράδόντες ἑτέροις τὴν βουλείαν.—quod factum est anno belli 20^o. nam licet eam narrationem inseruerit Thucydides inter alia acta anni 21ⁱ. tamen ait districte ea prius evenisse. Sic enim ille in anni 21ⁱ. initio: ὑπὸ τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἢ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις δημοκρατία κατελύετο. Ergo secundum Thucyd. facta fuit ea mutatio anno 20^o. et ideo Aristophanes optimè πέρυςιν dixit, et ex hoc loco optimè firmatur rursus nostra de tempore hujus didascaliae sententia. Charminus was defeated (Thucyd. VIII. 42) in the beginning of the year of Callias, the autumn of B. C. 412, a few months before the representation of this piece. He was slain at Samos, together with the noted *Hyperbolus*, (Thucyd. VIII. 73) in the spring of B. C. 411. towards the end of the archonship of Callias. It is a natural and probable interpretation of that allusion to suppose that the fact was recent and the party still living. But Palmerius lays far too much stress on the notice of *Schol. Pac.* 647. οὐκ ἐξῆν τοὺς τεθνηκότας κωμωδεῖν, when he imagines that any law existed to this effect. *Cleon* is satirized after his death: *Ran.* 569. and *Hyperbolus*: *Ibid.* 570. The *Βάτραχοι* throughout contains a satire upon *Euripides*;—καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ τεθνηκότος. The bare mention, then, of Charminus by the poet*

is no proof that Charminus was yet alive. The second argument of Palmerius is founded on an error. He collects from Thucydides (VIII. 63) that the Four-hundred assumed the government in the twentieth year of the war, and that they were in office πέρυςιν, that is, the year before the archonship of Callias, or in the year of *Cleocritus*. But it will be seen by the *Tables B. C.* 411, 2. that the Four-hundred were established towards the end of the year of *Callias*; certainly not earlier than the eighth month of that archon. And with this chronology Thucydides agrees. The constitution of the Four-hundred was preceded by an unsuccessful attempt of Pisander to change the government, which is related by Thucyd. VIII. 50—56. But those movements of Pisander were in the winter of the year of *Callias*: ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι c. 55, and were immediately followed by the third treaty between Lacedæmon and Tissaphernes: c. 57. Τισσαφέρους εὐθὺς μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι, παρέρχεται—. The third treaty, as will be seen in the *Tables*, was concluded about February B. C. 411, the eighth month of *Callias*: which places the attempt of Pisander in the middle of the archonship of *Callias*, and the Four-hundred towards the close of the year of that archon. The terms, then, ἔτι πρότερον, (VIII. 63) do not refer to the preceding year of the war, but only to the operations of *Astyochnus* the Lacedæmonian commander, which had been there related: παραπλεύσας Ἀστύοχος ἐς Χίον κομίζει αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ξυμπάσαις ἤδη ἐπίπλουν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμον· καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὑπόπτως ἔχειν οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο, ἀπέπλευσε πάλιν ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, [before the voyage of *Astyochnus*] ἢ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις δημοκρατία κατελύετο. It appears, then, that in the word πέρυςιν in *Thesmoph.* 815. there could be no allusion to the Four-hundred, since the authority of that body commenced perhaps in the very month in which this drama was presented.

29. *Pherecrates*, 420. contemporary with *Plato*, *Aristophanes*, *Phrynichus*, *Eupolis*. *Suid.* Πλάτων.
30. *Plato*, 428. 405. 391. γεγονώς τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην, Φρύνιχον, Εὐπολιν καὶ Φερεκράτην. *Suid.*
31. *Diocles*, σύγχρονος Σαννυρίωνι καὶ Φιλυλλίῳ. *Suid.* Διοκλῆς.
32. *Sannyrio*, 407. *Conf. Aristoph.* ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ *ap. Athen.* XII. p. 551. b.
33. *Philyllius*, 394. Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικὸς τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Φιλύλλιος.
34. *Hipparchus*, κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Ἱππάρχος.
35. *Archippus*, 415.
36. *Polyzelus*, see B. C. 364.
37. *Philonides*, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικὸς ἀρχαῖος πρότερον ἢ γναφεύς. *Suid.* Φιλωνίδης xli —the father of *Nicochares*. *Suid.* Νικοχάρης.
38. *Xenophon*, κωμωδίας ἀρχαίας ποιητής. *Laërt.* II. 59.¹
39. *Arcesilaus*, ποιητής ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας. *Laërt.* IV. 45.
40. *Autocrates*, κωμικὸς ἀρχαῖος. *Suid.* Αὐτοκράτης.
41. *Eunicus*, contemporary with *Philyllius* and *Aristophanes*. *Compare Athen.* III. p. 86. e. XIII. p. 567. c. 586. e.

¹ Fabricius B. G. tom. II. p. 505. Harles. *Xenophon antiquæ comædiæ poëta memoratus Laërtio* II. 58. [59.] It is difficult to imagine the grounds of the objection of Burmannus to this account, or the purpose of Mr. Harles in quoting it, ad Fabricium ibid. *At Burmannus—id negat.—“Xenophonem Laërtius dicit fuisse θανατοποιὸν et πεπραγματευμένον τερατείαν.—Fabricius vero [nostro loco] propter nimis eum antiquæ comædiæ poëtam facit.”* But in Laërtius among those of the name of Xenophon are mentioned, πέμπτος, μὲν δὲ τερατείαν πεπραγματευμένος ἕκτος, Πάριος ἀγαματοποιός ἑβδομος, κωμωδίας ἀρχαίας ποιητής. Fabricius therefore is perfectly accurate, and the charge of haste may rather be made against the objector. If any, however, should incline to suspect this testimony of Laërtius because this ancient comic poet is placed last in his enumeration, whereas in the order of time he should have been the first, to these it may be answered, that Laërtius is not always exact in observing the order of time. Thus, in recounting four of the name of

Plato, III. 109. he places last in the enumeration the poet of the ancient comedy, who in time preceded them all. Those of the name of *Xenocrates*, in IV. 15. are probably not in the order of time, for the last preceded *Aristoxenus*. In IV. 58. the fourth *Bion*, Δημοκρίτειος, most likely preceded the third; and the tenth, οὗ μέμνηται Ἰσπώναξ, preceded them all, except perhaps the first. Among the *Demetrii*, V. 85. τρίτος, Ταρσικὸς σατυρογράφος, probably flourished near the time of Strabo; (see Casaubon de Satyr. Poësi I. 5.) and therefore would be later than the fifth, who preceded Ptolemy. In V. 61, under the name of *Strato*, is mentioned ἑβδομος, ἰατρὸς ἀρχαῖος, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν. If, then, this seventh Strato was before Aristotle, he was prior in time to all the preceding six of the name. These passages in the work of Laërtius were chiefly derived from *Demetrius Magnes περὶ ὁμωνύμων*. But, that Demetrius himself did not always follow the order of time in his enumeration, appears from a specimen in *Dionysius de Dinarch.* p. 631.

42. *Apollophanes*, contemporary with *Strattis*. Compare *Harpocr.* v. Ἀδελφίζειν. *Bekker. An. Gr.* p. 83, 27^m.
43. *Nicomachus*, contemporary with *Pherecrates*. See *Harpocrat.* v. Μεταλλεῖς.
44. *Cephisodorus*, 402.
45. *Metagenes*, contemporary with *Pherecrates*, *Aristophanes*, and *Nicophon*. *Athen.* VI. p. 267. e.—270. a.
46. *Nicophon*, 388.
- xlii 47. *Cantharus*. Πλάτων ἢ Κάνθαρος Συμμαχία. *Harpocrat.* v. Ὀρνιθευτής. *Plato* and *Cantharus*, therefore, were contemporary, since the same comedy was sometimes ascribed to the one, and sometimes to the other.
48. *Nicochares*ⁿ, 388.—Φιλωνίδου τοῦ κωμικοῦ, σύγχρονος Ἀριστοφάνους. *Suid.* Νικοχάρ.
49. *Strattis*, 407. 394.
50. *Alcæus*, 388.
51. *Xenarchus*, 393. the μιμογράφος, son of *Sophron*.
52. *Theopompus*.

The following were poets of the *middle comedy*:

1. *Eubulus*. See the Tables B. C. 375.
2. *Araros*, 388. 375.
3. *Anaxandrides*, 376. 347.
4. *Antiphanes*, 404. 383. 343. 331.
5. *Calliades*, contemporary with the orator *Aristophon*. *Athen.* XIII. p. 577. c.
6. *Nicostratus*, μέσης κωμωδίας ποιητής. *Athen.* XIII. p. 587. d. Contemporary with *Philetærus*^o: see *Suid.* v. Νικόστρατος. The son of *Aristophanes* according to some accounts. *Thom. Mag. Vit. Aristoph.*

^m The Ἰφιγέρων is enumerated by *Suidas* v. Στράττις among the comedies of *Strattis*, and Στράττις Ἰφιγέροντι is cited *Anecd. Græc.* p. 83; wherefore, in *Harpocratio*, for ἀδελφίζειν—παρὰ Στράττιδι καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνει ἐν Ἰφιγέροντι, we should perhaps read—Στράττιδι ἢ Ἀπολλοφάνει ἐν Ἰφιγέρ. It seems probable, that the same comedy was sometimes ascribed to *Strattis*, and sometimes to *Apollophanes*; and that these poets consequently lived in the same period.

ⁿ *Nicochares* was of the ward Κυδαθήναιον. *Steph.*

Byz. v. Κυδαθήναιον. ὁ δῆμος τῆς Πανδιονίδος φθλῆς. —ἐντεῦθεν ἦν Νικοχάρης ὁ κωμικός, καὶ Κύων Κυδαθηναίεύς. This last particular, which is connected by the abbreviator with what preceded, appears to be only a quotation of *Aristoph. Vesp.* 895. as an exemplification of the word Κυδαθηναίεύς, and should be represented thus: N. ὁ κωμικός· καὶ “κύων Κυδαθηναίεύς.”

^o Since this passage was written, *Dr. Gaisford* has pointed out to me the following curious piece of dramatic history, which is contained in *Catal.*

7. *Philippus*, son of *Aristophanes*. "Ἔσχε τρεῖς υἱούς, Φίλιππον, Νικόστρατον, καὶ Ἀραρότα. *Thom. Mag. Vit. Aristoph.* Παῖδας καταλιπὼν (*Aristophanes*) τρεῖς, Φίλιππον ὁμώνυμον τῷ πάππῳ καὶ Νικόστρατον καὶ Ἀραρότα. *Anon. Vit. Aristoph.* p. xxxviii. Beck. = tom. IV. 1. p. 36. *Aristoph.* ed. Dindorf.^p
- (*Philetærus*, κωμικός, υἱὸς Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ κωμικοῦ. *Suid.* Φιλέταιρ. See No. 6. xliii
NICOSTRATUS, note °.)
8. *Anaxilas*, 343. contemporary with *Plato* the philosopher. *Laërt.* III. 28.
9. *Ophelion*, also contemporary with *Plato*. *Athen.* II. p. 66. d.

Codd. MSS. Clark. p. 72. Oxon. 1812. (Ἀριστοφάνης) τρεῖς ἔσχεν υἱούς, Φίλιππον τὸν τοῖς Εὐβούλου δράμασιν ἀγωνισάμενον, καὶ Ἀραρότα ἰδίους τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς δράμασι διηγωνισμένον, καὶ τρίτον, ὃν Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ καλεῖ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Δικαίάρχου, ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΝ. *Nicostratus* then and *Philetærus* were one and the same person. I have thought it fit to leave the passage in the text as it was originally written, that the reader might be told, in the present note, to whom he is indebted for this important correction.

P The comic poet *Philippus* is acknowledged by Aristotle de Anim. I. 3. p. 622. D.—Δημόκριτος παραπλησίως λέγων Φιλίππῳ τῷ κωμφοδοδιδασκάλῳ. φησὶ γὰρ τὸν Δαίδαλον κινουμένην ποιῆσαι τὴν ξυλίνην Ἀφροδίτην, ἐγγέαντα ἄργυρον χυτὸν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτος, κ. τ. λ. He is twice quoted by Stobæus: who has five lines Φιλίππον Ὀλυμπιακῷ, Serm. 113, 17. and two lines again Φιλίππου, Serm. 62, 35. In both these passages of Stobæus Dr. Meineke ad Menand. fragm. p. x. substitutes Φιλίππιδου for Φιλίππον. His emendation in the former passage is sanctioned by Porson adv. p. 297. who gives the Ὀλυμπιακὸς to *Philippides*. But, as Photius cod. 167. p. 373. enumerates *Philippus* among the poets quoted by Stobæus, we may hesitate at least to adopt these corrections; although the authority of Photius is not conclusive. An opposite emendation of Dr. Meineke, p. xi. changing Φιλίππιδου into Φιλίππον in Athenæus, is better founded. Athen. XIII. p. 568. f. ἐν Ναννίῳ. (Εὐβούλου τὸ δράμα καὶ μὴ Φιλίππιδου.) Dr. Meineke observes, p. xi. *Corrigendum* Φιλίππου. *Philippus enim, Ari-*

stophanis filius, τοῖς Εὐβούλου δράμασιν ἡγωνίσαστο, ut est apud Schol. Platonis ineditum. [Catal. cod. Clark. p. 72. See the preceding note.] His emendation is confirmed by the ages of the two poets. *Eubulus*, of the middle comedy, began to exhibit B. C. 376, and *Philippides*, of the new, first exhibited in B. C. 335. As the dates of dramatic pieces were known from the *didascalæ*, it would not be made a question to which of two poets any particular comedy belonged, unless those poets were contemporary. It was therefore much more probable that the *Νάννιον* should be ascribed to *Philippus* who flourished at the same time with *Eubulus*, than to *Philippides*, who was forty years later. But the sentence in Athenæus requires farther correction: Schweigh. ad locum. *Perspectè Corayus monuit εἰ Εὐβούλου legendum videri.* This correction is just, because in an independent proposition οὐ Φιλ. would have been used by the writer rather than μὴ Φιλ. It appears, then, that Athenæus does not, as Dr. Meineke supposes, assert the drama to belong to *Eubulus* and not to *Philippus*, but that he proposes hypothetically a contrary opinion, assigning it rather to *Philippus* than to *Eubulus*. *Suidas* has this account of *Philippus*: Φιλίππος, κωμικός. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ Κωδωνισταί. [Κωνιασταὶ *Eudocia* p. 427.] ὥς Ἀθήναιος ἐν Δειπνοσοφισταῖς. As no such title occurs in Athenæus, this account seems to be an error; the cause of which is ingeniously traced by *Casaubon* ad Athen. VIII. p. 358. f. whose conjecture *Schweighæuser* approves. Conf. Athen. Schweigh. tom. IX. p. 647, 648.

10. *Callierates*, contemporary with *Sinopë*; *μνημονεύει τῆς Σινώπης*—*Καλλικράτης ἐν Μοσχίωνι*. *Athen.* XIII. p. 586. a.
11. *Heracrides*, B. C. 348.
12. *Alexis*, 356. 316. 312. 306.
13. *Amphis*, 336. contemporary with the philosopher *Plato*. *Laërt.* III. 27. 28.
14. *Axionicus*, contemporary with *Philoxenus* and *Corydus*. *Athen.* VI. p. 241. e. 239. f.
15. *Cratinus* ὁ νεώτερος, in the time of *Plato* the philosopher. *Laërt.* III. 28.—and of *Corydus* ^q. *Athen.* VI. p. 241. c.
16. *Eriphus*, the plagiarist of *Antiphanes*. *Athen.* III. p. 84. b. c.
- xliv 17. *Epicrates*,—transcribed from *Antiphanes*. *Athen.* VI. p. 262. d. e. μέσης κωμωδίας ποιητής. *Athen.* X. p. 422. f.
18. *Stephanus*. See the Tables B. C. 332.
19. *Strato* ^r, τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Στράτ. In the time of *Philetas* of *Cos*. *Athen.* IX. p. 382. b.—383. b.
20. *Aristophon*, contemporary with that *Philippides*, who was ridiculed by

^q *Corydus* knew *Ptolemy*; *Athen.* VI. p. 242. b. 245. f.—and was at Athens at the affair of *Harpalus*; *Athen.* VI. p. 246. a. Which establishes the age of the younger *Cratinus*, who mentions him.

^r *Strato* is supposed by some to be no other than *Strattis*; and this opinion is ascribed to *Casaubon* and *Valesius*.—*STRATO. Verisimile est [ut jam Casaubon. ad Athen. p. 567, 568, et Valesius ad Harpocrat. v. 'Επίσκοπος, observarunt. Harles.] Suidam deceptum—et pro Στράτων legendum Στράττις*. *Fabric. ed. Harles lib. II. B. Gr. c. 22. Hanc (Stratonis Φωινικίδην) nullam aliam esse nisi Strattidis Φοίνισσας statuerunt doctissimi viri.* *Schweigh. Athen. tom. IX. p. 458. STRATTIDEM pro STRATONE corrigendum censuerunt viri docti in Athen. IX. p. 382. b.—sed aut Stratonis nomen tenendum, [on account of the mention of Philetas,] aut Strattis non veteris sed mediæ comædiæ fuerit poeta.* *Schweigh. in Indice, v. STRATO.* This last alternative is not possible. Not only is *Strattis* always ascribed to the old comedy, but it

is likely that he began to exhibit at least as early as B. C. 415; and one play of *Strattis* we know to have been exhibited before the year B. C. 392. See the Tables B. C. 394. The author, then, of that comedy, could not have been the author of one in which the glosses, or philological works, of *Philetas* are alluded to, sixty or seventy years afterwards, at the soonest. *Strato* therefore was not *Strattis*. But the opinions of *Valesius* and *Casaubon* are not quite accurately stated. *Valesius*, indeed, ad *Harpocrat.* p. 166, very properly corrects *Στράττις ἐν Κωησίᾳ* for *Στράτων ἐν Κωησίᾳ*, in *Schol. Avium* 1568. But he makes no mention of *Suidas*, or of the *Φωινικίδης*, nor does he affirm *Strato* to be *Strattis*. *Casaubon* also restores the *Κωησίας* to its right author; ad *Athen.* p. 567. With respect to *Strato*, he appears to be in doubt: he inclines to think that *Strato* may be *Strattis*, but by no means asserts a positive opinion. In p. 659. of his commentary, ad *Athen.* IX. 382. b. he avoids the question; and passes the name of *Strato* in silence.

Alexis, and against whom *Hyperides* composed an oration. *Athen.* XII. p. 552. d—f.

21. *Euphron*, in the time of *Callimedes*, τοῦ Καράβου. *Athen.* III. p. 100. d.
22. *Sotades*, ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Athen.* VII. p. 293. a. *Suid.* Σωτάδ.
23. *Augeas*, τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Αὐγέας.
24. *Ephippus*, τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Ἐφιππ.—mentions *Menecrates* the physician. *Athen.* VII. p. 289. b.
25. *Heniochus*, τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Ἡνίοχ.
26. *Epigenes*, 340.
27. *Mnesimachus*, ποιητῆς τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Suid.* [*Eudocia* p. 308 has—τῆς νέας κωμωδ.]
28. *Timotheus*, τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Τιμόθεος.
29. *Sophilus*, τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας. *Suid.* Σώφιλος.
30. *Antidotus*, contemporary with *Alexis*, *Athen.* XIV. p. 642. c. d. xlv
- (31. *Nausicrates*, or *Naucrates*: we have no distinct evidence of his time; and perhaps he has no claim for insertion here.)
32. *Xenarchus* ^a, contemporary with *Timocles*. *Athen.* VII. p. 319. a. X. p. 431. a.
33. *Dromo*, in the time of *Tithymallus*; *Athen.* VI. p. 240. d. who is mentioned by *Alexis*, *Timocles*, and *Antiphanes*.
34. *Diodorus* ὁ Σινωπεύς, B. C. 353.
35. *Simylus*, B. C. 353.

The following were poets of the *new comedy*:

1. *Philippides* ^t, mentioned in the Tables B. C. 335. 301.

^a *Xenarchus the comic poet*, who wrote in the Attic dialect, and lived as late as the reign of Alexander, is a different person from *Xenarchus the son of Sophron*, who wrote in Doric, and flourished in the time of the elder Dionysius, sixty or seventy years before. Fabricius, B. Gr. lib. II. c. 22. confounds the two *Xenarchi*, and imagines them both to be one and the same person.

^t Dr. Meineke fragm. Menand. p. xlv. places *Philippides* at the 124th Olympiad: *Philippidis florem certissimis indiciis incidere colligitur in ætatem Lysimachi. Suidas igitur s. v. Φιλίππιδης aut*

scripsit aut certe scribere debuit ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ρκδ' ὀλυμπιάδος προῖα. According to this chronology, *Philippides*, because he was the friend of *Lysimachus*, is made to flourish in B. C. 283, in that very Olympiad, in which *Lysimachus* died at an advanced age, after a reign of more than forty years. But we know that *Philippides* was writing comedy about twenty years before that date, in B. C. 301. and that in B. C. 301 he was already the friend of *Lysimachus*, from whom he obtained favours for the Athenians. The acquaintance, then, of *Philippides* with *Lysimachus* commenced in the

2. *Philemon*, 330.
 3. *Menander*, 342. 321. 291.
 4. *Apollodorus Geloüs*, σύγχρονος τοῦ κωμικοῦ Μενάνδρου. *Suid.* Ἀπολλόδ.
 5. *Diphilus*, 320.
 6. *Dionysius* ^u ὁ Σινωπεὺς, after *Archestratus*, whom he mentions. *Apud Athen.*
 IX. p. 404. f.—405. d.

beginning of that prince's reign, and not at the end of it. It would have been more consistent for Dr. Meineke to have proposed ριδ' ὀλυμπιάδος, or B. C. 323, which would have been twelve years below the date of Suidas. But no alteration is necessary. Lysimachus began to govern in B. C. 323 and assumed the title of king in B. C. 306. the one date, twelve years, the other, twenty-nine years, after the first exhibitions of Philippides. There is nothing, then, in the date of Suidas, in the least degree inconsistent with what is recorded of Philippides and Lysimachus. Thus Antiphanes conversed with Alexander, (*Athen.* XIII. p. 555. a.) although he began to exhibit comedy almost fifty years before Alexander's accession. Besides, we may collect from Gellius III. 15. that Philippides lived to an advanced period: *Philippides comædiorum poëta haud ignobilis, ætate jam editâ, cum in certamine poëtarum præter spem vicisset, —inter illud gaudium repente mortuus est.*

It has been held doubtful whether *Philippides* who was ridiculed by Alexis, Aristophon, and Menander, and against whom Hyperides composed an oration, was not the same person as Philippides the comic poet. Valesius ad Harpocr. p. 270. pronounces them to be the same: *Philippidis comici: hic enim Atheniensis fuit et in republica versatus est, teste Athenæo et Suidâ. contra hunc Philippidem comicum exstabat oratio Hyperidis.* Perizonius ad *Ælian.* X. 6. is doubtful: *Comicus Philippides, sive is idem fuit, sive diversus ab hoc homine.* Schweighæuser ad *Athen.* VI. p. 230. c. hesitates: *Philippides incertum idemne comicus poëta, qui eâdem certe ætate vixit, an a poëtâ diversus.* In another place, (*Indic. Rer. et Personar.*) he speaks more positively: *Philippides comicus poëta; gracilis admodum homo, unus ex iis qui temp. ad-*

ministrarunt. But the tenor of ancient testimonies makes it sufficiently clear that these were distinct persons: *Athen.* XII. p. 552. d—f. λεπτὸς δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλιππίδης, καθ' οὗ λόγος ἐστὶν Ὑπερίδῃ τῷ ῥήτορι λέγων αὐτὸν ἓνα τῶν πολιτευομένων εἶναι. ἦν δ' εὐτελής τὸ σῶμα διὰ λεπτότητα, ὥς ὁ Ὑπερίδης ἔφη. —ὅτι δὲ καὶ πεφιλιπιδῶσθαι ἔλεγον τὸ λελεπτύνθαι Ἀλεξίς ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένη φησὶν, κ. τ. λ. This passage has been the common source of *Ælian* V. H. X. 6. Photius and Suidas v. Φιλιππίδης. and Eustathius ad *Odyss.* p. 1646, 17. who add nothing to the testimony of Athenæus. No intimation is here conveyed that this Philippides was the comic poet so often quoted elsewhere. *Ælian* loc. cit. understood them to be different persons: ἐκωμωδοῦντο εἰς λεπτότητα Σαννυρίων ὁ κωμωδίας ποιητῆς καὶ Μέλητος ὁ τραγωδίας ποιητῆς καὶ Κινησίας κυκλίων χορῶν καὶ Φιλίτας ποιητῆς ἐξαμέτρων—ἀλλὰ καὶ Φιλιππίδης, καθ' οὗ λόγος ἐστὶν Ὑπερίδῃ, λεπτότατος ἦν, κ. τ. λ. Had this been Philippides, ὁ κωμωδίας ποιητῆς, he would have been so described by *Ælian*. The comic poet is only known as a writer of comedy; and Plutarch *Demetr.* c. 12. contrasts him with the demagogue Stratoles, as pursuing a different occupation: τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἐπίτηδες ἐκείνῳ παρεθήκαμεν, τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς θυμέλης. So upon another occasion, *Moral.* p. 785. C. he contrasts τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς with τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. Philippides, then, εἰς τῶν πολιτευομένων, who is mentioned by Harpocr. v. ὅτι χιλίας as the author of a law, is a different person from the comic poet of the name.

^u Fabricius thinks it probable that *Dionysius* flourished Olymp. 100. [B. C. 380.] consequently in the times of the middle comedy:—*circa Olymp. 100 virisse verisimile est.* But, from the age of *Archestratus*, the author of the *Γαστρονομία*, this

7. *Timocles*, 324.
8. *Theophilus*, contemporary with *Callimedon*^x. *Athen.* VIII. p. 340. d.
9. *Sosippus*, contemporary with *Diphilus*. See *Athen.* IV. p. 133. f.
10. *Anaxippus*, 303.
11. *Demetrius*, 299.
12. *Archedicus*, 302.
13. *Sopater*, 283. (His first exhibitions were in the reign of *Alexander*.)
14. *Damoxenus*, in the time of *Epicurus*: whom he mentions. *Athen.* III. p. 102. a.
15. *Hegesippus*^y, or *Crobylus*, after *Epicurus*. *Athen.* VII. p. 279. d. Quoted xlvii
by the name of *Crobylus*, *Athen.* X. p. 429. e. 443. f. *Harpocr.* v. ὅτι
χιλίας, and in other passages; as in *Athen.* I. p. 5. f. VI. p. 248. b.
VIII. p. 365. a.
16. *Philemon* ὁ νεώτερος. *Athen.* VII. p. 291. d. υἱὸς Φιλήμονος τοῦ κωμικοῦ. *Suid.*
Φιλήμ.
17. *Plato junior*, after *Epicurus*. *Athen.* III. p. 103. c. VII. p. 279. a.
18. *Theognetus*, in the times of the Stoics. *Athen.* III. p. 104. b. c. and of
Pantaleon the πλάνος. *Athen.* XIV. p. 616. a.—whose death was mentioned
by *Chrysippus*. *Athen. ibid.*
19. *Bathon*, contemporary with *Cleanthes* and *Arcesilaüs*. *Plutarch. de Adul.*
et Amic. p. 55. C.
20. *Posidippus*, B. C. 289.

could not be. Bentley has shewn, *Diss. Phal.* p. 85, that *Archestratus* mentions one *Diodorus* of *Aspendus* a Pythagorean (*Athen.* IV. p. 163. d. e), who "was an acquaintance of *Stratoniceus* " the musician in the court of *Ptolemy Lagus*." *Athen.* IV. p. 163. e. collato VIII. p. 350. c.—which brings down the time of *Archestratus* at least to the age of *Alexander*. Consequently, the *Θεσμοφόρος* of *Dionysius*, in which the poem of *Archestratus* is quoted, could not have been written earlier than the times of the new comedy: and *Dionysius* of *Sinopē* would be contemporary with *Diphilus*.

^x *Callimedon* ὁ Κάραβος, also ridiculed by *Timocles*, *Antiphanes*, *Eubulus*, and *Alexis*, (see *Athen.* VIII. p. 339, 340.)—was εἰς τῶν κατὰ Δη-

μοσθένη τὸν ῥήτορα πολιτευομένων. *Athen.* III. p. 100. c. He was still living, and acted in public affairs, in B. C. 322. *Plutarch. Phocion.* c. 27.—and survived *Phocion*. *Plutarch. Phocion.* c. 35.

^y Ἡγήσιππος οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόβυλος ἐπικαλούμενος· οὐ δοκεῖ εἶναι ὁ ζ' Φιλιππικὸς, Δημοσθένει ἐπιγραφόμενος. Thus far *Etymolog. Harpocrat. Phot. Lex.* and *Suidas*, *Suidas* adds—τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ Φιλέταιρος, ὡς Ἀθήναιος. And yet, as *Hegesippus* the orator was acting in public affairs in B. C. 343, (see the Tables) and *Hegesippus* the poet could not have mentioned the *Epicureans* earlier than B. C. 300, the distance of the times appears hardly to admit that the poet and the orator should be the same person.

In the first of the three lists, *Sophron* and *Xenarchus* the *μυμογράφοι* have perhaps no just title to be inserted as poets of the old comedy. The claim of *Hegemon* may be admitted upon the authority of Athenæus^a. *Theopompus*, with the exception perhaps of *Strattis*, was the latest among the writers of the old comedy, of whom we have any distinct memorials. He was of the old comedy, by the general consent of grammarians: Θεόπομπος Θεοδέκτου ἢ Θεοδώρου, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός· ἐδίδαξε δράματα κδ'. ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην^b.—Τῶν τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητῶν ὀνόματα καὶ δράματα. Θεοπόμπου δράματα ιζ'. Στράττιδος δράματα ις'. Φερεκράτους δράματα ιη'. Κράτητος δράματα η'. Πλάτωνος δράματα κη'. Τηλεκλείδου δράματα ς'. Φρυνίχου δράματα ι'.^c We possess the titles of twenty comedies ascribed to *Theopompus*: of which, however, one is doubtful^d. But among the remaining nineteen dramas are many which seem to have been composed after the first exhibitions of *Anaxandrides* and *Eubulus*. The Ἀλθαία, in xlviii which he mentioned *Telestes*^e, might have been exhibited before the date of the second *Plutus*. For *Telestes* gained his first dithyrambic prize B. C. 401. But the Ἡδύχαρις, in which the philosophy of *Plato* is ridiculed^f, could hardly have been written earlier than the 99th Olympiad B. C. 384. In the *Μῆδος*, *Callistratus* is noticed^g; who flourished in the times of *Iphicrates* and *Chabrias* B. C. 373, 371. In the *Θησεύς*, he mentioned the orator *Isæus*: μνημονεύει δὲ Ἰσαίου Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικός ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ^h. But *Isæus* was in reputation during the early years of *Demosthenes*: perhaps about B. C. 370. Plutarch preserves a fragment, in which *Theopompus* spoke of the Lacedæmonian empire in terms which could scarcely have been used till near the time of the Olynthian war: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κωμικός Θεόπομπος ἔοικε ληρεῖν, ἀπεικάζων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ταῖς κατηλίσιν

————— Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ταῖς κατηλίσιν

Εἰξας, ὅτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἥδιστον ποτὸν

Ἐλευθερίας γεύσαντες ὄξος ἐνέχεανⁱ.

The peace of *Antalcidas* was made B. C. 387; the outrage of *Phæbidas* was committed B. C. 382; and as *Theopompus* describes the Lacedæmonian empire as

^a I. p. 5. b.

^b Suid. Θεόπ. and Eudoc. p. 232.

^c Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxxiv. Beck.=tom.

IV. 1. p. 29. Aristoph. Dindorf.

^d The Πανταλέων. See Pollux X. 41.

^e Athen. XI. p. 502. a. ^f Laërt. III. 26.

^g Athen. XI. p. 485. c. ^h Vit. X. or. p. 839. F.

ⁱ Plutarch. Lysand. c. 13. These verses have been thus restored by Porson Advers. p. 300.

grateful at first, and afterwards as severe, these lines were probably written at that period. It is likely, then, that *Theopompus*, from the subjects which he treated, did not flourish with *Aristophanes*, where Suidas places him, but that he is rather to be fixed with *Strattis*, in the latest times of the old comedy.

The precise limits between the middle and the new comedy are difficult to be defined. The new comedy commenced in the reign of *Alexander*:—ἡ μὲν νέα κωμωδία ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον^k. And this is confirmed by the dates assigned to *Philippides* and *Philemon*. And yet we have *Alexis* of the middle comedy writing for the stage thirty years after the first exhibitions of *Philippides* and *Philemon*^l. *Alexis* then, whose works were the standard and example of the *middle comedy*, was for thirty years contemporary with *Philippides*, *Philemon*, *Menander*, and *Diphilus*. *Sophilus*, also a poet of the middle comedy, writes in the time of *Stilpo*^m, which brings down the compositions of *Sophilus* to as late a period as xlix those of *Alexis*.

Neither are the terms *middle* and *new* always very carefully applied. Aristotleⁿ recognises only two species of comedy, the old and the new:—ἴδοι ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν κωμωδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἢ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπόνοια, κ. τ. λ. Dorotheus^o classed Antiphanes τοῖς νεωτέροις κωμικοῖς.—Δωροθέω τῷ Ἀσκαλωνίτῃ σύγγραμμα ἐκδεδῶσθαι ἐπιγραφόμενον “περὶ Ἀντιφάνους καὶ “περὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις κωμικοῖς Ματτύης.” Schweighæuser^p well remarks, that Dorotheus here divided the Greek comedy into two classes, the new and the old: *universam Græcam comædiam in τὴν παλαιὰν et τὴν νεωτέραν distinctam intellexerat*. In the same manner, *Nicostratus* son of *Aristophanes*, (which determines his age,) the contemporary of *Eubulus* and *Araros*, is reckoned by Harpocratio^q among the writers τῆς νέας κωμωδίας.—Ὀρνιθευτῆς—Πλάτων ἢ Κάνθαρος Συμμαχία. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ κωμωδίᾳ δρᾶμα Ὀρνιθευτῆς Νικοστράτου. *Epigenes* is called τῶν νέων τις κωμικῶν,—*Timocles*, τῶν νεωτέρων,—*Theophilus*, τῶν νεωτέρων τις,—*Eudoxus*,

^k Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxxiii. Beck.

^l See the Tables B. C. 306. The two great masters of the middle comedy, *Antiphanes* and *Alexis*, were for about thirty years contemporary with each other; but the dramatic career of *Alexis* was continued for at least twenty-five years after the death of *Antiphanes*. So that the whole space occupied by these two poets might amount to eighty years. The reader will collect these num-

bers by consulting the Tables at the years 383, 356. 331. 306.

^m Laërt. II. 120. Some critics, however, for Σωφίλου τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐν δρᾶματι Γάμοι, propose to read Διφίλου τοῦ κ.

ⁿ Eth. Nicom. IV. 8.

^o Athen. XIV. p. 662. f.

^p Athenæus tom. XII. p. 693.

^q Harpocrat. v. Ὀρνιθευτῆς.

τις τῶν νέων κωμῳδῶν, by Pollux^r. And yet we cannot with certainty place all these among the writers of the *new comedy*. *Epigenes* was contemporary with *Antiphanes*. *Theophilus*, perhaps, who treated of *Callimedes* the contemporary of *Demosthenes*, might rather be placed in the second class than in the third. Of the time of *Eudoxus* we are wholly ignorant, nor can we pronounce whether he belonged to the *middle* or the *new comedy*; we know from Laërtius^s, that he exhibited at Athens, and from Pollux, that he flourished somewhere between *Antiphanes* and *Posidippus*. It is to be noted, however, that although the poets of the middle comedy are often called νέας κωμῳδίας, yet the poets of the new comedy properly so termed could never be called μέσης κωμῳδίας ποιηταί; this term, when applied by grammarians, necessarily meant what it expressed. We must therefore suppose that *Alexis*, although a great number of his dramas were written long after the new comedy had arrived at its perfection, nevertheless continued to compose upon the model of the middle comedy.

- 1 It will perhaps be imputed to these Tables as an omission, that they have not noticed the law περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν, which will probably be looked for in the years of the 97th Olympiad, where it will not be found. The truth is, that I am not yet satisfied either with the interpretation usually given to that law, or with the date assigned to it. It is recorded that comic exhibitions were once suspended for three years B. C. 440—438: and that their license was restrained by a decree τὸν ἄρχοντα μὴ κωμῳδεῖν, which is fixed by Petitus to the year of the archon *Isarchus* B. C. 424. Last of all, we are told that it was forbidden κωμῳδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος. This law is thus described by Petitus^t: *Postea omnino vetitum est cuicumque expresso nomine in comœdia convicium facere; μὴ κωμῳδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος. Meminit hujus legis, sed non solus, Hermogenes περὶ στάσεων. (Sect. 13. p. 75.)* ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν ὁ νόμος ἐκώλυσεν. *Horatius epist. ad August. 145. "Fescennina "per hunc," &c. Idem ad Pisones 281. "Successit vetus his," &c. Donatus.*^u—*Legem hanc tulit Antimachus poëta Aristophanis æqualis. Comici interpretes ad*

^r *Epigenes* is so mentioned by Pollux VII. 29. *Timocles* X. 154. *Theophilus* IX. 15. *Eudoxus* VII. 201.

^s Laërt. VIII. 90. Εὐδοξος—Σικελιώτης, παῖς Ἀγαθοκλέους, ποιητὴς κωμῳδίας, νίκας ἐλὼν ἀστικὰς μὲν τρεῖς ληραϊκὰς δὲ πέντε, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς. We have the titles of two come-

dies: Pollux VII. 201. τὶς τῶν νέων κωμῳδῶν Εὐδοξος ἐν Ναυκλήρῳ δράματι. Zenob. Adag. I. 1. p. 1.=p. 228 Gaisf. Εὐδοξος ἐν Ὑποβολιμαίῳ.

^t De Leg. Attic. p. 151—153. ed. Wess.

^u The passage of Donatus will be given in a future note.

Acharn. 1149. ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος οὗτος ψήφισμα—*imo potius legem*—πεποιηκέναι μὴ δεῖν κωμῳδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος. *Idque intra Ol. 97. Nam post Ol. 97 Cocalum et Æolosicon fabulas scripsit Aristophanes. Plutus enim postrema est fabularum quas ipse docuit, acta Ol. 97. 4.—Atqui ἔγραψε Κώκαλον, inquiunt veteres magistri, ψηφίσματος γενομένου ὥστε μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινα. Præterea ipse Πλούτος δεύτερος—propter hanc legem χορῶν ἐστέρηται, chorum non habet, (quem tamen habebat ὁ πρῶτος Πλούτος,) ut neque Cocalus et Æolosicon neque nova comædia omnis: nam “lex est accepta chorusque Turpiter obticuit sublato jure nocendi.” Quia hæc præcipue erant chori, λοιδορεῖν, τοὺς κακῶς πράττοντας διαβάλλειν, καὶ ὥσπερ δημοσίᾳ μάστιγι τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ κολάζειν. Quare intra Ol. 97 videtur scripta hæc lex ante editionem τοῦ δευτέρου Πλούτου. Ante Ol. 97 lata non est, quia τὰς Ἑκκλησιαζούσας, drama quod chorum habet καὶ τῷθασμὸν ἐξ ὀνόματος, docuit Ol. 96. 4.—Ergo non ante neque post Ol. 97, sed intra ipsam rogata et lata est hæc lex. Cui qui impune fraudem facere volebant, nomina omittebant, personas servabant, id est, larvas quibus singuli quos traducebant exprimebantur; quod αὐτοπροσώπως κωμῳδεῖν dicebant: non nominabantur enim ea ratione, sed repræsentabantur tantum; unde lites sæpe et controversiæ. Hermogenes l.l. αὐτοπροσώπως εἰσάγων τις τοὺς κωμῳδομένους ὑπάγεται τῷ νόμῳ ὡς ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδῶν. Quanquam etiam, dum licebat ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν licebat quoque αὐτοπροσώπως, atque id ita fiebat. Upon li the import of this law, Kuster^x has the following remark: *Ex priore Pluto oportet sumta esse loca illa, in quibus ὀνομαστὶ quidam perstringuntur; ut Pamphilus v. 174. Agyrrius v. 176. Philepsius 177. Philonides 179, 303. Aristyllus v. 314. Nam tempore Pluti posterioris lege lata jam vetitum erat expresso nomine quenquam in scena comico sale perfricare: ut testatur Anon. in Vita Aristophanis et pluribus probat Petitus Leg. Att. p. 80. [151. Wess.] eadem autem licentia comicis adhuc concessa erat tempore Pluti prioris. Oderico^y speaks to the same effect: κωμῳδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος—latam intra Olympiadem 97 putat Petitus, cujus ego rationes, quando nihil obstare video, non invitus amplector. He translates the law, neminem expresso nomine lædi. In this sense the law is understood, and this seems the opinion generally received by critics of its date and meaning. Petitus himself is indistinct upon the precise meaning of the terms: but that he understood them in the sense of Kuster is proved by his mention of the *Ecclēsiazusæ*; since that play, in the opinion of Petitus, contained some comic personalities.**

^x Ad Plutum, initio fab.

^y De marmorea Didascalia Epistola p. xlv.

which became illegal before the time of the *second Plutus*. Such an import, however, of the law is by no means warranted by the extant remains of the middle and new comedy. That law, in the sense of Kuster, either never existed at all, or had fallen into disuse in the time of *Anaxandrides*; who ridicules *Plato* by name ^z, perhaps ten or twelve years after the supposed date of this law. *Alexis*, at least, paid no attention to it, (if it existed through the times of the middle comedy,) when he satirized by name the same philosopher in four different dramas ^a; nor did *Anaxilas* regard it, who in three comedies named *Plato* ^b.

But “in the time of the middle comedy, at whose rise *democratia in oligarchiam mutata divites imperare ceperunt*, the philosophers were ridiculed, and “the chief men of the state protected:”—the opinion of Jonsius ^c. The former, therefore, were attacked by name, but the poets, after the date of that law, ^{lii} abstained from the public men. And yet *Anaxandrides* ^d mentions *Polyeuctus* by name; *Antiphanes* ^e names *Demosthenes*. A fragment of Antiphanes ^f is extant, full of personal allusions. *Philetærus* ^g names the orator *Hyperides*; and *Timocles* ^h in a comedy written towards the end of the reign of *Alexander* ridicules by name five of the leading demagogues at once, in a passage which breathes the very spirit of the old comedy. The reader, who opens Athenæus, will see abundant evidence that the poets of the middle and new comedy laid themselves under little restraint in this respect.

What, then, are the ancient testimonies concerning this law? Hermogenes ⁱ has mentioned it. In the passage referred to by Petitus he produces the following

^z Laërt. III. 26.

^a Laërt. III. 27, 28.

^b Laërt. III. 28.

^c *Postquam democratia in oligarchiam mutata divites imperare ceperunt, comædia multis partibus est mutata. Etenim χορηγοὶ deficiebant, hypothesis mutabatur, neque quengquam aperte traducere cuiquam in scena impune licebat: atque hæc erat mediæ comædiæ. Poætæ tamen, ut solenne suum servarent, idque impune, traducendos sibi sumebant priores poëtæ. After quoting many passages, in which the poets ridiculed the philosophers, he proceeds—Ita nimirum poætæ mediæ comædiæ, cum magnates vellicare edicto prohibebantur, philosophos et poëtæ traducebant. Plato comicus junior Epicurum—traduxit. Sed prolixum foret omnia poëtarum dramata quibus philosophos eorumque vi-*

tam perstrinxerunt recensere. Jonsius Script. Hist. Philos. lib. I. 5. p. 28.—6. p. 34.

^d Athen. IV. p. 166. d.

^e Athen. VI. p. 223. e. Plutarch Demosth. c. 9. Demosthenes is named again by a contemporary comic poet apud Laërt. II. 108. Suid. v. ῥωμοβοστωμλήθρα.

οὐριστικὸς δ' Εὐβουλίδης, κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν, καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυλίων, ἀπὴλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωμοβοστωμλήθραν.

^f Athen. VIII. p. 339.

^g Athen. VIII. p. 342. a.

^h Athen. VIII. p. 341. f. See the Tables B. C. 324.

ⁱ Περὶ Συλλογισμοῦ p. 97. ed. Crispin. = p. 75. ed. Laurent.

argument, as an example of reasoning upon a judicial question : 'Ονομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν ὁ νόμος ἐκώλυσεν. αὐτοπροσώπως εἰσάγων τις τοὺς κωμωδουμένους ὑπάγεται τῷ νόμῳ, ὡς ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδῶν.—“ Παρὰ τὸν νόμον κωμωδεῖς τοὺς πολίτας.”——“ Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ὠνόμασα οὐδένα.” The question is, τί βουλόμενος ἐκώλυσε τοῦτο ὁ νομοθέτης. ὁ μὲν διώκων ἐρεῖ ὅτι ἀνελεῖν βουλόμενος τὸ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀνευθύνως διαβάλλειν ὄντιναοῦν τῶν πολιτῶν· ὁ δ' αὖ φεύγων οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἐρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέφεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς κωμωδίας ἐβούλετο· οὐκ οὐκ ἀνείλε παντάπασιν τὴν κωμωδίαν, ὑπομνήματα δὲ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένοις ἢ τοῖς τότε οὖσιν ἀνθρώποις λαιδορίαν ἔχοντα τῶν πολιτῶν τινος οὐκ ἐβούλετο εἶναι. μὴ ὄντων δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἡ μὲν ἐπιστροφὴ γίνεται διὰ τῶν προσώπων, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον μνήμη περιήρηται, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους διαβολή. Aristides^k alludes to the law : θαυμάζω εἰ κωμωδίαν ἔξεστι ποιεῖν, κὰν μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν ἔξῃ.—And again^l: κωμωδίας ἤδη ποιηταὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀπέσχοντο, καὶ ἐδυνήθησαν ἄνευ τοῦ ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν τὸ δρᾶμα ἀπεργάσασθαι. And Julian^m:—ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει ὁ νόμος ἐπ' ὀνόματος——αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι δ' ἐπιχειροῦντας δυσμενεῖς.

But how shall we reconcile these undoubted testimonies with the fragments already quoted of the poets themselves? Not, certainly, by understanding, with Kuster and others, the law to forbid that any citizen should be mentioned by name. But the reasoning of Hermogenes plainly shews the prohibition to be liii this: that the poets were required to forbear *introducing their fellow-citizens by name as dramatis personae, or characters in the dialogue*; as Cleon was introduced in the 'Ιππεῖς, or Socrates in the Νεφέλαι. The argument of Hermogenes supposes a distinction to be contended for between *exhibiting the person's features in a mask*, αὐτοπροσώπως εἰσάγεινⁿ, and *exhibiting him by name as a character in the piece*, ὀνομάζειν. The poet is supposed to maintain that the first was not within the letter of the statute, because the individual, though his features were exhibited, was not produced by name;—nor within its meaning, because it was not intended wholly to abolish the wholesome discipline of comic satire, but only to prevent it from being carried down to posterity to the prejudice of the party satirized: and that the object of the comic ridicule is sufficiently pointed out to the spectators of the piece, to whom he is known, by the representation of his features διὰ τῶν προσώπων^o, without the addition of his name to specify who is

^k De Quatuor viris p. 117. Jebb. = 196. Canter.

^l P. 298, Jebb. = 496. Canter.

^m Misopogon. initio.

ⁿ Schol. Nub. 146. ἰστέον ὅτι αὐτοπροσώπως εἰσῆγον τοὺς κωμωδουμένους.

^o Hermogenes might use πρόσωπον for a mask,

meant;—*μὴ ὄντων τῶν ὀνομάτων*:—while, from the omission of the name as a *dramatis persona*, the diffusion of the satire among the readers of the piece only is prevented. From the tenor of this argument it is manifest, that the law *τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινα* was understood to prohibit the producing a person by name as a character in the piece; since the law is supposed to be evaded by producing his likeness on the mask of the actor, and suppressing his name. The allusions of Aristides acquire greater force and meaning by this interpretation of the law; and the passage of Donatus^p, which is produced by Petitus, is clearly to the same purpose.

This law, then, *τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*, when limited to its proper sense, is by no means inconsistent with a great degree of comic liberty, or with those animadversions upon eminent names, with which we find the comic poets actually to abound. Indeed, what the grammarians deliver to us as the history of comedy must be received with some caution. Jonsius, as already quoted, supposes the restraint to have taken place, when, *democratia in oligarchiam mutata, divites* liv *imperare cœperunt*. This he derived from Platonius^{pp}: *τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑποχωρούσης ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας τυραννούντων, καὶ καθισταμένης ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μεταπιπτούσης τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ δήμου εἰς ὀλίγους, καὶ κρατυνομένης τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς ποιηταῖς φόβος*. —^q*τὰ τὰς παραβάσεις οὐκ ἔχοντα* [the pieces of the middle comedy] *ἐδιδάχθη τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μεθισταμένης, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κρατούσης*. But the tyranny of the Thirty was put down in eight months; and after that event, the people were singularly jealous of their recovered liberty. For the twenty years which followed the expulsion of the Thirty, we have a living picture of the state of the popular feelings at Athens in the orations of *Lysias*: and Mr. Mitford has, with great acuteness and sagacity, laid open the political condition of Athens, from a critical examination of the works of that orator, and of his contemporary *Andocides*^r. The result of Mr. Mitford's inquiry will satisfy any reader that the

with the best writers of the best times: as Aristotle Poet. c. 6. Bipont. Demosth. p. 433. Reisk. Perhaps, however, it was written *διὰ τῶν προσωπείων*.

P Donatus—*Vetus comœdia ἐρεώνυμος dicta est, quia inest in ea velut historica fides veræ narrationis, et denominatio omnium de quibus libere describebatur. Etenim per priscos poëtas non, ut nunc, penitus ficta argumenta, sed res gestæ a civibus palam cum eorum sæpe qui gesserant nomine decanta-*

bantur. Sed cum poëtæ abuti licentius stylo et passim lædere ex libidine cœpissent plures bonos, ne quisquam in alterum carmen infame proponeret, lege lata siluere.

PP Περὶ διαφ. κωμῳδ.

q Ibid.

^r In the twenty-second chapter of his History of Greece sect. 1, 2. he analyses, among others, the oration of Lysias *κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου*; that of the same orator *ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους χρημάτων*; and

influence of the wealthy class was any thing but predominant, and that the bias of the constitution was the very reverse of oligarchical. Nor would it be possible to name a period during the whole time that passed between the archonship of *Euclides* and the death of *Alexander*, (a space including the whole of the middle comedy and much of the new,) at which it could be affirmed that *democratia in oligarchiam mutata divites imperare cœperunt*. Comedy, therefore, although its form was changed, enjoyed the privilege of animadverting still upon public events and public men: and we find *Isocrates* in the midst of this period complaining of the license of comedy^s.

Neither is the date of this law so clear to us. The testimony quoted by *Petitus*^t ascribes the proposition to one *Antimachus*: Ἀντίμαχον τὸν συγγραφέα] ψακὰς δὲ οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ προσέβρανε τοὺς συνομιλοῦντας διαλεγόμενος.—ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος οὗτος ψήφισμα πεποιηκέναι μὴ δεῖν κωμωδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οὐ προσῆλθον ληψόμενοι τὸν χορὸν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν χορευτῶν ἐπείνων. ἐχορήγει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος τότε, ὅτε εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα. οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ποιητῆς ὢν καλὸς χορηγῶν ποτε μικρολόγως τοῖς χορευταῖς ἐχρήσατο. But another scholiast^u ascribes it to one *Syracusius*: Συρακοσίῳ] οὗτος τῶν περὶ τὸ βῆμα· καὶ Εὐπολὶς ὡς λάλων ἐν Πύλαις [*lege cum Kuster. ἐν ΠΟΛΕΣΙ*] διασύρει·

Συρακόσιος δ' ἔοικεν, ἡνίκ' αὖν λέγῃ,

lv

τοῖς κυνιδίοισι τοῖσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχιῶν·

ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ὑλακτεῖ περιτρέχων.

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα τεθεικέναι μὴ κωμωδεῖσθαι ὀνομαστὶ τινὰ, ὡς Φρύνιχος ἐν *Μονοτρόπῳ* φησί. Ψῶρ' ἔχε Συρακόσιον· ἐπιφανὴς γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μέγα τύχοι. ἀφείλετο γὰρ κωμωδεῖν οὓς ἐπεθύμουν. διὸ πικρότερον αὐτῷ προσφέρονται. If this allusion of *Phrynichus* be rightly quoted from the *Μονότροπος*, the law was proposed by *Syracusius* before the date of the Ὀρνιθες, in B. C. 415. But as no such law could have existed so early, we must suppose the proposition of *Syracusius*, for that time at least, to have failed; and the poets to have chastised him for the attempt, although unsuccessful. We are still, therefore, left in ignorance both as to the author of the law, and as to its time; although both *Syracusius* and *Antimachus* might have made such a proposition^x. If the account of *Platonius* is

the oration of *Andocides* περὶ Μυστηρίων. The dates of these were B. C. 400, 388, 387, within the very period assigned to this dramatic law.

^s See the Tables B. C. 356.

^t Schol. *Acharn.* 1149.

^u Schol. *Av.* 1297.

^x *Antimachus*, it must be observed, had already served the office of χορηγὸς before B. C. 425. *Ari-*

to have any weight, the enactment happened during the government of the Thirty: for that is the only period within these times, to which those descriptions could be applied—τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μεθισταμένης, καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κρατούσης —καθισταμένης ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ μεταπιπτούσης τῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς ὀλίγους, κ. τ. λ.—which would bring the date within the 94th Olympiad B. C. 404, consequently before the Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι. And this was very possible: for the *dramatis personæ* in that play are all fictitious characters; nor are the allusions any other than such as occur in the *second Plutus*. Some of the passages in this latter drama, in which names are mentioned, could not have well occurred in the *first Plutus*: as this line—ἐρᾷ δὲ Λαῖς οὐ διὰ σε Φιλωνίδου;—From the age of that celebrated courtesan, who^y ἐλήφθη ὑπὸ Νικίου ἐπτέτις ἐπὶ Χαβρίου, and was therefore born B. C. 421, this allusion could not have had a place in the first *Plutus* B. C. 408. Mention is also made of the renowned *Thrasybulus*; who, from his time^z, could not so properly have occurred for notice in the former *Plutus*. But, as *Thrasybulus* is there mentioned in order to be praised^a, it may be said that this is not an analogous case.

- lvi Another supposed dramatic law deserves to be noticed. The legal age of *Actors* is imagined to be thirty, upon the authority of the following passage in the Scholiast on Aristophanes^b: νόμος ἦν μὴ εἰσελθεῖν τινα εἰπεῖν μήπω τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότα· ὥς δὲ τινες, τριάκοντα. which Petitus^c thus interprets: *Histrion fabulam ne agito annorum triginta minor*: adding, *Referendam esse hanc legem ad histriones omnino constat*. Mr. Boeckh^d extends the meaning a little farther: *Lex fuit, quæ tenuit et poëtæ et histriones, (a quibus poëtæ tum non differebant, ut qui suarum ipsi fabularum primas partes agere solerent) lex, inquam, fuit, μὴ εἰσελθεῖν τινα εἰπεῖν, κ. τ. λ. Minus bene ad solos histriones refert Petitus,—eandemque ætatem etiam Choragus habere debebat. vid. Hemsterh. ad Plut. p. 332. Cf. Auger.*

stoph. Acharn. 1154. ὃς ἐμὲ τὸν τλήμονα, Λήναια χορηγῶν, ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον. It does not however follow that he made the proposition then. That office was borne repeatedly.

^y Schol. Plut. 179.

^z Aristoph. Plut. 550. ὑμεῖς γ', οἵπερ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ Διονύσιον εἶναι ὅμοιον. *Thrasybulus* is mentioned by Thucydides VIII. 75. in B. C. 411, but his celebrated action was performed in B. C. 404. and he is here named in contrast with Dionysius of Syracuse; which fixes this line

to the second *Plutus*.

^a *Thrasybulus* was perhaps the more willingly praised by Aristophanes, because he was now removed by death beyond the reach of envy. He was slain at Aspendus (see the Tables B. C. 390, 2) about a year before the representation of the second *Plutus*.

^b Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 530.

^c Leg. Att. p. 145. ed. Wess.

^d Græc. trag. princ. p. 103.

ad Demosth. f. II. p. II. p. 661. It is somewhat inconsistent, that the only examples with which Mr. Boeckh follows up this exposition of the law are instances in which it is violated^e. *Sophocles* exhibited at the age of twenty-seven^f: *Euripides* and *Æschylus* at twenty-five. *Agatho* gained the tragic prize when he was νεανίσκος. Other examples to the same purpose may be added. *Eupolis*^g first exhibited at seventeen; *Menander*^h at twenty-one. *Aristophanes*, who was σχεδὸν μαιρακίσκος at the time of the plagueⁱ, could not well have been thirty in the archonship of Stratocles, five years afterwards, when he personally represented *Cleon* in the Ἰππεῖς. But it is manifest, from the terms in which the law is expressed, that the compiler of that Scholium has introduced what was irrelevant to his subject, and that the law in reality referred to the legal age of the orators^k: in which sense it is rightly interpreted not only by Palmerius and Wesseling^l, but lvii

^e Ibid. *In Sophocle videtur facta exceptio esse; ut in Æschylo, qui annos natus quinque et viginti primum fabulas docuit: atque idem de Euripide narrat Thom. Mag. Igitur de Æschylo Vit. Script. dicit νέος ἦρξαι τῶν τραγῳδιῶν. Plato etiam tetralogiam edere voluit multo ante legitimam ætatem, tum quum nondum penitus sese tradidisset Socrati. Agatho cum vinceret tragædiâ, dicitur νεανίσκος, aut jocose, aut similem quandam ob causam.*

^f Sophocles was twenty-seven, according to our Chronology, which places his birth in the archonship of Philippus. The Parian Marble, which dates his birth one year higher, makes him twenty-eight at the time of his first tragic victory. See the Tables B. C. 495, 4.

^g See the Tables B. C. 429, 4.

^h Ibid. 321, 4.

ⁱ Ibid. 427, 4.

^k That is, "the πόρτες, ten in number, elected "by lots, to plead public causes in the Senate-house and the Public Assembly." (Potter Archæolog. Vol. I. p. 102.) See Petit. Leg. Att. p. 345—349. But, when Potter in another part of his work (Vol. I. p. 112.) produces this same law again, and applies it to the age of speaking in the Public Assembly, he is in error. All were permitted by law to speak in the Public Assembly, who were permitted to vote: that is, all who had attained the age of twenty: Petit. Leg. Att.

p. 292. *Apud populum orationem habere licebat omnibus ἐκκλησιάζουσι, qui concioni intererant; intererant autem ex quo inscripti fuerant Lexiarchico, anno ætatis vicesimo.* Petitus is justified by facts. Thus *Alcibiades* spoke in the Public Assembly at the age of twenty. See the Tables B. C. 423, 2. *Demosthenes* delivered his oration περὶ συμμοριῶν at the age of twenty-eight; see the Tables 354, 3. and evidently before this time had already made those attempts to speak in the Assembly, recorded by Plutarch *Demosth. c. 6. Moral. p. 795. C.* in which he failed. Thus again in Plutarch. *Lysand. c. 14.* mention is made τῶν νέων τινὸς δημαγωγῶν, who is addressed by Theramenes by the appellation of ὁ μαιράκιον. and *Glaucon* in *Xenoph. Mem. III. 6, 1.* ἐπεχείρει δημηγορεῖν, οὐδέπω εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς.

^l Ad Petit. leg. Att. p. 146. *Non moveor Scholiastæ Aristophanis auctoritate, ut credam τὸ εἰπεῖν referendum potius ad scenam esse, quam suggestum oratorum; quorum εἰπεῖν, quando cum populo agebant, solenne verbum.* JAC. PALMER. Wesseling subjoins his own opinion: *Recte vir doctus. Sophocles, quem in scenam prodisse Petitus agnoscit, suo exemplo contrarium docet: annorum enim 28 tragædiâ vicit, teste Marmoris Arundeliani auctore. Petitus ipse aut sui oblitus est, aut sententiam mutavit, quando hac lege oratorum ætatem finitam profitetur L. III. Tit. 3, 1.*

by Petitus himself, who produces it again in another place^m, with this interpretation: *Ne quis annis triginta minor in senatu aut populo orato.* to which he adds this remark: *Ad oratores legem hanc esse referendam dubium esse non potest*ⁿ. With respect to the age of the *Choragus* Mr. Boeckh is also in some degree of error. Hemsterhusius, to whom he refers, has only an incidental observation, in which no mention is made of thirty years, but the age of a choragus is asserted to have been more than forty: *Aliam apud Atticos hujus esse vocabuli (χορηγὸς) rationem, apud Dores aliam; his enim χορηγὸς sæpe qui χοροστάτης sive χοροποιός. —illis, qui, lectus a senatu, annis quadraginta major, ornando suæ tribus choro sumptus subministrat.* Had it been the purpose of Hemsterhusius to treat the subject fully, he would have probably quoted his authorities, and have made the necessary distinction between the different kinds of *Choragi*^o. His observation, however, was derived from Æschines^p: *κελεύει (ὁ νόμος) τὸν χορηγὸν τὸν μέλλοντα τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλίσκειν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότα τοῦτο πράττειν, ἵν' ἥδη ἐν τῇ σωφρονεστάτῃ αὐτοῦ ἡλικίᾳ ὧν οὕτως ἐντυγχάνῃ τοῖς ὑμετέροις παισίν.*—who gives the law itself^q: *οἱ δὲ χορηγοὶ οἱ καθισταμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἔστωσαν τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη.* and the context of Æschines himself, together with the explanation given by Harpocratio^r, make it clear to us that this regulation related solely to the *χορηγὸς παισίν*, and that it had no reference whatever to dramatic exhibitions, or to any other species of chorus^s.

^m Leg. Att. p. 345.

ⁿ Another Scholium, not in the Aldine edition, occurs in Schol. ad Aristoph. Nub. 510. ed. Dindorf. Lips. 1822=tom. IV. 1. p. 473. ed. Oxon. 1839. as follows: *νόμος ἦν Ἀθηναίους μήπω τινὰ ἐτῶν λ' γεγονότα μήτε δρᾶμα ἀναγινώσκειν ἐν θεάτρῳ μήτε δημηγορεῖν. τοῦτω τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς οὗτος εἰργόμενος πρότερον διὰ τὸ μὴ τριακονταετὴς ἔτι ὑπαρχεῖν, ποιῶν δρᾶματα καὶ [l. διὰ] Φιλωνίδου καὶ Καλλιστράτου ἀνεγίνωσκεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. ὧν ἐν ἦν τὸ τῶν Δαιταλέων λεγόμενον, ἐν ᾧ δύο εἰσήγαγε μειράκια διαλεγόμενα, σῶφρόν τε καὶ αἰσχρόν καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν θεατῶν ἐπηνέβη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ νενίκηκεν ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ποιητής. ἐπιβὰς δ' ἥδη τοῦ λ' ἔτους, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν Νεφέλων ποιήσας δι' ἑαυτοῦ διδάσκει.* The writer of this scholium appears to have interpreted the expressions of the elder Scholiast, *μη εἰσελθεῖν τινα εἰπεῖν*—in his own words, and according to his own apprehension of the meaning. In under-

standing the law generally of the right to speak in the Public Assembly, *δημηγορεῖν*, he is clearly wrong. See a preceding note. In the other part of his exposition we have seen that he is equally refuted by facts. In the concluding observation he is unsatisfactory: that being applied to the *Νεφέλαι* which would have been more justly said of the *Ἰππεῖς*. And, on the whole, this scholium bears evident marks of a recent date.

^o What Mr. Boeckh may have found upon this subject in Auger's Demosthenes, to which he also refers, I cannot affirm, because I have not had an opportunity of consulting that work.

^p In Timarch. p. 2, 23.

^q Ibid.

^r Harpocr. *ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη γενόμενον χορηγεῖν παισίν, Αἰσχίνης τε ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμάρχου φησὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ.*

^s Thus Demosthenes was *χορηγὸς ἀνδρικῷ χορῷ*

The comic poets, whose names have been recited, to the number of more than one hundred, are only a part of those who flourished between *Epicharmus* and *Posidippus*. Besides these, we possess the names of many whose time cannot be ascertained at all from remaining memorials. Nearly sixty poets, probably dramatic, may be collected, of *uncertain age and character*. Of some of these, it cannot be discovered whether they were of the ancient, the middle, or the new comedy: of others, it is doubtful whether they belonged to this period at all, and whether they did not rather flourish *after* Posidippus, at Alexandria, or elsewhere: of others, it cannot be pronounced whether they were tragic or comic. Perhaps the diligence of some future inquirer may be able to lessen the number, and to assert for some of these poets, upon valid testimony, a place in the preceding lists.

The *Appendix*, which follows the Tables, is reserved for the discussion of such questions as required a more extended detail than the plan of the Tables allowed. The greater part of this Appendix refers to the matters contained in the second column, and illustrates the civil and military affairs. Sometimes the inquiry has been carried down below the limits of the present period. Thus the history of the kings of Macedonia has been pursued to the end of the monarchy under *Perseus*; and the kings of Lacedæmon, in the double line of the *Agidæ* and *Proclidæ*, are described to the extinction of the dynasty B. C. 219, that the whole of these lix subjects might be brought under one view. It should also be explained, that two years have been added to the Tables (B. C. 279, 278,) which more properly belong to the third period. This addition was necessary, because the archons *Anaxicrates* and *Democles* contribute to determine the position of the archon *Gorgias*; and because the irruption of the Gauls into Greece, and their passage into Asia, in those two years, were a sequel to the overthrow of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, and parts of the same transactions.

An observation remains to be added upon the dates made use of in this Volume. The years of each Olympiad are expressed; but the Olympic years are not inserted in a separate column, that the page might not be occupied with unnecessary spaces[†]. For the same reason, the Tables are not encumbered with the years of

at the age of thirty-two. See the Tables B. C. 350, 4.

[†] The inconvenience in practice of filling the Tables with technical dates may be seen by in-

spection of Larcher's *Canon Chronologique*, in the 7th volume of his *Herodotus*: where half his page is left vacant by a prolix repetition of the several eras and Olympic years.

Nabonassar, the years of Rome, or the years of the Julian period. The conumerary years of these eras are of ready occurrence in all tables of general chronology; they are accurately given in those of Blair, which are in the hands of every student, and they are also exhibited in the third Volume of the present work. The years of *Nabonassar* have no necessary connexion with Grecian annals. What has a reference to the present subject is introduced in the account of the kings of Persia. The years of the Julian period are still less necessary. The Varronian era of Rome becomes the leading date in the *third period*, from *Philadelphus* to the Christian era; but, in the present annals of Greece, Rome is not yet known, and her affairs and history proceed in a separate channel; nor are the transactions of the two nations ever intermingled till the wars of *Pyrrhus*. The only measure of time that should be adopted for all ancient history are the years before the Christian era. This may be regarded as a common standard, ascending from a central point to the remotest time, by which the local chronology, and the separate computations, of each particular state can be measured and compared. The *vulgar Christian era* is “a long-established era, commencing from a known fixed epoch, both forwards and backwards, and furnishing the most convenient “standard of comparison for all others”^u.”

^u Dr. Hales, vol. I. p. 8.

T A B L E S.

B. C. 560—278.

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
560.	Ol. 55. <i>Comias</i> . Plutarch. Solon. c. 32. Mar. Par. No. 41.	<i>PISISTRATUS</i> first usurps the government at Athens: seventy years before the battle of Marathon. Thucyd. VI. 59. compared with Aristot. Polit. V. 12. Herodotus I. 64. V. 55. 65. agrees in the years of the tyranny; Eratosthenes apud Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 500. in the whole duration of the period of the Pisistratidæ. Aristophanes the grammarian apud Schol. Vesp. 500. and Isocrates de Bigis p. 351. d. computed from a different date. Mar. Par. No. 41. 'Αφ' οὗ Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηνῶν ἐτυράννευσεν ἔτη Η Η Ί Δ' Δ Δ Δ Π Ι Ι ἄρχοντος ι Κ . . . ον. Plutarch. Solon. c. 32. 'Επὶ Κωμίου ἤρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισίστρατος. The Marble, when corrected, [B. C. 560.] critically agrees with the period of seventy years obtained from Aristotle and Thucydides. See <i>Appendix c. 2. Pisistratidæ</i> .
559.	55, 2. <i>Hegestratus</i> . Plutarch. Solon. c. 32.	<i>Cyrus</i> begins to reign in Persia, Olymp. 55. 1. African. apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 488. C. Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευεν ᾧ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἤχθη νέ', ὥς ἐκ τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντός ἐστιν εὑρεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρων, οἷς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων. ἅπασι γὰρ συνεφώνησεν ὁ χρόνος. Κῦρος οὖν, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάδος νέ' ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον, κ. τ. λ. The date of his reign in Persia is established by this unanimous consent, although Africanus, who preserves these testimonies, has unskilfully applied to the first year of <i>Cyrus in Persia</i> transactions which belonged to the first year of <i>Cyrus at Babylon</i> , twenty-one years afterwards. (Occupation of the Chersonese by <i>Miltiades</i> son of <i>Cypselus</i> : See Note C.)
558.	55, 3.	
557.	55, 4.	
556.	Ol. 56. <i>Euthydemus</i> . Mar. Par. No. 42. Laërt. I. 68,	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Thales</i> at this time was near eighty years of age ; since he was born according to a general agreement of authorities in the 35th Olympiad : Laërt. I. 37. Φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος—γεγεννήσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς τριακοστῆς πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος. [B. C. 639.] Cyrill. adv. Julian. I. p. 12. C. Τριακοστῇ πεμπτῇ ὀλυμπιάδι Θαλῆς Μιλήσιος—γενέσθαι λέγεται. Suidas : Θαλῆς Μιλήσιος—γεγονώς πρὸ Κροίσου ἐπὶ τῆς λείας ὀλυμπιάδος. Eusebius names <i>Thales</i> at Ol. 35. 3. anno 1378. commencing Oct. B. C. 639. According to Sosicrates apud Laërt. I. 38. he died at the age of ninety, in the 58th Olympiad. Sosicrates therefore might date his birth Ol. 36. 1. or B. C. 636. <i>Conf. an.</i> 546.</p>	<p><i>Ibycus</i> flourished in the reign of Croesus, Olymp. 54. Ἴβυκος—γένει Ῥηγίνος, ἐνθὲνδε εἰς Σάμον ἦλθεν ὅτε αὐτῆς ἦρχε Πολυκράτης ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πατὴρ· χρόνος δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἐπὶ Κροίσου, ὀλυμπιάς νδ'. Suid. <i>Ibycus</i> is placed by Hieronymus at the 60th Olympiad. <i>Conf. an.</i> 539.</p>
	<p><i>Anacreon</i> began to be distinguished in the 55th Olympiad, in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus. He was later than <i>Sappho</i> :—τὸν μὲν κατὰ Κῦρον καὶ Πολυκράτην γενόμενον, τὴν δὲ κατ' Ἀλυάττην τὸν Κροίσου πατέρα. Athen. XIII. p. 599. c. Thirty years after this date, he was at the court of Polycrates of Samos. <i>Conf. an.</i> 531.</p> <p><i>Sappho</i> was contemporary with <i>Pittacus</i> and <i>Alcæus</i> : Strabo XIII. p. 617. and flourished in the 42nd Olympiad [<i>cf. a.</i> 553] B. C. 611. equivalent to the 7th year of Alyattes. With this chronology the Parian Marble agrees : No. 37. ἀφ' οὗ Σαπφῶ ἐκ Μυτιλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπλευσσε φυγοῦσα — τὸς Ἀθήνησι μὲν Κριτίου τοῦ προτέρου, ἐν Συρακούσαις δὲ τῶν . . . μορῶν κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχήν. The preceding epoch, No. 36, where the date is also obliterated, describes the accession of Alyattes : the next epoch, No. 38, corresponds to B. C. 591. We may therefore place the archonship of <i>Critias I.</i> either before B. C. 595, when <i>Philombrotus</i> was archon, or after B. C. 593, the year of <i>Dropides</i>. The lowest possible date then of the Marble, for the voyage of <i>Sappho</i>, would be B. C. 592, the 26th year of Alyattes : and the obliterated numbers might have given a date ten or twelve years earlier.</p>
<p><i>Chilon</i> ephor at Sparta : Laërt. I. 68. Χεῖλων Δαμαγίτου Λακεδαιμόνιος—γένεον δὲ ἐφορος κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἔκτην ὀλυμπιάδα. Παμφίλη δὲ φησι κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην (Sic legit Scal.) καὶ πρῶτον ἐφορον γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Εὐθυδήμου, ὡς φησι Σωσικράτης. Cyrill. adv. Julian. I. p. 13. A. Πεντηκοστῇ ἔκτη</p>	<p>Birth of <i>Simonides</i>. Σιμωνίδης Λεωπρεποῦς Ἰουλιήτης τῆς ἐν Κέφῳ τῇ νήσῳ πόλεως, λυρικός, μετὰ Στησίχορον τοῖς χρόνοις· ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Μελικέρτης διὰ τὸ ἡδύ.—Γέγονε δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἔκτης ὀλυμπιάδος,—καὶ παρέτεινε μεχρὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς οὐδόης, βιοὺς ἔτη πθ'. Suid. from Schol. Aristoph.</p>

GRECIAN CHRONOLOGY.

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
555.	56, 2.	
554.	56, 3.	
553.	56, 4.	Camarina is destroyed 46 years after its foundation : See F. H. I. B. C. 599, and the authorities there quoted.
552.	Ol. 57.	
551.	57, 2.	
550.	57, 3.	
549.	57, 4.	Death of <i>Phalaris</i> of <i>Agrigentum</i> . Hieronymus in Euseb. Chron. : — <i>Ol.</i> 53. 4 [B. C. 565] <i>Phalaris tyrannidem exercet annos 16</i> ; which would therefore terminate [B. C. 549] <i>Ol.</i> 57. 4. Some copies have <i>Ol.</i> 52. 2 for his accession ; which places the 16 years of <i>Phalaris</i> six years higher, or B. C. 571—555. Eusebius dates his commencement at <i>Ol.</i> 32, 3 <i>anno</i> 1366 [commencing Oct. B. C. 651], and his death at <i>Ol.</i> 39, 2 <i>anno</i> 1393 [commencing Oct. B. C. 624] ; giving him a reign of 27 years, which terminate 74 years earlier than the date of Hieronymus. But the lower date is confirmed by Suidas : Φάλαρις Ἀκραγαντίνος τυραννήσας Σικελίας ὅλης κατὰ τὴν νβ' ὀλυμπιάδα. <i>Phalaris</i> was three generations earlier than <i>Theron</i> and <i>Xenocrates</i> , whose great-grandfather <i>Telemachus</i> deposed <i>Phalaris</i> .—Τηλεμάχου, καταλύσαντος τὸν τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων τύραννον Φάλαριν, παῖς γίνεται Ἐμμενίδης, οὗ Αἰνησιδαμος, οὗ Θήρων καὶ Ξενοκράτης. Schol. Pind. Olymp. III. 68. Compare Schol. Pyth. VI. 4.—which agrees with

3. PHILOSOPHERS.	4. POETS.
<p>Ὀλυμπιάδι, Κύρου διέποντος τὰ κράτη Περσῶν, προ- εφήτεον Ἀγγαῖος καὶ Ζαχαρίας, γνώριμοι δὲ ἦσαν ἤδη Σιμωνίδης (<i>legunt</i> Ἐπιμενίδης) καὶ Χίλων, τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ὄντες. By πρῶτος ἔφορος, we must understand with Menag. and Palmer. <i>ephorus</i> ἑπώνυμος. Placed by Eusebius at Ol. 56. 4. <i>anno</i> 1463 commencing Oct. B. C. 554.</p>	<p>Vesp. 1402. All these dates are confirmed by other testimonies. He was born B. C. 556 Ol. 5 56. 1. and died, in his ninetieth year, B. C. 467 Ol. 78. 1. <i>Cf. ann.</i> 476, 467. And that he was later than <i>Stesichorus</i> is attested by his own verses: οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἦδὲ Στασίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς. <i>Apud Athen.</i> IV. p. 172. e.</p>
	<p>Death of <i>Stesichorus</i>; (æt. 80.) Στησίχορος— Ἱμεραῖος, τοῖς χρόνοις ἦν νεώτερος Ἀλκμᾶνος τοῦ λυρικοῦ, ἐπὶ τῆς λζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος γεγονώς ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς νς'. <i>Suid.</i> He was said to have lived to 85. πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα—Στησίχορος ὁ μελο- ποιός. <i>Lucian. Macrob.</i> c. 26. Therefore, to bring <i>Suidas</i> and <i>Lucian</i> nearer to an agreement, if we date his birth at Ol. 37. 1 [B. C. 632] and his death Ol. 56. 4 [B. C. 553] he would have died in his 80th year. <i>Stesichorus</i> lived in the time of <i>Phalaris</i>: <i>Aristot. Rhet.</i> II. 20, 5. <i>Bipont.</i> and was contemporary with <i>Sappho</i>, <i>Alcæus</i>, and <i>Pittacus</i>. <i>Suid.</i> Σαπφώ. He flourished Ol. 42. [B. C. 611] <i>Suid.</i> Σαπφώ. Κατὰ τὴν μβ' Ὀλυμ- πιάδα, ὅτε Ἀλκαῖος ἦν καὶ Στησίχορος. <i>Cyrill. Ju-</i> <i>lian.</i> I. p. 12. D. μβ' Ὀλυμπιάδι—Στησίχορος ὁ ποιη- τὴς ἐγνωρίζετο. or Ol. 43: <i>Euseb. Chron.</i> Ol. 43. 1. <i>anno</i> 1408 [commencing Oct. B. C. 609] <i>Stesichorus poëta cognoscebatur.</i></p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		the chronology of Suidas and Hieronymus. For <i>Theron</i> see B. C. 472, 2, 4. For <i>Xenocrates</i> B. C. 490, 4.
6	548. Ol. 58. <i>Erxichlides</i> . Pausan. X. 5, 5.	The temple at Delphi burnt: Pausan. X. 5, 5. κατεκαύθη δὲ Ἐρξικλείδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτει καὶ πεντηκοστῇς. The Pisistratidæ were accused of having burnt it: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. VII. 9.—λέγεται ὅτι τὸν Πυθικὸν ναὸν πρησθέντα ὥς φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι φνυγαδευθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέσχοντο ἀνοικοδομήσαι.—Φιλόχορος ἱστορεῖ. But Herodotus II. 180. attests that the temple was destroyed by accident: that the Amphictyons rebuilt it, and that Amasis contributed; although he admits that the new temple owed its superior splendour to the Alcmaeonidæ: V. 62. οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν ἔοντα τότε δὲ οὐκῶ, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαι· οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εὖ ἤκοντες—τόν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον, κ. τ. λ.
547.	58, 2.	
546.	58, 3.	<i>Sardis</i> taken by <i>Cyrus</i> : Solin. I. 112. <i>Olympiade octava et quinquagesima victor Cyrus intravit Sardes</i> . "Forty years after the death of Periander, and in the 4th year of Ol. 58." Sosicrates ap. Laërt. I. 95. Dionysius tom. VI. p. 820. Reisk. Ἡρόδοτος—ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀνδῶν δυναστείας μέχρι τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου κατεβίβασε

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Anaximenes</i> flourished.—ἤκμασε περὶ ἔτος πρῶτον τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Origen. ap. Menag. ad Laërt. II. 3. Suidas:—γέγονεν ἐν τῇ νῆ' Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐν τῇ Σάρδεων ἀλώσει, ὅτε Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης Κροῖσον καθεῖλεν. If we restore the numbers to the true date, νη', and interpret γέγονεν <i>floruit</i>, Suidas will agree with Origen. On this interpretation Ritter apud Kruger. p. 376 observes, <i>Quod Clintonus a. 548, 3. γέγονεν "floruit" interpretatur, repugnare videtur loquendi usus.</i> But the examples quoted in F. H. I. p. 147. will justify my interpretation. From the error or corruption of Laërt. II. 3. we are unable to determine the birth or the death of Anaximenes. But he was taught by <i>Anaximander</i>;—Laërt. II. 3. ἤκουσεν Ἀναξίμανδρου. Euseb. Præp. X. 14. p. 504. A. Ἀναξίμανδρου γνώριμος ἐγένετο. Suid. μαθητὴς καὶ διάδοχος Ἀναξίμανδρου—and therefore flourished in Ol. 58. And he instructed <i>Anaxagoras</i>;—Laërt. II. 6. Ἀναξαγόρας ἤκουσεν Ἀναξιμένους. Clem. Strom. I. p. 301. A. Ἀναξίμανδρος Θαλῆν διαδέχεται· τοῦτον δὲ Ἀναξιμένης· μεθ' οὗ Ἀναξαγόρας. Cic. Nat. Deor. I. 11. <i>Anaxagoras qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam.</i> Strabo XIV. p. 645. D. Ἀναξαγόρας Ἀναξιμένους ὁμιλητὴς τοῦ Μιλησίου.—and therefore must have lived to the 74th Olympiad. Cf. <i>an.</i> 480.</p>	
<p><i>Anaximander</i> æt. 64. Ἀπολλόδωρος φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτων εἶναι ἐξηκοντατεσσάρων, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τελευτῆσαι, ἀκμάσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμον τύραννον. Laërt. II. 2. He was therefore born B. C. 610, and about 29 years younger than his master <i>Thales</i>. But as <i>Polycrates</i>, in whose time he is said to flourish, began to reign B. C. 532, there seems some error in the description of his death,—μετ' ὀλίγον; unless we suppose the <i>elder</i> Polycrates to be meant, who flourished Ol. 54, and of whom Suidas speaks, v. Ἰβυκος. Pliny H. N. II. 8. also refers <i>Anaximander</i> to Ol. 58. <i>Anaximander Milesius Olympiade quinquagesima octava.</i></p>	
<p><i>Thales</i> (æt. 90 Sosicrat. 94 Apollodor.) was still living during the war of <i>Cresus</i> with the Persians. Herodot. I. 75. According to Sosicrates he died Ol. 58.—τελευτῆσαι ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Laërt. I. 38. He might</p>	<p><i>Hipponas</i>—Ἰππώναξ, πατρὸς Πύθεω καὶ μητρὸς Πρωτίδος, Ἐφέσιος, λαμβογράφος, ᾤκησε δὲ Κλαζομενᾶς—Suid.—flourished in the times of <i>Cresus</i> and <i>Cyrus</i>: ἀφ' οὗ Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σάρδεις ἔλαβε καὶ Κροῖσον . . . (ἦν δὲ) καὶ Ἰππώναξ κατὰ</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
8		<p>τὴν ἱστορίαν· πάσας τὰς ἐν τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις ἔτεσι γενομένας πράξεις—περιλαβών. This period of 240 years terminating at B. C. 478, gives B. C. 718 for the first year of <i>Gyges</i>, and consequently B. C. 548 for the last year of <i>Croesus</i>. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. 8. <i>Candaules interiit, ut quidam tradunt, eodem anno quo Romulus</i>. According to the Varronian era of Rome, the death of Romulus happened B. C. 717. This computation, then, would place the reigns of this dynasty about one year lower respectively than the period of Dionysius. And we have B. C. 545, 547, or 548, for the last year of <i>Croesus</i>. (See this subject treated more fully in the <i>Appendix c. 17. Kings of Lydia</i>.)</p> <p><i>Croesus</i> was 35 years of age at the death of his father; Herodot. I. 26. and reigned 14 years: Idem I. 86. If we date his overthrow in B. C. 546, it will follow, that he was born B. C. 595, and began to reign, after the death of his father, B. C. 560. His birth happened in the 22d year of <i>Alyattes</i>, and in the last year of <i>Cyaxares</i> king of <i>Media</i>.</p>
545.	58, 4.	
544.	Ol. 59.	
543.	59, 2.	
542.	59, 3.	
541.	59, 4.	
540.	Ol. 60.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>have survived the Lydian war, and yet have died in the 58th Olymp. His age is variously reported: Lucian. Macrob. c. 18. Σόλων καὶ Θαλῆς καὶ Πιπτακὸς—ἐκατὸν ἑκαστός ἔζησεν ἔτη. Syncellus p. 213. C. λέγεται ζῆσαι ὑπὲρ τὰ ρ'. Chron. Pasch. p. 143. C. ἀπέθανε ζήσας ἔτη 74. Laërt. I. 38. ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ, ἢ, ὡς Σωσικράτης φησὶν, ἐνενήκοντα. <i>Seventy eight years</i> would suppose him to have been born B. C. 624, or to have died B. C. 559. the former contrary to all authorities for his birth, the latter contrary to Herodot. I. 75. It is therefore likely that we should read—ἐνενήκοντα ὀκτώ, ἢ, ὡς Σ. φ. ἐνενήκοντα. and his age would be variously stated at 100, 98, 91, or 90 years. The year, then, of his birth, and the exact duration of his life, cannot be known. If he was 90 or 91, he was born B. C. 636. If he was 98 or 100, he lived to B. C. 542, or 540.</p>	<p>τοῦτον ὁ λαμβοποιός. Mar. Par. No. 43.—sufficiently agreeing with the date of Pliny, who places <i>Hippocrax</i> at the 60th Olympiad. Cf. a. 539.</p>
<p><i>Pherecydes</i> of <i>Syros</i> flourished;—γέγονε κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. Laërt. I. 121. —contemporary with <i>Servius Tullius</i>.—<i>Meo regnante gentili</i>. Cic. Tusc. I. 16. Suidas: Φερεκύδης Βάβιος Σύριος (ἔστι δὲ νῆσος μία τῶν Κυκλάδων ἢ Σύρος, πλησίον Δήλου). γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῶν Ἀνδῶν βασιλεῖα Ἀλυάττην, ὡς συγχρονεῖν τοῖς ἑπτὰ σοφοῖς, καὶ τετέχθαι περὶ τὴν μὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα. διδασχθῆναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόραν λόγος.—Γέγονεν in Suid. must be perhaps interpreted <i>natus est</i>. He was born B. C. 600, in the 18th year of Alyattes: and at this time was 56 years of age. <i>Bias</i> of <i>Priene</i> is still living at the conquest of Ionia by the Persians; Herodot. I. 170. which happened B. C. 544—539. <i>Bias</i> is mentioned by his contemporary <i>Hippocrax</i>: Καὶ δικάζεσθαι Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέως κρέσσων. Laërt. I. 84. Strabo XIV. p. 636. D. Suid. Βίαντος Πρ. δ.</p>	<p><i>Theognis</i> of <i>Megara</i> flourished Ol. 59. Θέογνις Μεγαρεύς—γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ νθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. Suid. As he survived the Median war B. C. 490, he might be supposed to have been <i>born</i>, rather than to have <i>flourished</i>, in Ol. 59. But a great weight of authorities concurs in the other sense of the word. Cyrill. adv. Julian. I. p. 13. A. πεντηκοστῇ ὀγδόῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Θέογνις ποιητὴς ὠνομάζετο. Id. VII. p. 225. C. πεντηκοστῇ καὶ ὀγδόῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι Φωκυλίδης τε καὶ Θέογνις ἐγενέσθην. Eusebius: Ol. 58. 4. anno 1471 [from Oct. B. C. 546] <i>Theognis poëta cognoscebatur</i>. Suidas v. Φωκυλῖδ. Φωκυλίδης Μελήσιος, φιλόσοφος, σύγχρονος Θεόγνιδος· ἦν δὲ ἑκάτερος μετὰ χμζ' ἔτη τῶν Τρωϊκῶν. [B. C. 1184—647 = B. C. 537.] Ὀλυμπιάδι γεγονότες νθ'. These computations would suppose Theognis to be near eighty in B. C. 490. Harporatio contends (v. Θέογνις) against Plato Leg. I. p. 630. a. that Theognis was of Megara πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ. The question is accurately stated, and well determined, by Corsini, ad Olymp. 58.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
539.	60, 2.	
10 538.	60, 3.	<p><i>Babylon taken by Cyrus: N. E. 210. Syncell. p. 207. C. ὁ μαθηματικὸς κανὼν θ' μόνον ἔτη Κύρῳ νέμει. p. 231. C. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀστρονομικὸς κανὼν θ' μόνον λογίζεται. p. 261. C. εὗρον Κύρον τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου καταγομένοις ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔτεσιν ἑννέα μόνον ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα Περσῶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀκριβέσι κανονίοις. Both Herodotus and Xenophon are consistent with this date. Both place the capture of Babylon after the capture of Sardis, among the last of the conquests of Cyrus. Herodotus I. 178. Κύρος ἐπεὶ τε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχέρια ἐποίησατο Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. Xenophon Cyrop. VII. 2. "after the capture of Sardis," "and an expedition into Caria," Idem VII. 4. "and the conquest of Phrygia Minor by Hystaspes," VII. 4, 8. Cyrus, προῖων τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, κατεστρέψατο μὲν Φρύγας τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ κατεστρέψατο δὲ Καππαδόκας ὑποχειρίους δὲ ἐποίησατο Ἀραβίους—καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο κ. τ. λ. VII. 4, 16.</i></p>
537.	60, 4.	
536.	Ol. 61.	
535.	61, 2.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Pythagoras</i> ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. Laërt. VIII. 45. There are two accounts of the age of <i>Pythagoras</i>, differing from each other nearly 40 years. According to one computation he was 31 years of age in B. C. 539; according to another he was near 70. This latter calculation is founded upon Eratosthenes apud Laërt. VIII. 47. who supposed that <i>Pythagoras</i> offered himself ἐν παισὶν at the Olympic games B. C. 588; and upon Antiochus apud Clem. Strom. I. p. 306. who computed 312 years from the ἡλικία of <i>Pythagoras</i> to B. C. 270. Bentley and Larcher adopt these authorities, and date his birth B. C. 608, or 605. The other computation is founded upon Aristoxenus apud Porphyry and Jamblichus. According to Aristoxenus he was 40 years of age when he quitted Samos in the reign of Polycrates; according to Jamblichus he was 57 in B. C. 513. Hence results B. C. 570 for his birth; the date adopted by Dodwell. Cf. ann. 510, 472.</p>	<p><i>Hipponax</i> flourished:—<i>Hipponactis</i> poetæ ætate, quem certum est LX^a Olympiade fuisse. Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 5. Cf. a. 546.</p> <p><i>Ibycus</i> flourished: Hieronymus in Eusebii Chron. Ol. 60. 1. <i>Hibicus</i> [sic] carminum scriptor agnoscitur. He was already known twenty years before, in the beginning of the reign of <i>Cyrus</i>. Cf. a. 560. Cyril adv. Julian. I. p. 13. A. places him in the 59th Olympiad: πεντηκοστῇ ἐνάτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι Ἰβυκος ὁ μελοποιός.</p>
<p><i>Xenophanes</i> of Colophon flourished: ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. Laërt. IX. 20. Euseb. Ol. 60. 4 anno 1479 [commencing Oct. B. C. 538] <i>Simonides lyricus cognoscebatur. Item Phocylides et Xenophanes physicus et tragicus.</i> He had already named <i>Xenophanes</i> at Olymp. 56. 1 anno 1460. <i>Simonides</i> is now only 13 years of age: conf. a. 556. 4. <i>Xenophanes</i>, the founder of the Eleatic school, was contemporary with <i>Thales</i>, <i>Anaximander</i>, and <i>Pythagoras</i>; and the teacher of <i>Parmenides</i>: Plato Sophist. p. 242. D. τὸ Ἑλεατικὸν ἔθνος ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον. Clem. Strom. I. p. 301. C. τῆς Ἑλεατικῆς ἀγωγῆς Ξενοφάνης κατάρχει.—Παρμενίδης τοῖνυν Ξενοφάνους ἀκουστὴς γίνεταί· τοῦτου δὲ Ζήνων εἶτα Λεύκιππος· εἶτα Δημόκριτος. Aristot. Metaphys. I. 5. p. 846. E. Ξενοφάνης—ὁ γὰρ Παρμενίδης τοῦτου λέγεται μαθητής. Laërt. IX. 18. ὡς Σωτρίων φησὶ, κατ' Ἀναξίμανδρον ἦν—ἀντιδοξάσαι τε λέγεται Θαλῇ καὶ Πυθαγόρῃ. For the contradictory accounts of the time of <i>Xenophanes</i>, see B. C. 527, 477.</p>	
	<p><i>Thespis</i> first exhibited tragedy: Θέσπις, Ἰκαρίου πόλεως Ἀττικῆς, τραγικός—ἐδίδαξε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ξ' ὀλυμπιάδος. Suid. Θέσπις. The Parian Marble No. 44, whose numbers are obli-</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
534.	61, 3.	
533.	61, 4. <i>Thericles</i> . Dionys. Ant. IV. p. 745. Reisk. Diod. Fragm. lib. IX. t. IV. p. 49. Bipont.	
532.	Ol. 62.	Euseb. Chron. Ol. 62. 1 anno 1484 [from Oct. B. C. 533] <i>In Samo tyrannidem exercent Polycrates [Crates Armen.] Sylus [Silus Armen.] et Pantagnostus fratres</i> . Polycrates had the assistance of <i>Lygdamis</i> : μεταπεμφόμενος παρὰ Λυγδάμιδος τοῦ Ναξίων τυράννου στρατιώτας. Polyæn. I. 23, 2. <i>Lygdamis</i> was made tyrant of Naxos by <i>Pisistratus</i> after his <i>third</i> occupation of Athens: Herodot. I. 64. Πεισιστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρύλλωσε τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ—Νάξον—κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῳ. And <i>Pisistratus</i> recovered Athens the third time about B. C. 537. See Appendix c. 2. <i>Pisistratidæ</i> . <i>Lygdamis</i> then could not have assisted <i>Polycrates</i> before that date; which confirms the chronology of Eusebius. Herodot. III. 39. 120. briefly mentions the usurpation of <i>Polycrates</i> , but without indicating the time. See Note B for the time of <i>Polycrates</i> .
531.	62, 2.	
530.	62, 3.	
529.	62, 4.	Death of <i>Cyrus</i> : er. Nabonass. 218. nine years after the conquest of Babylon. <i>conf. a.</i> 538. Herodotus confirms the Canon of Ptolemy in the year of the death of <i>Cyrus</i> : for he computes 44 years from that

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>terated, places the exhibitions of <i>Thespis</i> between the capture of <i>Cræsus</i> (No. 43) and the accession of <i>Darius</i> (No. 45): confirming the date of Suidas, Olymp. 61.</p> <p><i>Anacreon</i> flourished: Euseb. <i>Ol.</i> 61. 2 anno 1481 [commencing Oct. B. C. 536] <i>Anacreon lyricus cognoscebatur.</i></p>
<p><i>Pythagoras</i> flourished: ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Θηρικλέους κατὰ τὴν ξα' ὀλυμπιάδα Πυθαγόρας ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐγνωρίζετο.—γέγονε δὲ Σάμιος τὸ γένος. Diod. Fragm. l. IX. t. iv. p. 49, 50. Bipont.</p>	
<p><i>Pythagoras</i> flourished: Tatian. p. 141. Πυθαγόρας περὶ ξβ'. Clem. Strom. I. p. 302. B. κατὰ Πολυκράτη τὸν τύραννον, περὶ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν δευτέραν ὀλυμπιάδα. Cyrill. adv. Julian. I. p. 13. A. ἐξηκοστῇ δευτέρᾳ ὀλυμπιάδι Πυθαγόρας γενέσθαι λέγεται. Euseb. <i>Ol.</i> 62. 2 anno 1485 [from Oct. B. C. 532] <i>Pythagoras physicus philosophus cognoscebatur.</i> <i>Pythagoras</i> is made by all testimonies contemporary with <i>Polycrates</i>: Plutarch. <i>Placit.</i> I. 3. μετέστη ἀπὸ Σάμου τῆς πατρίδος τῇ Πολυκράτους τυραννίδι δυσареστήσας. Strabo XIV. p. 638. B. Πολυκράτην—ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἱστοροῦσι φερόμενην ἰδόντα τὴν τυραννίδα ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Βαβυλῶνα—ἐπανιόντα δ' ἐκεῖθεν, ὁρῶντα ἔτι συμμένουσιν τὴν τυραννίδα, πλεύσαντα εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐκεῖ διατελέσαι τὸν βίον.</p>	<p><i>Anacreon</i> was contemporary with <i>Cyrus</i>, <i>Cambyses</i>, and <i>Polycrates</i> of <i>Samos</i>: Ἀνακρέων, Τήσιος, λυρικὸς—γέγονε κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον ὀλυμπιάδι νβ'. (<i>legendum</i> ξβ'.) οἱ δὲ, ἐπὶ Κύρου καὶ Καμβύσου τάπτονσιν αὐτὸν, κατὰ τὴν κ' (<i>legendum</i> ν') ὀλυμπιάδα. Suid. Ἀνακρ. He was therefore placed by some in the 55th Olymp. in the beginning of the reign of <i>Cyrus</i>, and by others in the 62nd, in the reign of <i>Polycrates</i>. Both are consistent; since <i>Anacreon</i> lived to the age of 85. Ἀνακρέων ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητῆς ἔζησεν ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. Lucian. <i>Macrob.</i> c. 25. For <i>Anacreon</i> and <i>Polycrates</i> see <i>Herodot.</i> III. 121.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>event to the accession of Xerxes B. C. 485. Cf. <i>an.</i> 521. Cyrus had reigned <i>thirty years</i> in Persia: Justin. I. 8, 14. <i>Cyrus regnavit annos triginta.</i> Dinon apud Cic. Div. I. 23. <i>Triginta annos Cyrum regnaturum,—quod ita contigit: nam ad septuagesimum pervenit, cum quadraginta natus annos regnare cepisset.</i>—or <i>twenty-nine</i>, according to Herodotus I. 214. βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. According to Sulpicius Severus II. 13. p. 281. he reigned 31 years: <i>Cyrus uno et triginta annis rerum potitus est:</i> which Wesseling, ad Herodot. I. 214. alters to 29 years: <i>Bene pro mente Herodoti Sulpicius Sever. "Cyrus undetriginta annis rerum potitus est:" Sic enim scripsisse videtur. In edd. uno et triginta.</i> But perhaps Sulpicius reckoned 31 years, with other ecclesiastical writers: ἀπανταχοῦ γὰρ λα' ἔτος κείται βασιλεύσας παρὰ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἱστορικοῖς. Syncell. p. 261. C.</p> <p>The naval empire of the Samians is placed here by Eusebius, agreeing with the reign of Polycrates: Chron. Ol. 62. 4 anno 1487 [from Oct. B. C. 530] <i>XIII^o loco maris imperium Samii tenuerunt.</i> See F. H. I. p. 234. From hence to B. C. 480 Eusebius Ibid. I. p. 169. II. p. 337. computes 49 years: <i>conf. a. 485.</i></p>
528.	Ol. 63.	
527.	63, 2.	<p>Death of <i>Pisistratus</i>: 33 years after his first usurpation: Aristot. Polit. V. 12. [c. 9, 23. ed. Schneid.] ἐν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακάδεκα ἔτη ἐτυράννησε. Thuc. VI. 54. Πεισιστράτου γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι—Ἰππίας πρεσβύτατος ὧν ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. See Appendix c. 2. <i>Pisistratidæ.</i></p>
526.	63, 3.	
525.	63, 4.	<p><i>Cambyes</i> conquers Egypt: in the fifth year of his reign: Ol. 63. 3. <i>Cambyes obtinuit Ægyptum anno quinto regni sui.</i> Euseb.—six months after the death of <i>Amasis</i>; Herodot. III. 14. who died Olymp. 63. 3. [B. C. 525.] Diod. I. 68. These characters of time agree in B. C. 525.</p> <p>War of the Lacedæmonians against <i>Polycrates</i> of Samos: Καμβύσῳ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένῳ. Herodot. III. 39. 44. Thucydides I. 13. refers the naval power of Polycrates to the reign of Cambyes: Πολυκράτης Σάμου τυραννῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου ναυτικῷ ἰσχύων ἄλλας τε τῶν νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησατο, καὶ Ῥήγειαν, κ. τ. λ. Confirming the date of Diodorus apud Eusebium Chron. I. p. 169 for the naval empire of the Samians. Conf. a. 529. F. H. I. p. 234.</p>
524.	Ol. 64. <i>Miltiades.</i>	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Xenophanes</i> would be 92 (see his own verses <i>Laërt.</i> IX. 19.) in Olymp. 63, according to <i>Apollodorus</i>: <i>Clem. Strom.</i> I. p. 301. Ἀπολλόδωρος (φησι) κατὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα [B.C. 619] γενόμενον παρατετακέναι ἄχρι τῶν Δαρείου τε καὶ Κύρου χρόνων. <i>Sextus Empiricus</i> <i>adv. Gramm.</i> I. 12. p. 270. followed <i>Apollodorus</i>: <i>Ξενοφάνης Κολοφώνιος ἐγένετο περὶ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα.</i> These dates for his birth would suppose him 98 years of age in the first year of <i>Darius</i>. But <i>Timæus</i>, <i>Plutarch</i>, and <i>Athenæus</i>, make <i>Xenophanes</i> still living in the times of the Persian war, and in the reign of <i>Hiero</i>. Cf. <i>a.</i> 477.</p>	
	<p>Birth of <i>Æschylus</i>: since he was twenty-five years old in B. C. 500, thirty-five in B. C. 490, and sixty-nine in B. C. 456. <i>Conf. ann.</i> 499, 490, 456.</p> <p><i>Anacreon</i> and <i>Simonides</i> come to Athens in the reign of <i>Hipparchus</i>: <i>Plato Hipparch.</i> p. 228. c. Ἰππάρχῳ—ὃς ἐπ' Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τηϊὸν πεντηκόντορον στείλας ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Σιμωνίδην δὲ τὸν Κεῖον αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε μεγάλους μισθοὺς καὶ δώροις πείθων.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1316. Reisk.	
523.	64, 2.	
522.	64, 3.	<i>Polycrates of Samos put to death : κατά κον μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσειω νοῦσον. Herodot. III. 120.</i>
521.	64, 4.	<i>Death of Cambyses : βασιλεύσας μὲν τὰ πάντα ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. Herodot. III. 66. ὁ μὲν δὴ μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβυσέω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσῃ ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος. Id. 67. Δαρείος βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε. Herodot. VII. 4. Herodotus computes 44 years between the death of Cyrus and the accession of Xerxes. The Canon agrees—Κύρον ἔτη θ'. N. E. 210—218. Καμβύσον ἔτη η'. N. E. 219—226. Δαρείον ἔτη λς'. N. E. 227—262. Apud Syncell. p. 208. And Eusebius Præp. X. 9. Δαρείον τὸ δεύτερον κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ξέ' Ὀλυμπιάδος [B. C. 520] καταντᾷ.</i>
520.	Ol. 65.	<i>Pausan. V. 8, 3. τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὁ δρόμος ἐδοκιμάσθη ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς. Supplied by Kruger. Add, τοὺς δὲ δραμόντας ἀσπίσιν ὁμοῦ πρῶτος Δημάρατος ἐκράτησεν Ἑραιεύς. Conf. Pausan. VI. 10, 2. Euseb. Chron. lib. I. p. 148. Ol. 65. Additus est cursus armatus, vicitque Damaretus Heræus.</i>
519.	65, 2.	<i>Plataea puts itself under the protection of Athens: in the 93d year—ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ—before its surrender to the Lacedæmonians, B. C. 427. Thucyd. III. 68. The Plataeans at this time ἐδίδονσαν πρῶτα παρατυχούσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοῦς. Herodot. VI. 108.—and were by them advised to apply to the Athenians. For Cleomenes, see Appendix c. 3. Kings of Sparta.</i>
518.	65, 3.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p><i>Chærilus</i> first exhibited tragedy : Χοιρίλος Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικὸς, ξδ' Ὀλυμπιάδι καθείς εἰς ἀγῶνας. καὶ ἐδίδαξε μὲν δράματα πεντήκοντα καὶ ρ'. ἐνίκησε δὲ, ιγ'. Suid. Χοιρίλλος.</p>
<p><i>Hecataeus</i> and <i>Dionysius Milesius</i>, the historians flourished : Ἑκαταῖος Ἠγησάνδρον Μιλήσιος γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς Δαρείου χρόνους τοῦ μετὰ Καμβύσην βασιλεύσαντος, ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος ἦν ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ξέ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἱστοριογράφος. Suid. Ἑκαταῖος. For <i>Hecataeus</i>, see B. C. 501.</p> <p><i>Pythagoras</i> is mentioned by Hieronymus apud Euseb. Chron. at Ol. 65. 1. He settled in Italy in the reign of Superbus : Cic. Tusc. I. 16. <i>Pythagoras cum Superbo regnante in Italiam venisset, tenuit Magnam illam Græciam, &c.</i> Id. IV. 1. <i>Pythagoras, qui fuit in Italia temporibus iisdem quibus L. Brutus patriam liberavit.</i> Gell. XVII. 21. <i>In Italiam venit Tarquinii filio regnum obtinente, cui cognomento Superbus fuit ; iisdemque temporibus occisus est Athenis ab Harmodio et Aristogitone Hipparchus Pisistrati filius.</i> This date of Gellius, strictly taken, would imply B. C. 514.</p>	<p><i>Melanippides</i> flourished : Μελανιππίδης Κρίτωνος, γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν ξέ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, Μήλιος. ἔγραψε δὲ διθυράμβων βιβλία πλεῖστα. Suid. His grandson, the younger <i>Melanippides</i>, flourished in the reign of Perdiccas : [B. C. 430.]—Μελανιππίδης θυγατρίδους τοῦ πρεσβύτου—ὃς ἐν τῇ τῶν διθυράμβων μελοποιῇ ἐκαινοτόμησε πλεῖστα, καὶ διατρέψας παρὰ Περδίκκῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκεῖ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν. Suid.—And was later in time than <i>Diagoras the Melian</i>, who flourished in the 78th Olympiad. Cf. a. 466, 3.</p>
	<p>Birth of <i>Cratinus</i>, the comic poet ; since he died B. C. 422. ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἐνεμήκοντα ἔτεσι βιώσας. Lucian. Macrob. c. 25. Conf. ann. 423. 422.</p>
	<p><i>Pindar</i> born : in Olymp. 65—γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν ξέ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. Suid. Πίνδαρ.—at the time of the</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
517.	65, 4.	
516.	Ol. 66.	
515.	66, 2.	(<i>Miltiades</i> , son of <i>Cimon</i> , succeeds his brother <i>Stesagoras</i> in the Chersonese. Before the death of <i>Hipparchus</i> : <i>Herodot.</i> VI. 39. τελευτήσαντος Σησαγόρεω—ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Σησαγόρεω δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεὸν, καταλαμφόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι—Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον,—καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρον τοῦ Θρηϊκῶν βασιλῆος θυγατέρα Ἑγησιπύλην. He remained in this government at least twenty-two years. <i>Cf.</i> a. 493.)
514.	66, 3.	Death of <i>Hipparchus</i> at the time of the <i>Panathenæa magna</i> : <i>Thucyd.</i> VI. 56. 57. Περιέμενον Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα—καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτὴ—ὁ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων ἐς τὸ ἔργον προήεσαν. <i>Herodot.</i> V. 56. ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκει ὁ Ἴππαρχος, κ. τ. λ.—μετὰ δὲ, ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν, ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπήν, ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ. <i>Hipparchus</i> therefore was slain in <i>Hecatombæon</i> , July or August B. C. 514. Fixed to this date by the season of the <i>Panathenæa</i> ; which were celebrated in <i>Hecatombæon</i> of the <i>third year</i> of each Olympiad.
513.	66, 4.	First year of <i>Hippias</i> : completed in <i>Hecatombæon</i> , or July B. C. 513. Naval empire of the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> : <i>Euseb. Ol.</i> 66. 4 anno 1503 [from Oct. B. C. 514] <i>XIV^o loco maris imperium tenuerunt Lacedæmonii annis II.</i> <i>Conf.</i> a. 485.
512.	Ol. 67.	Second year of <i>Hippias</i> .
511.	67, 2.	Third year of <i>Hippias</i> : completed in <i>Hecatombæon</i> B. C. 511.
18 510.	67, 3.	Expulsion of the <i>Pisistratidæ</i> : before the fourth year of <i>Hippias</i> was completed; <i>Herodot.</i> V. 55. ἐτυραννέοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἔτεα τέσσαρα οὐδὲν ἥσσον. <i>Thucyd.</i> VI. 59. τυραννέουσας ἔτη τρία Ἴππίας, καὶ πανσθεῖς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ. <i>Plato Hipparch.</i> p. 229. b.—τρία ἔτη— <i>Schol. Lysistrat.</i> 619.—ἐπὶ ἔτη γ', οἱ δὲ, δ'.—And therefore before <i>Hecatombæon</i> , or July B. C. 510. And yet within twenty years of

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	Pythian games:—Πύθιαρος ἐν Πυθίοις γενόμενος. Plutarch. Symp. VIII. 1.—and about forty years before the expedition of Xerxes: κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν ὧν ἔτῳ τεσσαράκοντα. Suid. Born, therefore, August or September B. C. 518. Cf. a. 480.
	Phrynichus the tragic poet—Φρύνιχος Πολυφράδμονος, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, μαθητὴς Θέσπιδος.—ἐνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς ξξ' ὀλυμπιάδος. Suid. Eudocia has the same numbers p. 428. He flourished before Æschylus: Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 941. Φρύνιχον τὸν τραγωδίας ποιητὴν. τοῦτον δὲ ἐπαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν μελοποιίαν. ἦν δὲ πρὸ Αἰσχύλου.
Pythagoras at the expulsion of the Tarquins is 96 years old, according to Eratosthenes and Antiochus: and died at the age of 99, soon after. Eratosthenes apud Laërt. VII. 47. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα, ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τετταρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος.	Telesilla of Argos the poetess—Τελέσιλλα ἡ ποιήσασα τὰ ἄσματα Pausan. II. 20, 7.—flourished; in the time of Cleomenes and Demaratus, kings of Sparta: and was celebrated for defending Argos, in the war which Herodotus describes VI. 75—83. Plutarch Virtut. Mulier. p. 245. D. E. ὁ πρὸς

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>the battle of Marathon; Thucyd. VI. 59. ἐς Μαραθῶνα ὕστερον ἔτει εἰκοστῇ μετὰ Μήδων ἐστράτευσεν. Consequently not sooner than <i>Boëdromion</i> or September. To reconcile these dates, we must suppose that the contest between the parties was of some duration. The authority of Hippias was dissolved before <i>Hecatombæon</i>: but he did not withdraw from Athens (ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος, Thucyd. VI. 59.) till after <i>Boëdromion</i>. The <i>Pisistratidæ</i> were expelled eighteen years after the death of <i>Pisistratus</i>,—(ὀκτωκαίδεκα οἱ παῖδες. Aristot. Polit. V. 9, 23. Schneid.) and about the hundredth year—ἔτει ἑκατοστῇ μάλιστα. Thucyd. VIII. 68.—before the constitution of the <i>Four-hundred</i>. Cf. a. 411. See <i>Appendix c. 2. Pisistratidæ</i>.</p> <p><i>Amyntas</i> was now king of Macedonia: Herodot. V. 94. Ἰππὶν—ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀνθεμοῦντα.</p>
509.	67, 4.	
508.	Ol. 68. <i>Isagoras</i> . Dionys. Ant. I. p. 190. Ant. V. p. 844. Reisk. Mar. Par. No. 47.	
507.	68, 2.	
506.	68, 3.	
505.	68, 4.	
504.	Ol. 69. <i>Acestorides</i> . Dionys. Ant. V. p. 927. (τὸ δεύτερον.)	
503.	69, 2.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS.	4. POETS.
<p>ἐκριφθῆναί τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων καὶ αὐτίκα προσβῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας, καὶ νικῆσαι. Antiochus apud Clem. Strom. I. p. 309. B. Ἀντίλοχος ὁ τοὺς ἱστορας πραγματευσάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Πυθαγόρου ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπικούρου τελευτὴν, Γαμηλιῶνος δὲ δεκάτῃ ἰσταμένου γενομένην, ἔτη φέρει τὰ πάντα τριακόσια δώδεκα. Cf. a. 539. According to other accounts, Pythagoras was now 60; and, if he lived to 99, would survive to B. C. 472. Cf. a. 472. But although the dates of his birth and death are wholly uncertain, yet all authorities agree that he flourished B. C. 540—510 in the times of Polycrates and Tarquinius Superbus.</p>	<p>Κλεομένην περὶ Ἀργους ἀγών· ὃν ἡγωνίσαντο Τελεσίλλης τῆς ποιητρίας προτρεψαμένης—ἡγουμένης δὲ τῆς Τελεσίλλης ὄπλα λαμβάνουσιν (αἱ γυναῖκες)· τὸν μὲν οὖν Κλεομένην ἀπεκρούσαντο, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον βασιλέα Δημάρατον—ἐξέωσαν. Pausanias II. 20, 7. ἦν δὲ ἡ Τελέσιλλα καὶ ἄλλως εὐδόκιμος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτιμᾶτο ἔτι ἐπὶ τῇ ποιήσει· συμβάντος δὲ Ἀργείοις ἀτυχῆσαι πρὸς Κλεομένην τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδου—Τελέσιλλα τὰς ἀκμαζούσας ἡλικίας τῶν γυναικῶν ὥπλιζεν. Herodotus VI. 77. confirms the fact, by recording the oracle to which it gave occasion. Compare Suid. v. Τελέσιλλα. Fabricius B. Gr. lib. II. c. 15 misrepresents Plutarch, and supposes him to have placed Telesilla in the reign of Cleomenes III. B. C. 236. But Plutarch, who names Demaratus, entirely agrees with Pausanias in the time. Eusebius places Telesilla at Ol. 82. 4. conf. a. 450. A metachronism of half a century. About the time at which Telesilla flourished, the Argives ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι. Herodot. III. 131.</p>
	<p>Institution of the χορὸς ἀνδρῶν. Mar. Par. No. 47. Ἀφ' οὗ χοροὶ πρῶτον ἡγωνίσαντο ἀνδρῶν, ὃν διδάσας Ὑπο . . . κος Χαλκιδεῖ . . ἐνίκ . . . ἔτη ΗΗΗΔΔΔ . . . ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι . . σαγόρου.</p>
<p>Charon of Lampsacus—Χάρων ὁ Πύθω Λαμπακηνός Pausan. X. 38, 6—flourished. Ranked by Dionysius de Thueyd. p. 769. 817. Reisk. among the elder historians, and prior to Herodotus. Tertullian de Anima c. 46. Charon Lampsacenus, Herodoto prior. Suidas: Χάρων—γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον Δαρείον οὗ Ὀλυμπιάδῃ (recte corrigunt ξθ'.) μᾶλλον δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν κατὰ τὴν οὐ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. Cf. a. 464.</p>	
<p>Heraclitus ἠκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Laërt. IX. 1. He was later than Pythagoras, Xenophanes, and Hecataeus, whom he mentioned: Laërt. ibid. Suidas agrees in his time: Ἡράκλειτος—ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ξθ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάτου. According to Aristotle he died at the age of sixty—ἐτελεύτα</p>	<p>Lasus of Hermionē was contemporary with Simonides: Aristoph. Vesp. 1401. [1410 Br.] Schol. Vesp. 1402.—was the instructor of Pindar: Thom. Mag. Vit. Pind. (Σκοπελῖνος) τὴν αὐλητικὴν διδασκων τὸν Πίνδαρον, ἐπεὶ εἶδε μείζονος ἕξως ὄντα, παρέδωκε Λάσῳ τῷ Ἑρμιονεῖ, μελοποιῶ, παρ' οὗ τὴν λυρικὴν ἐπαυδεύθη.—Prior in time to the</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
502.	69, 3.	<p>Naval empire of the Eretrians : Euseb. <i>Ol.</i> 69. 3 anno 1514 [from Oct. B. C. 503] <i>XVI^o loco maris imperium tenuerunt Eretrienses an. XV.</i> Conf. a. 485.</p>
501.	69, 4.	<p>The Naxian war : about the spring. ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι. Herodot. V. 31. Naxos is besieged for four months by Megabates and Aristagoras : Herodot. V. 34. ἐπολιόρκειον μήνας τέσσερας. Upon the failure of this attempt, Aristagoras ἐβουλευέτο μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων. V. 36.—and determined to revolt ; while the armament, returning from Naxos, yet lay at Myus.—Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθὼν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα. Herodot. V. 36. For the preceding transactions of the reign of Darius,—the conquest of Samos,—the siege of Babylon,—the Scythian expedition,—see <i>Appendix c.</i> 18. <i>Kings of Persia.</i></p>
500.	Ol. 70. <i>Myrus.</i> Dionys. Ant. V. p. 961. Reisk.	<p><i>Aristagoras</i> solicits aid from Sparta and Athens : Herodot. V. 37. 38. ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε. καὶ—αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο.—V. 55. ἀπελαινόμενος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἦγε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.—V. 97. 98. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι ἔμελλε οὐδεμίᾳ ὠφελίᾳ ἔσεσθαι—ἐπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας—. V. 99. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπικέατο εἴκοσι νηυσὶ, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετριέων πέντε τριήρεας—ἐποιέετο στρατὴρ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδεις. Charon Lampsacenus apud Plutarch. Mor. p. 861. D. εἴκοσι τριήρεσιν ἐπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσοντας τοῖς Ἴωσι.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>βιὸς ἐτη ξ'. Laërt. IX. 3. compared with VIII. 52.</p> <p><i>Parmenides</i> ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. Laërt. IX. 23. His master was <i>Xenophanes</i> : <i>Ξενοφάνης</i>—ὁ γὰρ <i>Παρμενίδης</i> τούτου λέγεται μαθητής. Aristot. <i>Metaphys.</i> I. 5. p. 846. E. and he taught <i>Empedocles</i> and <i>Zeno</i> : <i>Suidas</i>. <i>Παρμενίδης</i>—'Ελεάτης, φιλόσοφος· μαθητὴς γεγωνὺς <i>Ξενοφάνους</i> τοῦ <i>Κολοφωνίου</i>· αὐτοῦ δὲ διάδοχοι ἐγένοντο <i>Ἐμπεδοκλῆς</i> τε—καὶ <i>Ζήνων</i> ὁ <i>Ἐλεάτης</i>. For <i>Parmenides</i> see <i>Appendix c.</i> 21. He legislated for his native city : <i>Plutarch</i>. <i>Colot.</i> p. 1126. A. <i>Παρμενίδης</i> τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα διεκόσμησε νόμοις ἀρίστοις. ὥστε τὰς ἀρχὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξορκῶσαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐμμένειν τοῖς <i>Παρμενίδου</i> νόμοις. and his instructions were diffused over all <i>Magna Græcia</i> : <i>Themist.</i> or. 34. c. 10. οὐδὲ <i>Παρμενίδης</i> κατέβη νομοθετῶν <i>Ἰταλιώταις</i>· ἐνέπλησε γὰρ εὐνομίας τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην <i>Ἑλλάδα</i>.</p>	<p>younger <i>Melanippides</i> : <i>Plutarch</i>. <i>Music.</i> p. 1141. C. <i>Μελανιππίδης</i> ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐπιγεγόμενος. He conversed with <i>Xenophanes</i> : <i>Plutarch</i>. <i>Mor.</i> p. 530. F.—flourished in the reign of <i>Hipparchus</i> at Athens : <i>Herodot.</i> VII. 6. and in the reign of <i>Darius</i> : <i>Schol.</i> <i>Vesp.</i> 1401. <i>Λάσος</i> <i>Χαρβί- νου</i> <i>Ἑρμιονεὺς</i>, γεγωνὺς κατὰ τὴν νέ' ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε <i>Δαρεῖος</i> ὁ <i>Ῥστιάσπου</i>. <i>Suidas</i> transcribing the scholiast has (in ed. Kust.) τὴν νη' ὀλ. But <i>Olymp.</i> 55, or 58, are inconsistent with the reign of <i>Darius</i> : whence <i>Larcher Chron.</i> <i>Hérod.</i> p. 635. corrects the numbers to ξη' ὀλ. [B. C. 508.] <i>Vossius</i>, from the old reading in <i>Suidas</i>, τὴν η' ὀλ., had conjectured τὴν ο' ὀλυμπ. [B. C. 500.]—dates more consistent with the facts recorded of <i>Lasus</i>.</p>
<p><i>Euseb.</i> <i>Chron.</i> Ol. 69. 3 anno 1514 [commencing Oct. B. C. 503] <i>Hellanicus historicus</i> [<i>Hellanicus</i> Hieron. <i>Ἑλληνικός</i> Syncell. p. 238. C.] et <i>Democritus philosophus</i> et <i>Heraclitus tenebrosus</i> et <i>Anaxagoras physici agnoscebantur</i>. Of all these, <i>Heraclitus</i> alone flourished at this period. <i>Hellanicus</i> may perhaps be an error of <i>Eusebius</i> for <i>Hecataeus</i>. <i>Conf.</i> a. 501.</p>	<p><i>Pindar. Pyth.</i> X. <i>Ἰπποκλέα</i> <i>Θεσσάλω</i>—ἐνίκησε δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν δευτέραν <i>Πυθιάδα</i> [Ol. 69. 3]. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ οβ' καὶ ογ' ὀλυμπιάδα. <i>Schol.</i> <i>ist.</i></p>
<p><i>Hecataeus</i> the historian—<i>Ἐκαταῖος</i> ὁ <i>Ἡγησάνδρων</i>, ἀνὴρ λογοποιὸς—<i>Herodot.</i> V. 125. assisted at the deliberations of the Ionians B. C. 501. <i>Herodot.</i> V. 36. He is mentioned again at the time of the flight of <i>Aristagoras</i> B. C. 497 ; <i>Herodot.</i> V. 125. whom he advised ἐν <i>Λέρφ</i> τῇ νήσῳ <i>τείχος</i> οἰκοδομησάμενον ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς <i>Μιλήτου</i>. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμεώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν <i>Μίλητον</i>. The advice was not taken, and <i>Aristagoras</i> perished in <i>Thrace</i>. <i>Cf.</i> a. 497, 2.</p>	
<p>Birth of <i>Anaxagoras</i>. His time is consistently stated. Laërt. II. 7. λέγεται κατὰ τὴν <i>Ξέρξου</i> διαβάσειν εἰκοσὶν ἐτῶν εἶναι, βεβιωκέναι δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα δύο. Born, therefore, B. C. 500, died B. C. 428.—<i>φησὶ</i> δ' <i>Ἀπολλόδωρος</i> ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐβδομηκοστῇ ὀλυμπιάδι, τεθνηκέναι δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς <i>ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΣΤΗΣ</i> ὀγδόης. (sic legendum.)—Born therefore, according to this testimony also, in B. C. 500. Laërt. <i>ibid.</i> ἤρξατο δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν <i>Ἀθηναίων</i> ἐπὶ <i>Καλλίου</i>, ἐτῶν εἰκοσὶν ὧν, ὡς <i>φησὶ</i> <i>Δημήτριος</i> ὁ <i>Φαληρεὺς</i> ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόν-</p>	<p><i>Epicharmus</i> perfected comedy in Sicily long before <i>Chionides</i> exhibited at Athens : <i>Aristot.</i> <i>Poët.</i> c. 4. <i>Bipont.</i> <i>Ἐπίχαρμος</i> ὁ ποιητὴς πολλῶν πρότερος ὢν <i>Χίωνιδου</i> καὶ <i>Μάγνητος</i>. <i>Ibid.</i> c. 6. τοῦ μύθους ποιεῖν <i>Ἐπίχαρμος</i> καὶ <i>Φόρμης</i> ἤρξαν. He continued to exhibit comedy in the reign of <i>Hiero.</i> <i>Cf.</i> a. 477. <i>Epicharmus</i> lived to the age of ninety-seven : <i>Lucian.</i> <i>Macrob.</i> c. 25. or ninety : Laërt. VIII. 78. Confirmed by <i>Ælian</i> V. H. II. 34. <i>Ἐπίχαρμον</i> πάνν σφόδρα πρεσβύτην ὄντα.—and may therefore well be supposed to</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
22 499.	70, 2.	<p><i>Sardis burnt by the Ionians. First year of the Ionian war. Herod. V. 99. 100. ἀπικόμενοι οἱ Ἴωνες ἐς Ἐφεσον—ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ—ἐνθεύτεν—αἰρέουσι Σάρδεις. The Ionians are pursued and defeated near Ephesus. V. 102. After this the Athenians withdraw from the confederacy: Herodot. V. 103. Ἴωνες δὲ, τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίης στερηθέντες, οὐδὲν δὴ ᾔσπον τὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλῆα πόλεμον ἐσκενάζοντο.</i></p> <p>Dodwell alone, Ann. Thuc. p. 42, 43. has rightly expressed the date of this war. The Naxian war and the Ionian revolt are usually raised four years too high: the term of <i>three years</i> (which Herodotus specifies) between the capture of Miletus, and the expedition of Datis, being dilated into <i>seven years</i>. See Appendix c. 5. <i>Ionian war</i>.</p>
498.	70, 3.	<p>Second year of the Ionian war. Cyprus recovered by the Persians (in the second year of the war): Herodot. V. 116.—Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ, ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι, αὐτὶς κατεδεδούλωντο.</p>
497.	70, 4.	<p><i>Aristagoras slain in Thrace: Herodot. V. 126. ἐπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρητικήν· καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἣν ἐστάλη· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁρμεώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρητῶν αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ. Fixed to this date by Thucydides. Cf. a. 465. Aristagoras withdrew from Miletus after the recovery of Cyprus; Herodot. V. 116. and after the campaign in Caria; V. 118—121. and after the capture of Clazomenæ and Cymæ—ἀλίσκομένων τῶν πολίων.—V. 123, 124. which agrees with the third year of the war, or B. C. 497. Herodotus, therefore, and Thucydides confirm each other.</i></p>
496.	Ol. 71. <i>Hipparchus</i> . Dionys. Ant. V. p. 1035. VI. initio.	<p>Fourth year of the Ionian war: <i>Histiæus</i> comes down to the coast. After the death of <i>Aristagoras</i>.—μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδεις. Herodot. VI. 1. compare V. 108.</p>
495.	71, 2. <i>Philippus</i> . Auctor Vit. Sophocel.	<p>Fifth year of the war. Towards the end of this year, preparations are made for the assault of Miletus: Herodot. VI. 6. ἐπὶ Μιλήτων αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκιμος. But the naval armament (VI. 6. 7.) did not put to sea till the following spring: since B. C. 494 was the first year of the naval operations: followed by winter quarters near Miletus. VI. 18. 31.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>των ἀναγραφῇ. Both Apollodorus and Demetrius fix his birth at B. C. 500.</p>	<p>have exhibited comedy twenty-five or thirty years. See the <i>Introduction</i> p. xxxvi. for the arguments which prove <i>Epicharmus the comic poet</i> and <i>Epicharmus the Pythagorean philosopher</i> to be the same person.</p>
<p>Euseb. <i>Ol.</i> 70. 2 anno 1517 [commencing Oct. B. C. 500] <i>Pythagoras philosophus obiit</i>. By one computation he would be 71 at this date, by the other, 106 years of age. The duration of his life is as variously reported as the time of his birth. His age is stated to be 80 by Heraclides Lembus: <i>Laërt.</i> VIII. 44. ὁ γοῦν Πυθαγόρας, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης φησὶν ὁ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ἐτελεύτα. but 90 by the more general account; ὡς οἱ πλείους. <i>Laërt.</i> <i>ibid.</i> and 99 by Tzetzes <i>Chil.</i> XI. 95.—and 104 by Anon. apud Photium <i>cod.</i> 249. According to Jamblichus c. 36. he presided in his school 39 years, and lived near 100; ἀφηγήσασθαι λέγεται ἐνὸς δέοντος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, τὰ πάντα βιώσαντα ἔτη ἑγγὺς τῶν ἑκατόν. <i>Cf. ann.</i> 539, 510, 472.</p>	<p><i>Æschylus</i> æt. 25 first exhibits, in the 70th Olympiad: <i>Αἰσχύλος</i>, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικὸς—ἡγωνίζετο δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ θ' ὀλυμπιάδι, ἐτῶν ὦν κε'. <i>Suid.</i> <i>Αἰσχύλ.</i>—Πρατίνas—Φλιάσιος, ποιητὴς τραγωδίας, ἀντιγωνίζετο δὲ Αἰσχύλῳ τε καὶ Χοιρίλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους. <i>Suid.</i> Πρατίνas. The second passage of <i>Suidas</i>, where the number is genuine, ἑβδομηκοστῆς, enables us to correct the first: and for θ' ὀλυμπ. to read ὁ' ὀλυμπ. with Meursius and others. (See the note of Kuster ad <i>Suid.</i> t. I. p. 663.) The source of the corruption, ἐν τῇ O. into ἐν τῇ Θ. is obvious; as <i>Petitus</i> has remarked <i>Miscellan.</i> III. 14. tom. I. p. 165.</p>
<p>Birth of <i>Hellanicus</i>: <i>Gell.</i> XV. 23. <i>Hellanicus initio belli Peloponnesiaci</i> [B. C. 431] <i>quinque et sexaginta annos natus videtur</i>; <i>Herodotus, tres et quinquaginta</i>; <i>Thucydides, quadraginta</i>. <i>Scriptum hoc libro undecimo Pamphilæ.</i></p>	
	<p>Birth of <i>Sophocles</i>. γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν φασιν ἑβδομηκοστῇ πρώτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φιλίππου. <i>Auctor Vit. Sophocl.</i> <i>Sophocles</i> was in his 90th year B. C. 406. <i>Conf. an.</i> 405. which will confirm the date of his birth, in the year of <i>Philippus</i>. The <i>Parian Marble</i> places his birth one year higher; making him 28 in the archonship of <i>Apsephion</i> [<i>cf. a.</i> 468] and 91 in the archonship of <i>Callias</i> [<i>cf. a.</i> 405].</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
24	494. 71, 3. <i>Pythocritus</i> . Mar. Par. No. 48. <i>hoc anno, ob PHILIPPUM præcedentem</i> . See <i>Introduction</i> p. xi.	Last year of the war. The confederates are defeated in a naval action near Miletus. Herodot. V. 6—17. Miletus taken in the sixth year of the war: Herodot. VI. 18. οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπεὶ τε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνέκων τοὺς Ἴωνας, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες—αἰρέουσι κατ' ἀκρῆς, ἔκτω ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρῳ. <i>Æaces</i> son of <i>Syloson</i> and nephew of <i>Polycrates</i> is restored by the Persians to the tyranny of Samos. Herodot. VI. 25. compare VI. 13.
493.	71, 4. <i>Themistocles</i> . Dionys. Ant. VI. p. 1117. Reisk: (μελλούσης εἰς τοῦτον τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος.)	Ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων, χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε, αἰρεῖ εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους—Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. Herodot. VI. 31. καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐγένετο τουτέων ἐς νεῖκος φέρον Ἴωσι. VI. 42. <i>Miltiades</i> , while the Phœnician fleet lay at Tenedos, retires from the Chersonese to Athens: Herodot. VI. 41. πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας χρημάτων τριήρεας πέντε ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. His return to Athens was at least twenty-two years after his occupation of the Chersonese, upon the death of his brother <i>Stesagoras</i> . Cf. a. 515.
492.	Ol. 72. <i>Diognetus</i> . Dionys. Ant. VI. p. 1151.	First Persian armament under <i>Mardonius</i> : Herodot. VI. 43—45. ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι Μαρδόνιος κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.—ὡς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα—τοὺς τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας—δημοκρατίας κατίστα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ἡπείγετο ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον.—ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ σφί περιπλέονσι (τὸν Ἀθῶν) βορῆς ἄνεμος—κάρτα τρηχέως περίεσπε πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν.—Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ περὶ στρατοπέδου μὲν ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήϊκες ἐπεχείρησαν—τούτους μέντοι καταστρεψάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατὴν ὀπίσω. οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος αἰσχροῦς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. This expedition was in the year before <i>Darius</i> sent to demand earth and water from the Greeks: VI. 46. and the storm at mount Athos is said to have happened in the year preceding the commencement of the second expedition under <i>Datis</i> : Herodot. VI. 95. See <i>Appendix c. 5. Ionian war</i> .
491.	72, 2. <i>Hybrilides</i> . Pausan. VI. 9, 2. Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1313.	<i>Darius</i> , δευτέρῳ ἔτει τουτέων [after the expedition of <i>Mardonius</i>] πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους—ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν—μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, διέπεμπε κήρυκας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα—. Herodot. VI. 46—48. <i>Cleomenes</i> is still king at Sparta: VI. 48—50. <i>Demaratus</i> is deposed, and succeeded by <i>Leotychides</i> : VI. 61—67. War of Athens and <i>Ægina</i> : VI. 87—93. alluded to by <i>Thucyd.</i> I. 41.—πρὸς τὸν Αἰγυπτῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε.—confirming Herodot. VI. 89. Κορίνθιοι Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι εἴκοσι νέας. <i>Gelon</i> becomes master of <i>Gela</i> : Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1310—1313. τύραννοι δὲ τότε ἦσαν κατὰ πόλεις [in Sicily] ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους, νεωστὶ τὴν Ἰπποκράτους τυραννίδα παρειληφώς—κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ὑβριλίδου. Pausanias VI. 9, 2.—Γέλων ΣΥΡΑΚΟΤΣΑΣ ἔσχεν Ὑβριλίδου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. It is well conjectured by <i>Larcher Chron. Hérod. t. VII. p. 452—455.</i> that Pausanias may have mistaken the occupation of <i>Gela</i> for the occupation of <i>Syracuse</i> : which solves the difficulty. Pausanias himself elsewhere (VIII.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p><i>Pindar. Pyth. VI.—Ξενοκράτει Ἀκραγαντίνῳ νενικηκότι κατὰ τὴν κδ' Πυθιάδα.—ὁ δὲ Ξενοκράτης Θήρωνος ἦν ἀδελφός. Schol. Pyth. VI. 1.—νενίκηκε τὴν κδ' Πυθιάδα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναγράφει. Schol. Isthm. II. 1.</i> 25</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		42, 4) observes, that Gelon reigned at Syracuse κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν.
490.	72, 3. <i>Phænippus</i> . Plutarch. Aristid. c. 5.	Second armament, under <i>Datis</i> and <i>Artaphernes</i> : <i>Darius</i> Μαρδόνιον μὲν—παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγοὺς ἀποδέξας, ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δατὴν τε—καὶ Ἀρταφέρνηα. Herodot. VI. 94. Battle of <i>Marathon</i> : ten years before the expedition of <i>Xerxes</i> —Thucyd. I. 18. Plato Leg. III. p. 698. C.—and in the fifth year before the accession of <i>Xerxes</i> B. C. 485. Herodot. VII. 1. 3. 4. See Appendix c. 5.—μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη. Plutarch. Camill. c. 19.—ἕκτη ἱσταμένον Βοηδρομιῶνος. Plutarch. Glor. Ath. p. 349. F. Idem Mal. Herodot. p. 861. E. [Sept. B. C. 490.] The Spartans were solicited for aid on the ninth day of the moon. Herodot. VI. 106. They marched after the full moon—μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον—arrived in three days, and were too late for the battle: VI. 120. Plato Leg. III. p. 698. ὕστερον ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γενομένης μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. They would arrive on the eighteenth day of the moon. The sixth of Boëdromion, then, was later than the ninth day of the moon, and the civil month did not correspond with the course of the moon.
489.	72, 4. <i>Aristides</i> . Mar. Par. No. 50. Plutarch. Aristid. c. 5.	
488.	Ol. 73. <i>Anchises</i> . Dionys. Ant. VIII. p. 1502.	
487.	73, 2.	Three years of preparation after the battle of <i>Marathon</i> : Herodot. VII. 1. ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p><i>Æschylus</i> present at Marathon æt. 35.—ἐν μάχῃ συνηγωνίσατο Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς (ἐτ) ὦ (ν) ὦν ΔΔΔΠ. Mar. Par. No. 49.</p>
	<p><i>Panyasis</i> the poet, the uncle of Herodotus, flourished: Euseb. Ol. 72. 4 anno 1527 [commencing Oct. B. C. 490] <i>Panyasis poëta cognoscatur.</i> Suid. Πανύασις—Ἡροδότου τοῦ ιστορικοῦ ἐξάδελφος. γέγονε γὰρ Πανύασις Πολυάρχου, ὁ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Λύξου τοῦ Πολυάρχου ἀδελφοῦ. τινὲς δὲ οὐ Λύξην ἀλλὰ Ῥοιὴν τὴν μητέρα Ἡροδότου Παννᾶσιδος ἀδελφὴν ἱστορήσαν. ὁ δὲ Πανύασις γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδα. κατὰ δὲ τινὰς, πολλῶ πρεσβύτερος. γέγονε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν. ἀνηρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ Λυγδάμιδος τοῦ τρίτου τυραννήσαντος Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ. There is no inconsistency in these accounts. <i>Panyasis</i> might be about 30 years older than his nephew <i>Herodotus</i>: began to be known Olymp. 72. 4 [B. C. 489], continued in reputation till Olymp. 78 [B. C. 467], and was put to death by <i>Lygdamis</i> about B. C. 457. Cf. a. 457.</p>
	<p><i>Chionides</i> first exhibits: Χιονίδης, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας· ὃν καὶ λέγουσι πρωταγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, διδάσκειν δὲ ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν. Suid. Eudocia p. 436. has also ὀκτὼ π. τ. Π. The <i>Dionysia</i> in spring B. C. 487 were eight years (current) before the expedition of Xerxes.—<i>Dinolochns</i>, Συρακούσιος ἢ Ἀκραγαντίνος, κωμικὸς, ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδος· υἱὸς Ἐπιχάρμου· ὥς δὲ τινες, μαθητῆς. ἐδίδαξε δράματα ἰδ' Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ. Suid.</p>

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B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
486.	73, 3.	<p>Revolt of Egypt, in the fourth year after the battle of Marathon, and the year before the death of <i>Darius</i>: Herodot. VII. 1. 4. τετάρτῳ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων.—μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει—συνήνευκε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον ἀποθανεῖν.</p>
28	485. 73, 4. <i>Philocrates</i> . Mar. Par. No. 51. compared with No. 61.—i. e. 43 years before <i>Diphilus</i> , who was archon B. C. 442. Placed, as usual, one year too high in the Marbles.	<p>Accession of <i>Xerxes</i>: in the fifth year after the battle of Marathon, and five years before the expedition against Greece in B. C. 480. Herodot. VII. 1—4. compared with VII. 20. Confirmed by the Canon apud Syncell. p. 208. Ξέρξου ἔτη κα'. N. E. 263. [= B. C. 485.] See <i>Appendix c. 5</i>.</p> <p><i>Gelon</i> becomes master of Syracuse in this year; because he reigned seven years, and was succeeded in the eighth by <i>Hiero</i>: Aristot. Polit. V. 9, 23. Schneid. and <i>Hiero</i> succeeded in the year of <i>Timosthenes</i> B. C. 478. Diod. XI. 38.</p> <p>Naval empire of the <i>Æginetæ</i>: Euseb. Ol. 73. 4 anno 1531 [from Oct. B. C. 486] <i>XVII^o loco maris imperium tenuerunt Æginetæ usque ad Xerxis transmissionem annis X</i>. The Samians followed the Phocæans in the empire of the sea in B. C. 529: conf. a. 529. F. H. I. p. 234. From this period the following are named from Diodorus by Euseb. Chron. I. p. 169. <i>XIII. Sami annis ... XIV. Lacedæmonii annis II</i> [male ἰβ' Syncellus p. 238. C]. <i>XV. Naxii annis X</i> [ἔτη ι' Syncell. p. 247. B]. <i>XVI. Eretrienses annis XV</i> [ἔτη ζ' Syncell. p. 247. B]. <i>XVII. Æginetæ annis X</i> [ἔτη ι' Syncell. p. 247. C] <i>usque ad Xerxis transmissionem</i>. The dates supplied by Eusebius himself will give to the Samians 16, the Lacedæmonians and Naxians together 11, the Eretrians 17, the <i>Æginetæ</i> 5=49 years. Conf. a. 529. 513. 502.</p>
484.	Ol. 74. <i>Leostratus</i> . Dionys. Ant. VIII. p. 1694.	<p>Egypt recovered in the beginning of the second year of <i>Xerxes</i>: δευτέρῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρεῖον. Herodot. VII. 7. Hieron. ap. Euseb. Ol. 74. 1. <i>Xerxes Ægyptum capit. Aristides cum ignominia ejicitur</i>. The date of these two events is nearly accurate. Egypt was recovered at the end of Olymp. 73. 4, <i>Aristides</i> was banished at the end of Olymp. 74. 1. Cf. a. 483.</p>
483.	74, 2. <i>Nicodemus</i> . Dionys. Ant. VIII. p. 1711.	<p>Ostracism of <i>Aristides</i>: since he was recalled τρίτῳ ἔτει, Ξέρξου διὰ Θεσσαλίας ἐλαύνοντος. Plutarch. Aristid. c. 8. or rather, the year following: for he seems to have been still in exile at the battle of Salamis B. C. 480. Herodot. VIII. 79. He was returned, and commanded the Athenian forces twelve months afterwards at the battle</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>Δεινός. Δεινόλοχος ὁ ἀνταγωνιστὴς Ἐπιχάρμου Ælian. H. A. VI. 51. Pindar and Simonides are named at this date by Eusebius: Ol. 73. 2 anno 1529 [from Oct. B. C. 488] Pindarus et Simonides lyrici illustres cognoscebantur.</p>
	<p>Epicharmus continues to write comedy.—πρὸ 29 τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη ἕξ, διδάσκων ἐν Συρακούσαις· ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις Εὐέτης καὶ Εὐξενίδης καὶ Μύλος ἐπε- δείκνυντο. Suid. Ἐπιχ.—in the 73d Olympiad— χρόνοις δὲ γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οὐδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. Prole- gom. Aristoph. p. xii. Kust.—xxviii. Beck. He had already perfected comedy long before Chio- nides: Cf. a. 500. and continued to exhibit in the reign of Hiero: Cf. a. 477. Mylus the comic poet (who is mentioned by Zenob. Adag. V. 14. p. 117. Diogenian. Adag. VI. 40. p. 232. Hesych. v. μύλλον) is classed with Magnes by Diomed. III. p. 486. Poetæ primi comici fuere Susarion, Mullus, et Magnes. which confirms the date of Suidas.</p>
<p>Birth of Herodotus: Cf. a. 496. Suidas— Ἡρόδοτος. Λύξου καὶ Δρυοῦς, Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, τῶν ἐπιφανῶν—μετέστη δ' ἐν Σάμῳ διὰ Λύγαμιν τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρτεμισίας τρίτον τύραννον γενόμενον Ἀλικαρ- νασσοῦ.</p>	<p>Æschylus gains the prize in tragedy: Mar. Par. No. 51. ἀφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς τραγῳδία πρῶτον ἐνίκησεν—ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΠ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φιλοκράτους. Pindar. Olymp. X, XI. Ἀγησιδάμῳ Λοκρῷ Ἐπιζεφυρίῳ—ἐνίκησε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀγησί- δαμος τὴν ἐβδομηκοστὴν τετάρτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. Schol. X. 1. Birth of Achæus:—Ἀχαιὸς Πυθοδώρου ἢ Πυθο- δώριδος, Ἐρετριεύς, τραγικός, γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οὐδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα—ἦν δὲ νεώτερος Σοφοκλέους ὀλίγω τινί. Suid. Ἀχαιὸς Ἐρετρ.</p>
	<p>Ἐν ἐβδομηκοστῇ τετάρτῃ (Ὀλυμπ.) Φρύνιχος καὶ Χοιρίλος. Cyrill. Julian. I. p. 13. B. Euseb. Ol. 74. 3 anno 1534 [from Oct. B. C. 483] Chærilus et Phrynichus cognoscebantur. For Phrynichus the tragic poet cf. ann. 511, 476. For Chærilus</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		of Plataea. Herodot. IX. 28. His recall therefore was between those two actions.
482.	74, 3.	
481.	74, 4. <i>Themistocles</i> . Schol. Thucyd. I. 93. See Introduction p. xv. xvi.	Fourth year after the recovery of Egypt: ἐπὶ τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεια παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ. Herodot. VII. 20. The fourth year was completed in spring B.C. 481. See Appendix c. 5. Xerxes in the autumn arrived at Sardis; Herod. VII. 32—37. where he wintered.
480.	Ol. 75. <i>Calliades</i> . Diod. Ant. IX. p. 1739. Herodot. VIII. 51. Diodor. XI. 1. Syncell. p. 250. D. Mar. Par. No. 52. Laërt. II. 45. <i>Callias</i> Auct. Vit. Eurip. Laërt. II. 7. <i>Calliades</i> Euseb. Ol. 74. 3 anno 1534: a <i>prochronism</i> of two years.	Ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὄρματο. Herodot. VII. 37. Actions at <i>Thermopylae</i> and <i>Artemisium</i> , at the time of the Olympic games. ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ὀλυμπιάς τοῦτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα.—οἱ δέ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἀγοίεν. Herodot. VII. 206. VIII. 26. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἥδη. VIII. 72. <i>Salamis</i> at the time of the Mysteries: Herodot. VIII. 65. περὶ τὰς εἰκάδας τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος—τὴν εἰκάδα—ἥ τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰαχχὸν ἐξάγουσι Plutarch. Camill. c. 19. It was in the autumn: Herodot. VIII. 113. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ—ἀνωρίην εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν χειμερίσαι τε ἀμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι. VIII. 130. ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγεγόμενος, φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος—ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. Eunapius p. 58 ed. Bonn. alludes to the season: τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων οἱ Ἕλληνες κυνὸς ἐπιτέλλοντος. Plutarch, therefore, is in error when he says ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ μονιχιῶνος μηνός. Glor. Ath. p. 349. F. which would be <i>April</i> for the date of the battle. Corsini Fast. Att. t. III. p. 166. defends Plutarch, by supposing him to mean a battle at <i>Salamis in Cyprus</i> , under <i>Cimon</i> , many years later. But the whole tenor of the sentence in Plutarch, and the context, evidently shew that no other battle could be meant than the celebrated battle of <i>Salamis</i> . And Plutarch has the same erroneous date elsewhere: Lysand. c. 15. where he plainly intends that battle; ἐν ἣ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων τὸν βάρβαρον.—Victory of <i>Gelon</i> at <i>Himera</i> : Herodot. VII. 166. λέγουσι ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης ἐν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν, καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. Aristotle Poët. c. 24. in more general terms—κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἢ τ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐγένετο ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων μάχη. But Herodotus is more entitled to credit upon this point than Diodorus XI. 24. who makes the battle of <i>Himera</i> coincide with the action at <i>Thermopylae</i> .
479.	75, 2. <i>Xanthippus</i> . Diod. XI. 27. Mar. Par. No. 53. <i>Xanthippides</i> Plutarch. Aristid. c. 5.	<i>Mardonius</i> occupies Athens, ten months after its occupation by Xerxes in the preceding year. Herodot. IX. 3.— <i>Plataea</i> , <i>Mycalæ</i> , in September: Plutarch. Aristid. c. 19. ταύτην τὴν μάχην [<i>Plataea</i>] ἐμαχέσαντο τῇ τετράδι τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου.—Idem Camill. c. 19. Βοηδρομιῶνος τρίτῃ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἅμα καὶ περὶ Μυκάλην ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Herodot. IX. 101. τὸ μὲν ἐν Πλαταιαῖσι πρῶτ' ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐνίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δελίνην—τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ. In the year of <i>Xanthippus</i> : Plutarch. Aristid. c. 5. Ξανθιππίδην (sic) ἐφ' οὗ Μαρδόνιος ἡττήθη Πλαταιαῖσιν.—Siege of <i>Sestos</i> in the autumn; which surrenders in the following

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>conf. an. 523. <i>Chærilus</i> had now exhibited tragedy forty years; <i>Phrynichus</i> near thirty years.</p>
<p><i>Pherecydes</i> of Athens the historian flourished: Φερεκύδης Λέριος, ιστορικὸς, γεγονὼς πρὸ ὀλίγου τῆς οἰ' Ὀλυμπιάδος. Suid. He continued in reputation till Ol. 81. 3. Euseb. Ol. 81. 3 anno 1562 [commencing Oct. B. C. 455] <i>Pherecydes alter historicus agnoscebatur</i>. Sturz to reconcile Eusebius with Suidas interprets γεγονὼς natus, and makes <i>Pherecydes</i> three years younger than <i>Herodotus</i>. But the terms of Eusebius and Suidas are too vague to be rigidly taken. It is sufficient that we suppose <i>Pherecydes</i> to have flourished between B. C. 480 and 454, by interpreting γεγονὼς floruit, with Vossius de Histor. Græc. and Heyne ad Apollod. Consistently with the arrangement here adopted, Muller, Dor. tom. I. p. 457, places <i>Pherecydes</i> before <i>Hellanicus</i>.</p> <p><i>Anaxagoras</i>, æt. 20, ἤρξατο φιλοσοφεῖν Ἀθήνησι. Laërt. II. 7. Cf. a. 500. He remained at Athens thirty years. Cf. a. 450. <i>Anaximenes</i>, by whom he was taught, must have been living, at least in the 74th Olympiad; when <i>Anaxagoras</i> was only 16 or 18 years of age: which implies a period of 64 or 65 years from the ἀκμή or ἡλικία of <i>Anaximenes</i>, in the 58th Olympiad, to his death. Conf. an. 548. If these positions are true, <i>Anaximenes</i> must have lived nearly ninety years.</p>	<p>Birth of <i>Euripides</i>: τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδόμη-κοστῆς πέμπτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Καλλιάρχου. Laërt. II. 45.—ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐναντιώ-χουν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1.—ἐτέχθη καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν Ἕλληνες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς Πέρσας Suid. Εὐριπίδ. Both authors of the life of Euripides, Thom. Mag. apud Musgrav. and MS. apud Elmsleium ad calcem Bæch. ἐπὶ Καλλίου [sic] ἀρχοντος κατὰ τὴν οἰ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε ἐναντιώμαχον, κ. τ. λ. Eratosthenes and Philochorus confirm this date. Cf. a. 406. These testimonies outweigh the Parian Marble, which dates his birth B. C. 485. The Marble is consistent in its dates: No. 51. ἀρχοντος Φιλοκράτους Εὐριπίδης ἐγένετο. [B. C. 485.] No. 61. ἀρχοντος Διφίλου Εὐριπίδης ἐτῶν ὧν τριῶν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. [B. C. 442.] Forty-three years are the exact interval.</p> <p><i>Pindar</i>, at the battle of Salamis, had completed his 38th, and entered his 39th year. Cf. a. 518. I follow Corsini Fast. Att. t. II. p. 64, in fixing the birth of <i>Pindar</i>, with Plutarch, at the Pythian games of Ol. 65. although Corsini places the games in the ninth month of the 3d Olympic year, rather than the first or second; and consequently shortens the age of <i>Pindar</i> by so many months. The period of 40 years, named by Suidas, κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν ἐτῶν ὧν μ', must be understood with some latitude. For <i>Pindar</i> in B. C. 480 compare Diod. XI. 26.</p>
<p><i>Antipho Rhamnusius</i> γέγονε κατὰ τὰ Περσικὰ καὶ Γοργίαν τὸν σοφιστὴν, ὀλίγω νεώτερος αὐτοῦ. Vit. X. or. p. 832. E.—Suidas: Ἀντιφῶν ἤρξε τοῦ δικανικοῦ χαρακτῆρος μετὰ Γοργίαν. Born therefore about the year of Calliades. Cf. a. 412.</p>	<p>The birth of <i>Chærilus</i> of Samos may be probably assigned to the 75th Olympiad. He was younger than <i>Herodotus</i>: Suid. Χοιρίλ. Σάμιος. He resided at Samos in the time of <i>Lysander</i> B. C. 404: Plutarch. Lysand. c. 18. τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν [i. e. citizens of Samos] Χοιρίλον μὲν αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε (Λύσανδρος,) ὥς κοσμήσονται τὰς πράξεις διὰ ποιητικῆς. And was received at the court of <i>Archelaus</i>: Athen. VIII. p. 345. d.—where he died; Suid. τελευτῆσαι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ Ἀρχε-</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		spring B. C. 478: Thueyd. I. 89. Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν—καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον αὐτήν. After the surrender of Sestos, κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τουτέων ἐγένετο. Herodot. IX. 121.—whence we may collect that Herodotus did not compute the commencement of the year from the winter solstice. See the <i>Introduction</i> p. xx.
478.	75, 3. <i>Timosthenes</i> . Diod. XI. 38. Mar. Par. No. 54.	<i>Hiero</i> succeeds <i>Gelon</i> in the year of <i>Timosthenes</i> . Diod. XI. 38. He reigned ἔτη ἑνδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. Diod. <i>ibid.</i> —but <i>ten</i> years according to <i>Aristot. Polit. V. 9</i> . Γέλων μὲν γὰρ ἑπτὰ τυραννεύσας (ἔτη) τῷ ὀγδόῳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε· δέκα δ' Ἰέρων. Θρασύβουλος δὲ τῷ ἑνδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐξέπεσε. <i>Diodorus</i> is consistent with himself; <i>cf. ann.</i> 467, 466. and is confirmed by <i>Schol. Pindar. Pyth. III.</i> from whence it may be collected that <i>Hiero</i> was king in the 75th Olympiad. Compare also <i>Schol. Pindar. Pyth. I. 1</i> . ἔσχε δὲ ὁ Ἰέρων τὴν τῶν Συρακουσίων ἀρχὴν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Γέλωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν τῇ ἐβδόμηκοστῇ πέμπτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι.
477.	75, 4. <i>Adimantus</i> . Diod. XI. 41. Mar. Par. No. 55. <i>Plutarch. Themistocl. c. 5</i> . <i>Schol. in Her-mogen. p. 410</i> .	Commencement of the Athenian ascendancy or empire: in the year of <i>Adimantus</i> . Diod. XI. 41. 48.—forty-five years before the Peloponnesian war; <i>Demosth. Olynth. III. p. 35</i> .—sixty-five, before the ruin of the Athenian affairs in Sicily; <i>Isocrat. Panathen. c. 19. p. 244. b.</i> —in the seventy-third year before the capture of Athens by <i>Lysander</i> ; <i>Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 116</i> .—called in round numbers seventy years by <i>Isocrates Panegyr. c. 30. p. 62. e.</i> by <i>Lysias Epitaph. p. 113. Reisk.</i> by <i>Plato epist. VII. p. 332. b.</i> by <i>Aristides Panathen. tom. I. p. 170. Jebb.</i> and by <i>Demosthenes himself Philipp. III. p. 117</i> . See <i>Appendix c. 6. Athenian empire</i> .

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>λάφ τῷ τότε αὐτῆς βασιλεί. When, therefore, Suidas says, that <i>Chærilus</i> ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν, ὀλυμπιάδι οὐκ, νεανίσκον ἤδη εἶναι, he is in an error; as <i>Nækius</i> ad <i>Choerili Fragmenta</i> has shewn from the preceding testimonies. But we need not wholly reject those notes of time. If Olymp. 75 was mentioned in connexion with <i>Chærilus</i> by the authors whom Suidas followed, it might be mentioned as the period of his birth: which would suppose him five or six years younger than <i>Herodotus</i>, and 75 at the visit of <i>Lysander</i> to <i>Samos</i>. His death happened before the year B. C. 399, which was the last year of <i>Archelaus</i>.</p>
<p>The history of <i>Herodotus</i> terminates at the siege of <i>Sestos</i>, spring B. C. 478: <i>Diod. XI. 37.</i> τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἡρόδοτος, ἀρξάμενος πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν χρόνων, γέγραφε κοινὰς σχεδὸν τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις ἐν βίβλοις ἑννέα· καταστρέφει δὲ τὴν σύνταξιν εἰς τὴν περὶ Μυκάλην μάχην τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ Σηστοῦ πολιορκίαν.</p>	<p><i>Pindar. Pyth. XI.</i> Θρασυδαίῳ παιδὶ Θηβαίῳ σταδιδεῖ νικήσαντι τὴν κῆ πυθιάδα [Ol. 75. 3], καὶ λγ' [Ol. 80. 3] δίαυλον ἢ στάδιον ἄνδρας. Schol. The former victory is here celebrated. <i>Pindar. Pyth. IX.</i> Τελεσικράτει Κυρηναίῳ—νικήσαντι τὴν εἰκοστὴν ὀγδόην πυθιάδα ὀπλίτῃ τῇ δὲ λ' [Ol. 77. 3] στάδιον· παρὸ δὲ οὐ μνημονεύει τῆς ἐν σταδίῳ νίκης. To the same purpose another Scholiast.</p>
<p><i>Xenophanes</i> still living in the reign of <i>Hiero</i>, according to <i>Timæus</i> ap. <i>Clem. Strom. I. p. 301.</i> οὐ φησι Τίμαιος κατὰ Ἱέρωνα τὸν Σικελίας δυναστὴν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι. <i>Athenæus II. p. 54. e.</i> Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν Παρωδαῖς—Πηλίκος ἦσθ' ὅθ' ὁ Μῆδος ἀφίκετο;—<i>Plutarch. Mor. p. 175. B. C.</i> Ἱέρων, ὁ μετὰ Γέλωνα τύραννος, ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον, κ. τ. λ. From all these testimonies, it seems that there were two accounts or traditions of the time of <i>Xenophanes</i>: one which was adopted by <i>Apollodorus</i>; and another which is pointed out by these passages of <i>Timæus</i>, <i>Plutarch</i>, and <i>Athenæus</i>. The text of <i>Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 696.</i>—ὁ Σιμωνίδης διεβέβλητο ἐπὶ φιλαργυρίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Σοφοκλέα οὖν διὰ φιλαργυρίαν ἐοικέναι τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ.—ὅθεν Ξενοφάνης κίμβικα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει—can occasion no difficulty: for either another <i>Xenophanes</i>, <i>ιαμβοποιὸς</i>, may be understood, (cf. <i>Laërt. IX. 20.</i>) or the words of the scholiast may be transposed: ὁ Σιμωνίδης διεβέβλητο—ὅθεν Ξενοφάνης κίμβικα αὐτὸν [i. e. <i>Simonid.</i>] προσαγορεύει. Καὶ τὸν Σοφοκλέα οὖν, κ. τ. λ. That the term κίμβιξ was applied to <i>Simonides</i> appears from <i>Athenæus XIV. p. 656. d.</i>—<i>Xenophanes</i>, whatever was his time, lived in exile in</p>	<p>(<i>Epicharmi Nâsoi. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. I. 98.</i> ὅτι Ἀναξίλαος Λοκροῦς ἠθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ἐκώλυθη πρὸς Ἱέρωνος, ἱστορεῖ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις. <i>Anaxilaus</i> died B. C. 476. <i>Diod. XI. 48.</i> about two years after the accession of <i>Hiero</i>. This drama of <i>Epicharmus</i> was therefore represented at least as late as B. C. 477. That <i>Epicharmus</i> flourished in the reign of <i>Hiero</i> is attested by the <i>Parian Marble No. 56.</i> ἀφ' οὗ Ἱέρων Συρακουσῶν ἐτυράννευσεν, ἔτη . . . ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Χάρητος. [B. C. 472.] ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς κατὰ τοῦτον.—and by <i>Plutarch Moral. p. 68. A. p. 175. C.</i>)</p>

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
476	Ol. 76. <i>Phædon</i> . Dionys. Ant. IX. p. 1791. Diod. XI. 48. Schol. Æschin. p. 755. Reisk. Plutarch. Thes. c. 36.	<p>Death of <i>Anaxilaus</i> of <i>Rhegium</i> Diod. XI. 48. ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φαίδωνος—ἐτελεύτησεν Ἀναξίλας ὁ Ῥηγίου καὶ Ζάγκλης τύραννος, δυναστεύσας ἔτη δεκαοκτώ [B. C. 494—476]. τὴν δὲ τυραννίδα διεδέξατο Μίκυθος, πιστευθεὶς ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς τέκνοις τοῦ τελευτήσαντος. <i>Anaxilaus</i> was reigning in B. C. 494, when the Ionian fugitives seized upon Zancle. Herodot. VI. 22. 23. Thucyd. VI. 4. and in B. C. 480 he procured the assistance of the Carthaginians for his father-in-law <i>Terillus</i> of <i>Himera</i> against <i>Theron</i>: Herodot. VII. 165. <i>Hiero</i> married the daughter of <i>Anaxilaus</i>: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. I. 112. These testimonies confirm the dates of Diodorus. Bentley Diss. Phal. p. 146—160. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 155, 156. and Larcher Hérodote tom. V. have fully discussed the chronology of <i>Anaxilaus</i>, and have proved that the <i>Anaxilaus</i> of Pausanias is the same person as the <i>Anaxilaus</i> of other authors.</p> <p>Scyros taken by <i>Cimon</i>. The second action of the Athenians after their accession to the command. Thucyd. I. 98. Πρώτον μὲν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι πολιορκία εἶλον, Κίμωνος στρατηγούντος. ἔπειτα Σκύρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν ἔκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν, καὶ ἔκτισαν αὐτοί. In the archonship of <i>Phædon</i>: Plutarch. Thes. c. 36. Μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ, Φαίδωνος ἀρχοντος, μαντευομένοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνείλεν ἡ Πυθία τὰ Θησέως ἀναλαβεῖν ὁστᾶ—ἦν δὲ καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπορία—οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ Κίμων, ἔλων τὴν νῆσον—ἀνέσκαψεν. Bentley Diss. Phal. p. 281—283 for <i>Phædon</i> corrects Ἀφεψίωνος, because “<i>Aphepsion</i> was archon in the “very year that <i>Cimon</i> fetched the bones;” Plutarch. <i>Cimon</i>. and because, otherwise, “it would be seven years before the oracle was “obeyed.” There is no need of altering the text. The island was actually conquered in the year of <i>Phædon</i>. This we know from Thucydides I. 98. and Diodorus XI. 41. 48. combined. Plutarch named the archon <i>Phædon</i> with reference to the conquest of the island; and then, by a negligence not unusual in him, connected the oracle with that fact as a contemporary transaction, although in truth the oracle was not procured till six or seven years afterwards.</p>
475.	76, 2. <i>Dromocleides</i> . Diod. XI. 50.	Diodorus XI. 50 inserts a notice, under the year of <i>Dromocleides</i> , of the Lacedæmonians, as having already lost the ascendancy: ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Δρομοκλείδου Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβεβληκότες—βαρέως ἔφερον, κ. τ. λ. Consistently with his own date for this event, and with the true time: <i>Conf. an. 477</i> .
474.	76, 3. <i>Acestorides</i> . Diod. XI. 51.	Naval victory of <i>Hiero</i> over the Tuscans: Diod. XI. 51. παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβευον ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ δεομένων βοηθήσαι πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Τυρρήνων θαλαττοκρατούντων. In the year of <i>Acestorides</i> : Diod. <i>ibid</i> . Pindar Pyth. I. 140 alludes to this victory.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>Sicily : Laërt. IX. 18. οὗτος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος ἐν Ζάγκλῃ τῆς Σικελίας διέτριβε καὶ ἐν Κατάνῃ.</p>	<p><i>Phrynichus</i> victor in tragedy : Ptutarch. The-mistocl. c. 5. Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύ- νιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν. About thirty- five years after his first prize in Ol. 67. <i>conf. a.</i> 511. I suppose the archons of this period to have commenced at the <i>summer solstice</i>, and not in the winter : consequently the Dionysia of the archon Adimantus would be in spring B. C. 476, and not in spring B. C. 477; in his <i>ninth</i> month and not in his <i>third</i>. See the <i>Introduction</i> p. xxi.</p> <p><i>Simonides</i> æt. 80 gains the prize ἀνδρῶν χορῶ. Schol. in Hermog. p. 410. Οὗτος πάσης ἐπιστήμων ποιητικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς ὑπῆρχεν, ὡς ἐκ νεότητος ἄχρι γῆρας ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι νικᾷ· ὡς καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῦ·</p> <p>ἦρχε μὲν Ἀδείμαντος Ἀθηναίσις, ὅτ' ἐνίκα Ἀντιοχίς φυλὴ δαιδαλέον τρίποδα. Ξεινοφίλου δέ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδους ἐχορήγει πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῶ· ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κῦδος ὀγδωκονταέτει παιδὶ Λεωπρεπέος.</p> <p>The two last lines are given by Plutarch Mor. P. 785. A.—Mar. Par. No. 55. ἀφ' οὗ Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρεποῦς ὁ Κείος—ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν διδάσκων— ἐτη ΗΗ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Αδείμαντου.</p> <p><i>Pindar. Olymp. XIV.</i> Ἀσωπίχῳ Ὀρχομενίῳ παιδί. Οὗτος ἐνίκησε τὴν 55' Ὀλυμπιάδα σταδίῳ. Schol.</p>
	<p>Euseb. Chron. Ol. 76. 2 anno 1541 [com- mencing Oct. B. C. 476] <i>Æschylus tragicus cog- noscebatur.</i></p>
	<p><i>Pindar. Pyth. III.</i> Schol. III. 1. Ἰέρωνι νικῆ- σαντι κέλῃτι τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἐκτὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν ἐβδόμην πυθιάδα [Ol. 73. 3. 74. 3]—ὥστε ἐπὶ ταῖς δύο νίκαις τὴν ᾠδὴν συντετάχθαι. συνάδει δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων. ὡς γὰρ ἦδη βασιλεύοντός φησιν [v. 70= 124]. “ὃς Συρακόσαισι νέμει βασιλεὺς,”—καθί- σταται δὲ ὁ Ἰέρων βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομηκοστὴν ἐκτὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὀγδόης πυθιάδος— συγχρόνου οὖσης. ὥστε—μετὰ τὴν ὑστερον πυθιάδα ἥτις γέγονε περὶ τὴν 55' Ὀλυμπιάδα συντετάχθαι τόνδε</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
473.	76, 4. <i>Menon</i> . Diod. XI. 52. Arg. Æschyl. Pers.	
472.	Ol. 77. <i>Chares</i> . Diod. XI. 53. Dionys. Ant. IX. p. 1844. Mar. Par. No. 56. In the edition of Chandler the numbers of ep. 56 are defective, and the name of the archon is X . . ητος. But in ed. Prideaux the passage is thus represented—ἐτη ΗΗΠΠΠ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι X . . η . os.	Death of <i>Theron</i> of <i>Agrigentum</i> , in the year of <i>Chares</i> , ἀρξας ἐτη δέκα καὶ ἕξ. Diod. XI. 53. Towards the end of B. C. 472, or beginning of 471. <i>Principio enim anni</i> [Olymp. 77. 1] <i>curru victor Olympiæ laudatusque Pindar</i> . <i>Olymp. II.</i> Wesseling. ad Diod. XI. 53.
471.	77, 2. <i>Praxiergus</i> . Diod. XI. 54.	<i>Themistocles</i> banished by ostracism, ἐπὶ Πραξιέργου. Diod. XI. 54. Six years after the Athenians had succeeded to the command (cf. a. 477), and five years before his flight to Persia; which happened in B. C. 466. He withdrew to Argos, and resided there when the treason of <i>Pausanias</i> was discovered: Diod. XI. 55. ἐξοστρακισθεὶς ἐφύγεν ἐκ

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>τὸν ἐπινίκιον. Composed some time after the victory : v. 74=131.—στεφάνοις τοὺς ἀριστεύων Φερένικος ἔλ' ἐν Κίρρα ποτέ. And when <i>Hiero</i> was now Αἰτναῖος : v. 69=121. Conf. Boeckh. <i>Pindar.</i> tom. II. 2. p. 254. But his victory at Pyth. 29 is not mentioned, and his naval victory is not alluded to; which both occurred in the year of <i>Acestorides</i>; see col. 2. Probably therefore <i>Pyth. III.</i> was composed within the year of <i>Dromoclides</i> Ol. 76. 2, in the beginning of B. C. 474.</p> <p><i>Pindar. Pyth. I.</i> Schol. I. 1. Ἰέρωνι—ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Ἰέρων τὴν μὲν εἰκοστὴν ἔκτην πυθιάδα καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς κέλῃτι [celebrated in <i>Pyth. III.</i>], τὴν δὲ εἰκοστὴν ἐνάτην [Ol. 76. 3] ἄρματι· εἰς ἣν ὁ ὑποκείμενος ἐπινίκιος τέτακται. <i>Pindar</i> in this ode alludes to the naval victory obtained in this year: See col. 2.</p>
<p><i>Pythagoras</i> is now ninety-nine, according to the computations of <i>Aristoxenus</i> and <i>Jamblichus</i>: <i>Aristoxenus</i> apud <i>Porphyr.</i> Vit. <i>Pythag.</i> s. 9. γεγονότα δὲ ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα (φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος) καὶ ὄρωντα τὴν τοῦ Πολυκράτους τυραννίδα συντονώτερον οὖσαν οὕτω δὴ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπαρσιν ποιήσασθαι. <i>Jamblichus</i> Vit. <i>Pythag.</i> c. 4. κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον—ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Καμβύσου αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀνήχθη—ἄλλα τε δώδεκα συνδιατρίψας ἔτη εἰς Σάμον ὑπέστρεψε περὶ ἕκτον πον καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη γεγυνώς. Born, therefore, B. C. 570, and died in his 99th year B. C. 472. He died at Metapontum: <i>Laërt.</i> VIII. 39. The school of <i>Pythagoras</i> subsisted nine generations: <i>Laërt.</i> VIII. 46. αὐτοῦ τὸ σύστημα διέμεινε μέχρι γενεῶν ἐννέα, ἣ καὶ δέκα· τελευταῖοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῶν Πυθαγορείων, οὓς καὶ Ἀριστοξένος εἶδε, Ξενοφίλος τε ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἀπὸ Θράκης καὶ Φάντων ὁ Φλιάσιος καὶ Ἐχεκράτης καὶ Διοκλῆς καὶ Πολύμναστος Φλιάσιοι. As <i>Aristoxenus</i> flourished about B. C. 320, these nine or ten generations included <i>Pythagoras</i> himself: from whose birth, or rather ἀκμῇ, in B. C. 570, to <i>Aristoxenus</i>, was a period of 250 years.</p>	<p><i>Æschyli Πέρσαι.</i> Argum. Persar. ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγῳδῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐνέκα Φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ Ποτινεῖ, Προμηθεῖ. This was the Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος, or Πυρκαεὺς, σατυρικός. The Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας was subsequent to this date: Schol. ad <i>Aristoph.</i> Ran. 1053. οἱ Πέρσαι πρότερον δεδιδαγμένοι εἰσὶν, εἴτα οἱ Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας.</p> <p><i>Pindar. Olymp. II.</i> γέγραπται Θήρωνι Ἀκραγαντίνῳ ἄρματι νενικηκότῃ τὴν ἑβδομηκοστὴν ἑβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα.—ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρων νῖδος Αἰνησιδάμων. Schol.—<i>Olymp. XII.</i> Ἐργοτέλει—ὃς ἠγωνίσατο ἑβδομηκοστὴν ἑβδόμην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς πυθιάδα εἰκοστὴν ἐνάτην. Schol.</p> <p><i>Pindar</i> is named at this date by <i>Eusebius Chron.</i> Ol. 77. 1 anno 1544 [commencing Oct. B. C. 473] <i>Pindarus hoc tempore extitit.</i></p>
<p>Birth of <i>Thucydides</i>. Cf. a. 496.</p>	<p><i>Timocreon of Rhodes</i> the lyric poet flourished in the time of <i>Themistocles</i>: <i>Suidas</i>—Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος—διεφέρετο πρὸς Σιμωνίδην τὸν τῶν μελῶν ποιητὴν [Cf. <i>Laërt.</i> II. 46] καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Themistocl.</i> c. 21. Τιμοκρέων</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>τῆς πατρίδος εἰς Ἄργος. Plutarch. Themistocl. c. 23. ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἄργει, τὰ περὶ Πανσανίαν συμπεσόντα καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχε τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀφορμὰς. Thucyd. I. 135. ἔτυχεν ὠστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δίαίταν μὲν ἐν Ἄργει, ἐπιφουτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον. During his exile the plans of Pausanias were communicated to him: Plutarch. Themistocl. c. 23. Πανσανίας—πρότερον μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα—ὥς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπωκότα—ἐθάρσησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν παρακαλεῖν. A proof that the exile of Themistocles before his flight to Persia was of some duration. Diodorus, who rightly dates his ostracism, has condensed into one narrative, and placed under one year, all the subsequent transactions. <i>Conf. a. 465.</i></p>
470.	77, 3. <i>Demotion.</i> Diod. XI. 60.	
469.	77, 4. <i>Apsephion.</i> Mar. Par. No. 57. <i>Aphepsion</i> Plutarch. Cimon. c. 8. <i>corrupte</i> Ἀψίωνος apud Laërt. II. 44.—Φαίωνος apud Diod. XI. 63.	<p><i>Pericles</i> begins to have a share in public affairs, forty years before his death; <i>cf. a. 429.</i> which determines his commencement to the year of <i>Apsephion</i>. According to Plutarch <i>Pericl. c. 7.</i> <i>Aristides</i> was already dead: ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστέλδης μὲν ἀποτεθνήκει καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπεπτῶκει—οὕτω δὲ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσέειπεν ἑαυτὸν. and, by the date of <i>Nepos</i>, <i>Aristides</i> died one year later. <i>cf. a. 468.</i> But the account of Plutarch is not to be rigidly taken: the forty years of <i>Pericles</i> might commence a little before the death of <i>Aristides</i>.</p>
468.	Ol. 78. <i>Theagenides.</i> Dionys. Antiq. IX. p. 1897. Diod. XI. 65. Mar. Par. No. 58. Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 1146. <i>Theagenides</i> Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. A.	<p><i>Mycenæ</i> destroyed by the Argives: Diod. XI. 65. ἀρχὼν Θεαγενέλδης.—Ἀργείοις καὶ Μυκηναίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος.—οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς Μυκηναίους ἀνδραποδισάμενοι—τὰς Μυκήνας κατέσκαψαν. Attested by Strabo VIII. p. 372. κατεσκάφησαν ὑπ' Ἀργείων ὥστε νῦν μὴδ' ἔχνος εὐρίσκεισθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως. Ibid. p. 377. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ Κλεωναίων καὶ Τεγεατῶν ἐπελθόντες ἄρδην τὰς Μυκήνας ἀνείλον, καὶ τὴν χώραν διενείμαντο.</p> <p>Death of <i>Aristides</i>, according to <i>Nepos</i> <i>Aristid. c. 3.</i> about four years after the banishment of Themistocles: <i>Decessit fere post annum quartum quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus</i>: which would place his death in the archonship of <i>Theagenides</i>. By this computation the death of <i>Aristides</i> falls one year later than the rise of <i>Pericles</i>. <i>Cf. a. 469.</i> It appears from Plutarch that he died after the exile of Themistocles, μετὰ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν, (<i>Vit. Aristid. c. 26.</i>) and yet before the rise of <i>Pericles</i>. <i>cf. a. 469.</i> There were different accounts of the place of his death: Plutarch. <i>Aristid. c. 26.</i> τελευτήσαι δ' Ἀριστέλδην οἱ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ φασίν, ἐκπεύσαντα πρᾶξεων ἕνεκα δημοσίων οἱ</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>ὁ Ῥόδιος μελοποιὸς ἐν ᾄσματι καθάπτεται τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, κ. τ. λ. One of his satires was written after the exile of <i>Themistocles</i>: ὡς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αἰτίαν ἔσχε μηδίξειν, ταῦτ' ἐποίησε πρὸς αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ. Plutarch. <i>ibid.</i> He was therefore still living at this period. If Simonides was the author of his epitaph apud Athen. X. p. 415. f., as Fabricius B. Gr. lib. II. c. 15. supposes, either <i>Timocreon</i> died before B. C. 467, which is hardly probable, or the epigram was composed as a satire upon him in his lifetime. <i>Timocreon</i> is classed by Suidas among the poets of the old comedy: but apparently without reason. He is not so described by Plutarch; or by Athenæus X. p. 415. f. by whom he is called Τιμοκρέων ὁ Ῥόδιος, ποιητῆς καὶ ἀθλητῆς πένταθλος, or by Schol. Aristoph. by whom he is mentioned in one place (<i>Acharn.</i> 531) as Τιμοκρέων—μελοποιός, and in another (<i>Ran.</i> 1337) as Τιμοκρέων—ἐποποιός, which should perhaps be corrected from the former passage into μελοποιός.</p>
<p>Birth of Socrates : Laërt. II. 44. ἐγεννήθη, καθάφησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς, ἐπὶ Ἀψίωνος [i. Ἀψηφίωνος] ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ἑβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος, Θαρρηλιῶνος ἕκτη, ὅτε καθαίρουσι τὴν πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι. Plutarch. <i>Sympos.</i> VIII. 1. τῇ ἕκτῃ τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος ἱσταμένου τὴν Σωκράτους ἀγαγόντες γενέθλιον. Ælian V. H. II. 25. αὐτίκα γοῦν Σωκράτης ἐν ταύτῃ [6 <i>Thargelion</i>] ἐγένετο. Born, therefore, April or May B. C. 468, in the <i>eleventh</i> month of the archon Apsephion; but according to those who fix the beginning of the year at Gamelion, in April or May B. C. 469, and in the <i>fifth</i> month of Apsephion. See this question examined in the <i>Introduction</i> p. xx.</p> <p>Mar. Par. ep. 58. ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ὁ λίθος ἔπεσε κ. τ. λ.—ἐτῇ ΗΗΠ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι</p>	<p>First tragic victory of <i>Sophocles</i> : Mar. Par. No. 57. ἀφ' οὗ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ Σοφίλλου ὁ ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἐνίκησε τραγῳδίᾳ, ἐτῶν ὧν ΔΔΠΠΠ, ἐτῇ ΗΗΠΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀψηφίονος. Plutarch. <i>Cimon.</i> c. 8. πρώτην διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέου καθέντος, Ἀφεψίων ὁ ἄρχων—κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατῆγων προελθὼν—ἐποίησατο τὰς νενομισμένας σπονδὰς—ὀρκώσας αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρίναι.—νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον βαρέως ἐνεγκόντα χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν Ἀθήνησι διαγαγεῖν, κ. τ. λ. These were the <i>greater Dionysia</i>, or the <i>Διονύσια</i> τὰ ἐν ἄστει, in the month <i>Elafebolion</i>; because the archon <i>Eponymus</i>, Apsephion, presided; and, ὁ μὲν ἄρχων διατῶσι Διονύσια, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς [conf. Aristoph. <i>Acharn.</i> 1224. et Schol. ad loc.] προέστηκε Ληναίων. Pollux VIII.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>δ' Ἀθήνησι γήρᾳ τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν—<i>and he might be absent from Athens in the year of Apsephion, when Pericles first appeared in public affairs.</i></p>
467.	78, 2. <i>Lysistratus</i> . Diod. XI. 66.	<p>The sons of <i>Anaxilaus</i> of <i>Rhegium</i> receive possession of their inheritance: Diod. XI. 66. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσιστράτου—Ἰέρων δ' τῶν Συρακουσίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Ἀναξίλα παῖδας μεταπεμφάμενος—συνεβούλευεν αὐτοῖς ἀπαιτῆσαι λόγον παρὰ Μικύθου τοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος.—ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος, ἀνὴρ ὦν ἀγαθὸς, τὸν λόγον καθαρῶς ἀπέδωκεν.</p> <p>Death of <i>Hiero</i>, in the year of <i>Lysistratus</i>. Diod. <i>ibid.</i> confirmed by Schol. <i>Pindar</i>. <i>Olymp.</i> I. 1. συνέβη δὲ αὐτὸν νικήσαντα τεθρίππῳ τὴν σὴ ὀλυμπιάδα ἐν ταύτῃ τελευτῆσαι. <i>Lysistratus</i> is the twelfth archon from <i>Timosthenes</i>; and <i>Diodorus</i> ascribes to <i>Hiero</i> a reign of eleven years and eight months. As he survived the 78th Olympic games, his death seems to be rightly dated by <i>Diodorus</i>.</p>
466.	78, 3. <i>Lysanias</i> . Diod. XI. 67.	<p><i>Thrasybulus</i> of <i>Syracuse</i> ἤρξε Συρακουσίων ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα. Diod. XI. 66. — ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ Λυσανίου Diod. XI. 67. — ἐνδεκάτῳ μηνί <i>Aristot.</i> <i>Polit.</i> V. 9, 23. <i>Schneid.</i> The <i>Syracusans</i> διεφύλαξαν τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτη σχεδὸν ἐξήκοντα μέχρι τῆς Διονυσίου τυραννίδος. Diod. XI. 68. See <i>Appendix c.</i> 10. <i>Syracuse</i>.</p> <p><i>Naxos</i> besieged: <i>Thucyd.</i> I. 98. During the siege <i>Themistocles</i> passed through the Athenian fleet: <i>Thucyd.</i> I. 137. <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Themistocel.</i> c. 25. Battles at the <i>Eurymedon</i>; after the reduction of <i>Naxos</i>,—<i>Thucyd.</i> I. 100. ἐγένετο μετὰ ταῦτα.—and before the revolt of <i>Thasos</i>.—<i>Thucyd.</i> <i>ibid.</i> χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον συνέβη Θασίους ἀποστῆναι.</p>
465.	78, 4. <i>Lysitheus</i> . Diod. XI. 69.	<p>Revolt of <i>Thasos</i>: at the time of an expedition to <i>Amphipolis</i>. <i>Thucyd.</i> I. 100. ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους—διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ. <i>Thucyd.</i> IV. 102. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἐφ' οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστίν, (<i>Amphipolis</i>) ἐπέλασε μὲν πρότερον καὶ Ἀρισταγόρας ὁ Μιλήσιος φεύγων βασιλέα Δαρεῖον κατοικῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ Ἡδώνων ἐξεκρούσθη. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτεσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ὕστερον, ἐποίκους μυρίους πέμψαντες, οἱ διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ ὑπὸ Θρακῶν. See <i>B. C.</i> 437, and <i>Appendix c.</i> 9. <i>Amphipolis</i>.—Death of <i>Xerxes</i>; in the year of <i>Lysitheus</i>. Diod. XI. 69. Ξέρξης μὲν οὖν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἐτελεύτησε (<i>assassinated by Artabanus</i>) βασιλεύσας τῶν Περσῶν ἔτη πλείω τῶν εἴκοσι. According to the Canon, he died N. E. 283. that is, after Dec. 17 B. C. 466 and before Dec. 17 B. C. 465. which coin-</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>Θεαγενίδου. Plin. H. N. II. 58. <i>Celebrant Græci Anaxagoram Clazomenium Ol. 78. 2 prædixisse cælestium literarum scientia quibus diebus saxum casurum esset e sole.</i> Euseb. Ol. 79. 1 anno 1552 [from Oct. B. C. 465] <i>Glarea in Ægis fluvio</i> [sic Hieron.] <i>de cælo pluit.</i> In Laert. II. 12. the passage is mutilated: ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Διμίλων λίθον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν. <i>Diogenes of Apollonia</i> referred to this fact: Stobæus Ecl. Phys. I. p. 508. Theodoret. Θεραπευτ. 4. tom. IV. p. 797. Διογένης δὲ—μάρτυρι χρήται τῷ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμῷ πυροειδῶς κατενεχθέντι ποτέ. And therefore flourished after this date. On the time of <i>Diogenes</i> see Appendix c. 21.</p>	<p>89. 90. Perhaps one of the pieces exhibited was the Τριπτόλεμος σατυρικός. Plin. H. N. XVIII. 7. <i>Sophoclis Triptolemus ante mortem Alexandri annis fere 145.</i> But B. C. 323 + 145 = B. C. 468 for the date of the <i>Triptolemus</i>. Euseb. Ol. 77. 2 anno 1545 [from Oct. B. C. 472] <i>Sophocles tragicus primum sui specimen dedit.</i> Perhaps referring to the first victory in Ol. 77. 4. Idem Ol. 78. 1 anno 1548 <i>Sophocles et Euripides cognoscebantur.</i> <i>(Born date not known)</i></p>
<p>Birth of <i>Andocides</i> the orator: Vit. X. or. p. 835. A. ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς γενέσεως Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἑβδομηκοστὴ ὀγδόη ἀρχῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησι Θεογενίδης ὥστε εἶναι πρεσβύτερον αὐτὸν Ἀνσίου ἑτεσὶ πού ἐν νεία. His great-grandfather <i>Leogoras</i> had a share in the expulsion of the tyrants B. C. 510; <i>Andocid. de Myster.</i> p. 14, 24. His grandfather <i>Andocides</i> assisted in negotiating the thirty-years' truce B. C. 445. <i>Andocid. de Pace</i> p. 24, 14. <i>Æschin. fals. Leg.</i> p. 51, 23.</p>	<p>Death of <i>Simonides</i> æt. 90. Mar. Par. No. 58. ἀφ' οὗ—Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐτελεύτησεν βίου ἐτη ΙΔΙ ΔΔΔΔ, ἔτη ΗΗ Π ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Θεαγενίδου. Confirmed by the testimonies quoted at B. C. 476. His death would happen nine years after his prize obtained in the year of <i>Adimantus</i>; or towards the end of the archonship of <i>Theagenides</i>, when he had entered his ninetieth year. <i>Panyasis</i> flourished:—γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδα. Suid. Cf. a. 489.</p>
<p><i>Diagoras of Melos</i> flourished: Suidas—Διαγόρας Μήλιος, φιλόσοφος, καὶ ᾠσμάτων ποιητής.—τοῖς χρόνοις ὧν μετὰ (leg. κατὰ cum Kust.) Πίνδαρον καὶ Βακχυλίδην, Μελανιππίδου δὲ πρεσβύτερος. ἤκμαζε τοίνυν οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἐπεκλήθη δὲ ἄθεος. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 323. ἦν τὸν χρόνον κατὰ Σιμωνίδην καὶ Πίνδαρον. Euseb. Ol. 78. 3. anno 1550 [from B. C. 467] <i>Bacchylides florebat itemque Diagoras Atheus.</i> <i>Diagoras</i> is mentioned by <i>Lysias</i> adv. <i>Andocid.</i> p. 104, 39.</p>	<p><i>Pindar. Pyth. IV. V.</i> Ἀρκεσιλάῳ Κυρηναίῳ νικήσαντι τὴν λα΄ πυθιάδα [Ol. 78. 3]. Schol. Pyth. IV. 1. Idem ad Pyth. V. 1. γέγραπται καὶ αὕτη ἡ φῶδὴ νικήσαντι τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ ἄρματι τῶν τριακοστὴν πρῶτην πυθιάδα.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>cides with the year of Lysitheus. Diodorus, therefore, and the Canon agree. <i>Themistocles</i> arrives in Persia soon after the death of Xerxes, in the year B. C. 465, during the influence of Artabanus: by whom he was introduced to the king. Plutarch. <i>Themistocles</i>. c. 27. ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῳ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ.—Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν [I. 137, 138] καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἱστοροῦσι, τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐντευξιν. Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. This seeming contradiction happened, because the seven months of Artabanus were by some added to the last year of Xerxes, and by others were included in the reign of Artaxerxes: as Dodwell has well solved the difficulty <i>Ann. Thuc.</i> p. 78—80. From the account given by Thucyd. I. 137. of the adventures of Themistocles—πορευθῆναι περὶ ἐς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου—it appears that <i>Alexander</i> king of Macedon was still living.</p>
464.	<p>Ol. 79. <i>Archidemides</i>. Dionys. Antiq. IX. p. 1915. Diod. XI. 70. <i>Archimedes</i> Pausan. IV. 24, 2.</p>	<p>Revolt of the Helots. Pausan. IV. 24, 2. Μεσσηνίους—ἐπέλαβεν ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὕστερον ἀποστῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ εἰκοστὴν [leg. ἐβδομηκοστὴν], ἣν Κορίνθιος ἐνίκα Ξενοφῶν [<i>Conf. Diod. XI. 70.</i>], Ἀρχιμήδους [sic] Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος. Consistently with Thucydides I. 101. who states the earthquake at Sparta and revolt of the Helots to have happened <i>after</i> the Thasian revolt, and with some interval. According to Plutarch <i>Cimon</i>. c. 16. the earthquake happened Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Ζευξιδάμου τέταρτον ἔτος βασιλεύοντος. which also coincides with the year of Archidemides. See <i>Appendix c. 3. Kings of Sparta</i>. The war lasted ten years: Thucyd. I. 103. Diodorus XI. 64. though he places this Messenian war, as he had done the reign of Archidamus, six years too high, yet rightly states its duration at ten years. <i>Cimon</i> marches to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians; Plutarch. <i>Cimon</i>. c. 16.—with 4000 men: Aristoph. <i>Lysistrat.</i> 1140—1147.—Ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ὀπλίταισι τετρακισχιλίῳ Κίμων ὅλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. The scholiast ad v. 1146, like Diodorus, places this event some years too high: Κίμων μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην ἰβ' ἔτει ὕστερον. ταῦτα ἦν ἐπὶ Θεαγενίδου. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ταυγέτου τι παρερράγη καὶ τὸ φδεῖον καὶ ἕτερα καὶ οἰκίαι πλείσται, καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἀποστάντες ἐπολέμουν καὶ οἱ εἰλωτες ἐπέστησαν, ἕως Κίμων ἐλθὼν διὰ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.</p>
463.	<p>79, 2. <i>Tlepolemus</i>. Diod. XI. 71.</p>	<p>The Thasians are reduced, τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι. Thucyd. I. 101. The whole Thasian war is placed by Diodorus XI. 70. in one year, the year of Archidemides.—ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀρχιδेमίδου—ἀποστάντες Θάσιοι ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἐκπολιορκηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἠναγκάσθησαν πάλιν ὑπ' ἐκείνους τάττεσθαι. Since the war was chiefly carried on in the year of that archon, he has included in one narration the transactions which commenced a little before, and were continued a little after, the archonship of Archidemides. For the errors of Diodorus in the dates of the <i>Messenian war</i>—the <i>Egyptian war</i>—the <i>five years' truce</i>—the <i>Corinthian war</i>—see the <i>Appendix c. 8. Summary of Thucydides</i>.</p>
462	<p>79, 3. <i>Conon</i>. Diod. XI. 74.</p>	<p>Third year of the Messenian war. Herodotus IX. 64. alludes to this war: and Xenophon <i>Hel.</i> V. 2, 3. (τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ) πολλὰ ὑπηρετῆκε ἡ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Charon of Lampsacus</i> still wrote history after the death of Xerxes : Plutarch. Themistocl. c. 27. Θουκυδίδης καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμφιακὸς ἱστοροῦσι, τεθνῆκως τοῦ Ξέρξου, κ. τ. λ. Creuzer p. 95. rejects the earlier date of Suidas v. Χάρων, (Olymp. 69=B. C. 504) as not reconcileable with this date, B. C. 464: because <i>quo tempore Artaxerxes imperium suscepit pæne nonagenarius fuisset Charon</i>. This conclusion is not necessary. There is no difficulty in supposing Charon to be employed in history <i>forty years</i>. Herodotus was engaged in composing history upwards of <i>forty-five years</i>. Cf. an. 409.</p> <p><i>Zeno of Elea</i> flourished : Laërt. IX. 29. Ζήνων Ἐλεάτης—ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Suidas—Ζήνων Ἐλεάτης.—ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδος [B. C. 468]. μαθητὴς Ξενοφάνους ἢ Παρμενίδου.</p>	<p><i>Pindar. Olymp. XIII.</i>—Ξενοφῶντι Κορινθίῳ—νικήσαντι τὴν οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδα. Odæ inscriptio.—τῷ Ξενοφῶντι δύο Ὀλυμπιακαὶ νῖκαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐγένοντο, πεντάθλου καὶ σταδίου, κατὰ τὴν οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδα νικήσαντι. Schol. For the stadium, cf. Pausan. IV. 24, 2. Diod. XI. 70.</p> <p><i>Pindar. Olymp. VII.</i> Διαγόρα Ῥοδίῳ νικήσαντι τὴν οἱ Ὀλυμπιάδα. Schol. Omitted in ed. Heyn. but supplied in ed. Boeckh. who observes, <i>Hoc addidi ex Vrat. D et A.</i></p>
<p><i>Xanthus of Lydia</i> still continued to write history in the reign of <i>Artaxerxes</i> : Strabo I. p. 49. C.=85. A.—τοῦ Ξάνθου λέγοντος ἐπὶ Ἀρταξέρξου γενέσθαι μέγαν αὐχμὸν, κ. τ. λ. <i>Xanthus</i> is reckoned by Dionys. de Thueyd. p. 818. among the historians, who were ὀλίγοι πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας. He published history before <i>Herodotus</i>, who profited by <i>Xanthus</i> : Athen. XII. p. 515. e. Ἐφορος ὁ συγγραφεὺς μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ (Xanth.) ὡς παλαιότερου ὄντος, καὶ Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδωκότος.</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
42	461. 79, 4. <i>Euippus</i> . Diod. XI. 75. <i>Euthippus</i> Mar. Par. No. 59.	<i>Cimon</i> marches a second time to assist the Lacedæmonians : Thucyd. I. 102. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐμνησκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος—ἐπεκαλέσαντο Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' ἦλθον, Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος. Plutarch. <i>Cimon</i> . c. 17. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐθις ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰθάμῃ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Εἰλωτας· ἐλθόντων δὲ—ἀπεπέμφσαντο μόνους. τῶν συμμάχων ὡς νεωτεριστάς. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπελθόντες—τὸν Κίμωνα, μικρὰς ἐπιλαβόμενοι προφάσεως, ἐξωστράκισαν εἰς ἔτη δέκα.
	460. Ol. 80. <i>Phrasiclides</i> . Diod. XI. 77. <i>Phrasicles</i> Dionys. Ant. X. p. 1981. Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. C.	Revolt of <i>Inarus</i> , and first year of the war in Egypt. For it lasted <i>six</i> years, and ended in the year B. C. 455. Conf. an. 455.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

4. POETS.

Birth of *Democritus*: Laërt. IX. 41. γέγονε τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς αὐτός φησιν ἐν τῷ μικρῷ διακόσμῳ, νέος κατὰ πρεσβύτην Ἀναξαγόραν, ἔτεσιν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. Id. IX. 34. Λευκίππῳ παρέβαλε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρῃ, κατὰ τινὰς, ἔτεσιν ὧν αὐτοῦ νεώτερος τετταράκοντα. Id. IX. 41. γεγόνει ἂν, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Others made him older than *Socrates*, and born Ol. 77. 3. Cf. *Thrasyllos* ap. Laërt. IX. 41. *Gellium* XVII. 21. But *Apollodorus* is confirmed by *Democritus* himself: and that the reading τετταράκοντα is genuine appears from the age of *Hippocrates*; Cf. *an.* 357. and from *Aristot.* *Meteorol.* II. 7. who makes *Democritus* later than *Anaxagoras*: Ἀναξαγόρας — καὶ πρότερον Ἀναξίμενης, καὶ τούτων ὕστερος Δημόκριτος.

Wesseling ad *Diod.* XIV. 11. has fallen into the error of supposing the Trojan era of *Eratosthenes* to be a fixed and acknowledged epoch, by which the texts of preceding writers are to be tried: *Id mihi satis apparet, natum esse non posse Democritum Ol. 80. quæ Apollodori sententia, aut Ol. 77. 3. ut opinabatur Thrasyllos. Ipse enim professus erat se μικρὸν suum διάκοσμον composuisse anno ab eversa Troja 730. sive circa Olymp. 80 exeuntem.* And *Corsini* *Fast. Att.* tom. III. p. 139. *Democritus ipse parvum Diacosmum anno post Trojæ excidium 730 edidisse dicitur: hoc est, subducto ex Eratosthenis opinione calculo, Ol. 84. 1.* But this is upon the groundless assumption that *Democritus* acknowledged B. C. 1183 as the Trojan era. See the *Introduction* p. vii. The computation of *Democritus*, συντελεῖσθαι τὸν μικρὸν διάκοσμον ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις, (Laërt. IX. 41.) if we suppose him to have written that work at forty years of age, (a very vague conjecture,) would give B. C. 1150 for the era of the Trojan war.

Birth of *Hippocrates*: κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Auctor Vitæ. Cf. *a.* 431.

Pindar. Olymp. VIII. Ἀλκιμέδοντι παῖδι παλαιστῇ νικήσαντι τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Schol.

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
44	459. 80, 2. <i>Philocles</i> . Diod. XI. 78. Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. C. 836. A. Arg. Agamemn. Æschyl.	Sixth year of the Messenian war, second, of the war in Egypt. <i>Handwritten notes:</i> 1. 1st year of the Messenian war (Diod. XI. 76) 2. 2nd year 3. 3rd year 4. 4th year 5. 5th year
	458. 80, 3. <i>Bion</i> . Diod. XI. 79. ἐπὶ Ἀβλώρος Thom. Mag. Vit. Pindar.	Seventh year of the Messenian, third, of the Egyptian war. <i>Handwritten notes:</i> 1. 1st year of the Messenian war (Diod. XI. 76) 2. 2nd year 3. 3rd year 4. 4th year 5. 5th year 6. 6th year 7. 7th year
	457. 80, 4. <i>Mnesithides</i> . Diod. XI. 81. <i>Mnesitheus</i> Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 10.	Battles in the Megarid between the Athenians and Corinthians: and campaign of the Lacedæmonians in Doris. Thucyd. I. 105—107. In their return, the Lacedæmonians were intercepted by the Athenians, who were now in possession of the passes of the Isthmus. The battle of Tanagra followed: rightly placed by Diodorus XI. 81. in the year of Mnesithides. The Lacedæmonians after that action retired into Peloponnesus. Thucyd. I. 107. 108. The ancient inscriptions, published by Corsini Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 159, refer to those actions in the Megarid. Eighth year of the Messenian, and fourth of the Egyptian war. For the transactions of this year, see Appendix c. 8. <i>Summary of Thucydides</i> .

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>Gorgias flourished, Ol. 80. Suidas: Γοργίας Χαρμαντίδου Λεοντίνος, ρήτωρ, μαθητὴς Ἐμπεδοκλέους, [Laërt. VIII. 58. Γοργίαν γοῦν τὸν Λεοντίνον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μαθητὴν—τοῦτον φησὶν ὁ Σάτυρος λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς παρείη τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι] διδάσκαλος Πώλου Ἀκραγαντίνου καὶ Περικλέους καὶ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Ἀλκιδάμαντος.—Πορφύριος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς π' Ὀλυμπιάδος τίθησιν· ἀλλὰ χρὴ νοεῖν πρεσβύτερον αὐτὸν εἶναι. Philostrat. in vita: διαλεχθεὶς Ἀθήνησιν ἤδη γηράσκων—ἀνηρτήσατο Κριτίαν μὲν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην νέω ὄντε, Θουκυδίδην δὲ καὶ Περικλέα ἤδη γηράσκοντε. He was a little older than Antipho; cf. a. 479. who was now in his twentieth year. Suidas seems to have misunderstood Porphyry, and to have supposed him to date the birth of Gorgias at Ol. 80. whereas Porphyry intended to express his ἀκμὴ or ἡλικία. He might have taught Alcibiades and Critias at his visit to Athens in B. C. 427. But Pericles heard him at an earlier period. Gorgias might now be twenty-six years of age.</p>	
<p>Birth of Lysias: Vit. X. or. p. 835. C. γενόμενος Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἀρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Φρασικλῆ, κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς πβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος. legendum τῆς π' Ὀλυμπιάδος. This error in the text of the biographer, long since corrected by Palmer, Taylor, Reiske, and others, (conf. Reisk. Plutarch. tom. IX. p. 321.) although unnoticed by Wytttenbach, might arise from a transcriber inadvertently repeating the preceding number, β'.—τὸ β' ἔτος τῆς πβ'.—Lysias was born towards the end of the year of Philocles, a little before midsummer B. C. 458, because he was twenty-two years older than Isocrates, who was born after midsummer B. C. 436. See the Introduction p. xxi. and cf. a. 436.</p> <p>Euseb. Ol. 80. 3 anno 1558 [from Oct. B. C. 459] Heraclitus cognoscebatur.</p>	<p>Æschylī Ὀρεστεία.—Arg. Agamemnon. ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλοκλέους Ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδοηκοστῇ (sic legendum) ἔτει δευτέρῳ πρώτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίστι, Πρωτεί σατυρικῷ. ἐχορήγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνεύς. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1155. τετραλογίαν φέρουσι τὴν Ὀρεστίαν αἱ διδασκαλῖαι, Ἀγαμέμνονα, Χοηφόρους, Εὐμενίδας, Πρωτέα σατυρικόν. Ἀρίστας καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τριλογίαν λέγουσι, χωρὶς τῶν σατυρικῶν.</p>
	<p>Panyasis is put to death by Lygdamis, probably about the time of the removal of Herodotus from Halicarnassus. Suidas Ἡρόδοτος. Ἡρόδοτος—μετέστη ἐν Σάμῳ διὰ Λύγδαμιν τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρτεμισίας τρίτον τύραννον γενόμενον Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ. Πισινδῆλις γὰρ ἦν υἱὸς Ἀρτεμισίας τοῦ δὲ Πισινδῆλιδος Λύγδαμις. At the battle of Salamis B. C. 480, the father of Lygdamis was nearly grown to manhood: Herodot. VII. 99. αὐτὴ τε [Artemisia] ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ παίδος ὑπάρχοντος νενηλέω. which is consistent with the period of the tyranny of Lygdamis. For Panyasis, cf. a. 489.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
456.	Ol. 81. <i>Callias</i> . Dionys. Ant. X. p. 2057. Diodor. XI. 84. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 10. Mar. Par. No. 60. Auctor. Vit. Euripid. apud Elmsl.	<p>Sixty-two days after the battle of Tanagra, which happened about November B. C. 457, (see <i>Appendix c. 8.</i>)—Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, Μυρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ μάχη ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαντες, τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος, καὶ Ταναγραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον. Thucyd. I. 108. The battle of Œnophyta had important consequences to the Thebans; Aristot. Polit. V. 2, 6. ἐν Θήβαις, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη.</p> <p>Recal of <i>Cimon</i> from exile: Plutarch. Cimon. c. 17. νενικημένοι ἐν Τανάγρα μάχῃ μεγάλη—ἐκάλουν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Κίμωνα, καὶ κατήλθε, τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος Περικλέους.</p> <p>The Athenians complete their long walls: Thucyd. I. 108. τὰ τεῖχη τὰ μακρὰ ἀπετέλεισαν.—between the battle of Œnophyta and the campaign of Tolmides. The work was begun in B. C. 457, about the time of the actions in the Megarid. Thucyd. I. 107. ἤρξαντο κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη οἰκοδομεῖν.</p>
455.	81, 2. <i>Sosistratus</i> . Diod. XI. 85.	<p><i>Tolmidis</i> στρατηγία. Thucyd. I. 108. cf. Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 38, 1. Pausan. I. 27, 6. He gave Naupaetus to the expelled Messenians: Diod. XI. 84. Therefore his campaign was in the year in which Íthomē surrendered; which was in the tenth year of the war: Thucyd. I. 103. that is, in B. C. 455. for the first was B. C. 464. Cf. a. 464.</p> <p>End of the Egyptian war. When Tolmides sailed, the Athenians still held out: ἐτι ἐπέμενον Thucyd. I. 109. The war therefore lasted till this year: ἐφθάρη ἐξ ἑτῆ πολεμήσαντα Thucyd. I. 110.—began, consequently, in B. C. 460. All Egypt was reduced by the Persians, except the marshes under <i>Amyrtæus</i>; πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως. τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν. Thucyd. I. 110. Six years after this date, at the time of the death of <i>Cimon</i> B. C. 449, he is still engaged in hostilities against the Persians: Thucyd. I. 112. ἐξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπλευσαν, [from the Athenians,] Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως. And forty years after this period, in the tenth year of <i>Darius Nothus</i> B. C. 414, he re-established himself in Egypt: (See <i>Appendix c. 18. Kings of Persia</i>:—<i>Ochus</i>.) since it is probable, according to the opinion of Usher Annal. p. 146. that Amyrtæus the Saite, who forms the 28th Egyptian dynasty of Manetho, is the Amyrtæus of Herodotus and Thucydides. Amyrtæus was afterwards succeeded by his son <i>Pausiris</i>; but, apparently, with the consent of the Persian</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

Herodotus æt. 28, *Thucydides* æt. 15.—*Herodotus* recited his history at the Olympic games, when *Thucydides* was a boy. *Suidas*: Θουκυδίδης—ἤκουσεν ἔτι παῖς τυγχάνων Ἡροδότου, ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας τὰς ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ διερχομένου. *Photius* cod. 60.—κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα Θουκυδίδην—. *Marcellin. Vit. Thuc.* p. xxxii. λέγεται—ὥς ποτε τοῦ Ἡροδότου τὰς ἰδίας ἱστορίας ἐπιδεικνυμένον παρὼν τῇ ἀκροάσει Θουκυδίδης καὶ ἀκούσας ἐδάκρυσεν, κ.τ.λ. Placed by *Eusebius* at Ol. 83. 4 anno 1571 [commencing Oct. B. C. 446]. Probably that recitation was in Olymp. 81, when *Thucydides* was 15 years of age, and not later than Olymp. 82 B. C. 452, when he was 19. Hence, perhaps, *Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 203.* fixes it to this date, Olymp. 81.†. According to *Lucian*, *Herodotus* brought his history from *Caria* straight into *Greece*, and read it at *Olympia*: Ἡρόδοτος. c. 1.—πλεύσας οἰκόθεν ἐκ τῆς Καρίας εὐθὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Euseb. Ol. 81. 1 anno 1560 Empedocles et Parmenides physici philosophi cognoscebantur. Idem *Ol. 81. 2 anno 1561 Zeno atque Heraclitus tenebrosus innotescebant.* For *Heraclitus* and *Parmenides*, cf. a. 503. *Heraclitus* could scarcely have been still living. *Parmenides* in his old age was heard by *Socrates* when a youth: *Plato Theætet.* p. 183. e. συμπροσέμμεξα γὰρ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πάνν νέος πάνν πρεσβύτην. Idem *Sophist.* p. 217. c. οἷόν ποτε Παρμενίδην—διεξιόντι λόγους παγκάλους παρεγνόμην ἐγὼ νέος ὢν ἐκείνου μάλα δὴ τότε ὄντος πρεσβύτου. *Parmenides*, therefore, lived beyond this period. *Empedocles* had studied with *Zeno* under *Parmenides*, and had known *Xenophanes*: *Laërt. VIII. 56.* ὁ δὲ Θεόφραστος Παρμενίδου φησὶ ζηλωτὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι,—Ἐμπίππος δὲ, οὗ Παρμενίδου Ξενοφάνους δὲ γεγονέναι ζηλωτὴν, ὃ καὶ συνδιατρίψαι.—Ἀλκιδάμας δὲ φησὶ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ζήρωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἀκοῦσαι Παρμενίδου. *Zeno* instructed *Pericles*: *Plutarch. Pericl. c. 4.* διήκουσε Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἑλεάτου πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν ὡς Παρμενίδης. (com-

4. POETS.

Death of *Æschylus* æt. 69. *Mar. Par. No. 60.* ἀφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ πο. ητῆς βιώσας ἔτη ΙΔΙΔΠΙΠΠΙ ἔτελευτήσεν ἐν . . . α τῆς . . . κελίας ἔτη ΗΙΔΙΔΔΔΔΠΠΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησ. Καλλ. ου τοῦ προτέρου. *Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 10.* ἐτελεύτησεν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ Μνησιθέου (sic), τοῦτοις [f. τούτων] πρότερον ἐνιαυτῷ λ'. [sic leg. cum Palmer.] 47 that is, 30 years before the year of *Euthydemus* B. C. 426. *Æschylus* was twenty-five in B. C. 500, cf. a. 499. which would make him 69 in B. C. 456. and thirty-five in October B. C. 490. cf. a. 490.—which would also be 69 in B. C. 456. He was therefore born in B. C. 525. The corrupt reading, γεγνῶς κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, apud *Auct. Vit. Æschyl.* had been already rightly corrected by *Casaubon de Satyr. Poes. I. 5.* into τρίτην καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν. And there was no need for *Petitus Miscell. III. 14.* to alter κέ in *Suid. v. Αἰσχύλ.* into κά.

Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 193. places the death of *Æschylus* at B. C. 467, æt. 59. He quotes no authority. In p. 200, rather than give up this erroneous date, he supposes error in the date of the Ὀρεστεία. The opinion seems formed upon too rigid an interpretation of *Plutarch. Cimon. c. 8.* And yet, p. 202, *Corsini* records the dates of the *Marble* and of *Schol. Acharn.* without any observation upon his own inconsistency.

Euripides ἤρξατο διδάσκειν γενόμενος ἑτῶν εἰκοσιέξ (melius *Thom. Mag.* ἑτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν) ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος [κατὰ] ὀλυμπιάδα ὀγδοηκοστὴν πρώτην. πρῶτον δὲ ἐδίδαξε τὰς Πελοπόννησον ἑτεῖ πρώτην, ὅτε καὶ τρίτος ἐγένετο. *Vita ab Elmsleio edita e cod. Coll. Ambros.* This life, first edited by *Dr. Elmsley*, is a valuable addition to our knowledge upon the literary chronology and upon other points. *Callias* being the 25th archon, including both, from *Calliades*, the number twenty-five in *Thom. Mag.* is more correct than twenty-six. But these dates confirm the position that *Callias* commenced at the summer solstice: had he commenced at *Gamelion*, the *Πελοπόννησος* would have been presented in his third month, in Olymp. 80. 4. and when *Euripides* was only twenty-three complete. See the *Introduction* p. xxi.

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		government : Herodot. III. 15.—τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Πανσίρι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. Compare Herodot. II. 140. for the retreat of Amyrtæus.
48	454. 81, 3. <i>Ariston.</i> Diod. XI. 86.	*Campaign of <i>Pericles</i> at Sicyon, and in Acarnania. Thucyd. I. 111. Χίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες παρέπλευσαν ἐς Σικυνῶνα, Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυνῶνιν τοὺς προσμύξαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, καὶ εὐθὺς παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς —τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ἐς Οἰνιάδας ἐστράτευσαν. Fixed to the twenty-third year before the Peloponnesian war by the dates of Thucydides. (See the series of dates, <i>Appendix c. 8.</i>) Consequently this expedition happened in B. C. 454.
	453. 81, 4. <i>Lysicrates.</i> Diod. XI. 88.	As three full years intervened between the campaign of <i>Pericles</i> and the five years' truce, which was concluded not later than Anthesterion of B. C. 450 (<i>cf. a. 445</i>), the campaign of <i>Pericles</i> may be fixed to autumn of B. C. 454. the autumn of the archon <i>Ariston</i> .
	452. Ol. 82. <i>Chærephanes.</i> Dionys. Antiq. X. p. 2131. Hiatus in Diodoro. <i>cf. Wess. ad Diod. XI. 91.</i>	
	451. 82, 2. <i>Antidotus.</i> Diod. XI. 91.	
	450. 82, 3. <i>Euthydemus.</i> Diod. XII. 3.	First year of the five-years' truce : Thucyd. I. 112. ὕστερον, (after the campaign of <i>Pericles</i> ,) διαλιπόντων ἑτῶν τριῶν, σπονδαὶ γίνονται Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πενταετείς. In the beginning of B. C. 450, towards the seventh month of the year of <i>Antidotus</i> : since the

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>pare c. 5.)—and flourished, with <i>Empedocles</i>, through the whole of this period, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Cf. <i>ann.</i> 464. 444. 435. According to Aristotle apud Laërt. VIII. 57. IX. 25. <i>Zeno</i> was the inventor of Logic, and <i>Empedocles</i> of Rhetoric.</p>	
	<p>Euseb. <i>Ol.</i> 81. 4. anno 1563 [from Oct. B. C. 454] <i>Aristarchus tragicus hoc tempore erat. Cratinus et Plato comici hac ætate occurrebant.</i> Suidas —'Αρίσταρχος Τεγεάτης—σύγχρονος ἦν Εὐριπίδῃ καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὲν τραγωδίας ἐβδομήκοντα ἐνίκησε δὲ δύο βιοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑτη ρ'. <i>Cratinus</i> followed <i>Magnes</i>: <i>Aristoph. Equit.</i> 524—530.—who came between <i>Epicharmus</i> and <i>Cratinus</i>: ἐπιβάλλει 'Επιχάρμῳ νέος πρεσβύτῃ. Suid. <i>Eudoc.</i> v. Μάγνης. As <i>Cratinus</i> was born B. C. 519, he was only six years younger than <i>Æschylus</i>, and probably as old as <i>Chionides</i>; at whose first exhibitions B. C. 487 he would be 32 years of age. As he succeeded <i>Magnes</i>, he must have applied to comedy late in life.—<i>Plato</i>, who exhibited comedy in B. C. 391, is improperly placed here; and seems disjoined from his true situation at <i>Olymp.</i> 88. Cf. <i>a.</i> 428.</p>
	<p><i>Pindar. Olymp. IV. V.</i> Ψαύμιδι Καμαριναίῳ νικήσαντι τὴν πρ' ὀλυμπιάδα τεθρίππῳ. Schol. <i>Ol.</i> IV. 1. Τῷ αὐτῷ Ψαύμιδι—νευικηκότῃ τὴν πρ' ὀλυμπιάδα. Schol. <i>Ol.</i> V. 1. Heyne without reason supposes that these two odes refer to two different Olympic victories.</p>
	<p><i>Ion</i> of <i>Chios</i> began to exhibit: Suidas—'Ιων Χίος, τραγικὸς καὶ λυρικὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος, υἱὸς Ὀρθομένους—ἤρξατο δὲ τὰς τραγωδίας διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῆς πρ' ὀλυμπιάδος. Δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑβ'. οἱ δὲ λ', ἄλλοι δὲ μ' φασίν. From Schol. <i>Aristoph. Pac.</i> 835.</p>
<p><i>Anaxagoras</i> æt. 50 withdrew from Athens, after residing there thirty years: Laërt. II. 7. ἤρξατο φιλοσοφεῖν Ἀθήνῃσιν ἐπὶ Καλλίου (cf. <i>a.</i> 480) ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ὧν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαλη-</p>	<p><i>Crates</i> the comic poet, and <i>Bacchylides</i> flourished: Hieronymus apud Euseb. <i>Chron. Ol.</i> 82. 2 <i>Crates comicus et Telesilla ac Bacchylides lyricus clari habentur. Praxilla quoque et Cleobulina</i></p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>invasion of Attica by <i>Pleistoanax</i> was in the beginning of B. C. 445. This peace was made through the intervention of <i>Cimon</i>: Plutarch. <i>Cimon</i>. c. 18.—ὁ Κίμων κατελθὼν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διήλλαξε τὰς πόλεις. Theopompi Fragmentum e Schol. MS. Aristid. (apud Marx. Ephori Fragm. p. 224.) Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ἰ' τῶν Φιλιππικῶν περὶ Κίμωνος “Οὐδέπω δὲ πέντε ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων, πόλεμον συμβάντος πρὸς “Λακεδαιμονίους, ὁ δῆμος μετεπέμψατο τὸν Κίμωνα, νομίζων διὰ τὴν προ-“ξενίαν ταχίστην ἂν αὐτὸν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος τῇ “πόλει τὸν πόλεμον κατέλυσε.” The <i>five years</i> mentioned by Theopompus describe the period of the exile of <i>Cimon</i>. Nepos Vit. Cim. c. 3. <i>Post annum quintum, quo expulsus erat, in patriam revocatus est.</i> <i>Cimon</i> was banished towards the end of B. C. 461; he was recalled in the beginning of B. C. 456, οὕτω πέντε ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων. (<i>Confer annos.</i>) But the peace was not concluded till seven years after his return: unless we understand, with Dodwell Annal. Thucyd. p. 98 the <i>three years</i> of Thucydides, which preceded the five-years' truce, to have been an interval of suspended hostility, through the influence of <i>Cimon</i>. <i>Hoc triennio ἐκεχειρίαν quandam, sive armistitium quoddam inter Græcos consecutus videtur Cimon, ex mutuo partium sed tacito consensu.</i></p>
449.	82, 4. <i>Pedieus</i> . Diod. XII. 4.	<p>Death of <i>Cimon</i>, and victory of the Athenians at Salamis in Cyprus: Thucyd. I. 112. Κίμωνος ἀποθανόντος, ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου, καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμίνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοίνιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐνανμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεξομάχησαν ἄμα, καὶ νικήσαντες ἀμφότερα ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. Diodorus XII. 3. rightly places the Cyprian expedition in the archonship of Euthydemus.</p>
448.	Ol. 83. <i>Philiscus</i> . Diod. XII. 5. Dionys. Ant. X. p. 2155.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

ρεύς—ἐνθα καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν [χρόνον] ἐτῶν διατρίψαι τριάκοντα. His disciples had been *Archelaus*, *Euripides*, and *Pericles*: *Strab.* XIV. p. 645. D. διήκουσε δὲ τούτου Ἀρχέλαος ὁ φυσικὸς καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητής. *Euseb. Præp.* X. 14. Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ ἐγένοντο γνώριμοι τρεῖς Περικλῆς, Ἀρχέλαος, Εὐριπίδης. During this absence of *Anaxagoras* from Athens, *Archelaus* taught *Socrates*: *Laërt.* II. 16. Ἀρχέλαος Ἀθηναῖος, μαθητὴς Ἀναξαγόρου, διδάσκαλος Σωκράτους. *Porphyr. apud Theodoret. θεραπεντ.* Serm. XII. tom. IV. p. 1030. Ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ βίου Σωκράτους ὁ Πορφύριος ἔφη—“ἤδη δὲ “περὶ τὰ ἐπτακάδεκα ἔτη, προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ Ἀρχέ- “λαον τὸν Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητὴν—τὸν δὲ Σωκράτην “γενέσθαι παρ’ αὐτῷ ἔτη συχνὰ, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ Ἀρ- “χελάου προτραπήναι ἐπὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα.” But the 17th year of *Socrates* B. C. 451 corresponds with the period of 30 years ascribed to *Anaxagoras*, and confirms the preceding positions. *Socrates* in his youth visited *Samos* with *Archelaus*: *Laërt.* II. 23. φησὶν αὐτὸν—Ἴων ὁ Χίος καὶ νέον ὄντα εἰς Σάμον σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ ἀποδημῆσαι. That he was taught by *Archelaus* is affirmed by *Themistius* or. 13. p. 162. a.

Archelaus—Ἀρχέλαος Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀθηναῖος *Plutarch. Placit.* I. 3.—was the first *Athenian* who taught philosophy at Athens: which may explain the seeming contradiction—*Clemens Strom.* I. p. 301. οὗτος (*Anaxagoras*) μετήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθήνας τὴν διατριβήν. *Laërtius* II. 16. οὗτος (*Archelaus*) πρῶτος φιλοσοφίαν μετήγαγεν Ἀθήνας.

Anaxagoras visited Athens a second time, and a second time withdrew from it. *Conf. a.* 432.

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sunt celebres. *Crates* intervened between *Cratini* and *Aristophanes*: *Aristoph. Equit.* 537—540.—*Bacchylides* was the nephew of *Simonides*: *Strabo* X. p. 486. *Steph. Byz.* v. Ἰουλῖς.—and the rival of *Pindar*, who alludes to him in the 77th Olympiad B. C. 472. *Schol. Olymp.* II. 154. ἀποτείνεται πρὸς τὸν Βακχυλίδην. γέγονε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀνταγωνιστὴς τρόπον τινὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ καθήκεν ἐαυτόν. *Alius Scholiastes, ad v.* 155. λέγει διὰ τὸν Βακχυλίδην, οὗτος γὰρ ἀντήριζεν αὐτῷ. *Suidas*: Βακχυλίδης, Κεῖος, ἀπὸ Κέω τῆς νήσου, πόλεως δὲ Ἰουλίδος—Μέδωνος νίδος τοῦ Βακχυλίδου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ παιδός. συγγενὴς Σιμωνίδου τοῦ λυρικοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς λυρικός.

For *Telesilla* *conf. a.* 510. *Praxilla* of *Sicyon*:—Πράξιλλα ἡ Σικωνία *Athen.* XIII. p. 603. a. XV. p. 694. a. *Zenob. Adag.* IV. 21. ex *Polemone*.—And *Cleobulina* (*conf. Laërt.* I. 89) were of an earlier time. *Eusebius* himself only names *Crates* and *Telesilla*; and he names them at *Ol.* 82. 4 anno 1567 commencing Oct. B. C. 450.

(*Cratini* Ἀρχιλόχοι. Soon after the death of *Cimon*: *Plutarch. Cimon.* c. 10. ὦν δὴ (the liberality of *Cimon*) Κρατῖνος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις ἔοικε μεμνησθαι διὰ τούτων

καὶ γὰρ ἦρχον Μητρόβιος ὁ γραμματεὺς
σὺν ἀνδρὶ θείῳ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ,
καὶ πάντ’ ἀρίστῳ τῶν πανελλήνων πρόμῳ,
Κίμωνι, λιπαρὸν γῆρας εὐχοούμενος
αἰῶνα πάντα συνδιατρίψειν· ὁ δὲ
λιπὼν βέβηκε πρότερος—)

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2 EVENTS.
447.	83, 2. <i>Timarchides</i> . Diod. XII. 6.	<p>Battle of Coronea: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Τιμαρχίδου. Diod. XII. 6. This date is confirmed by the course of events in Thucydides. The battle was fought towards the autumn of B. C. 447. Thucyd. I. 113. Ἀθηναῖοι—ἐστράτευσαν—Τολμίδου τοῦ Τολμαίου στρατηγούντος. καὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐλόντες [καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες] ἀπεχώρουν, φυλακὴν καταστήσαντες πορευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ φυγάδες—καὶ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες, τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλειπον Ἀθηναῖοι πάσαν. Tolmides fell in the action: Diod. XII. 6. Τολμίδης μαχόμενος ἀνῆρέθη.—and the father of <i>Alcibiades</i>: Plutarch. Alcib. c. 1. confirmed by Plato Alcib. I. p. 112. c. τοῖς ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ Κλεινίας ἐτελεύτησεν. and by Isocrates de Bigis c. 11. p. 352. b. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος ἐν Κορωνείᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανεν. Clinias had commanded a trireme at Artemisium; Plutarch. Alcib. c. 1. Herodot. VIII. 17. in B. C. 480, thirty-three years before.</p> <p>These disasters in Bœotia produced the revolt of Eubœa and Megara, about eighteen months after, in Anthesterion B. C. 445; and the Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, upon the expiration of the five-years' truce.</p>
446.	83, 3. <i>Callimachus</i> . Diod. XII. 7.	
445.	83, 4. <i>Lysimachides</i> . Diod. XII. 22. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716.	<p>Revolt of Eubœa and Megara. Thucyd. I. 114. Εὐβοία ἀπέστη—καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν διαβιβηκότος ἤδη Περικλέους στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων, ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφίστηκε, καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι μέλλονσιν ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν—ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμισε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι—ἐς Ἐλεῤῥίνα ἐσβαλόντες ἐδήλωσαν, Πλειστοάνακτος ἡγουμένου. The invasion led by Pleistoanax was fourteen years before the Peloponnesian war: πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν. Thucyd. II. 21. These events happened about February.—<i>Pericles</i> returns to Eubœa, and recovers the whole island. Thucyd. I. 114. Then followed the thirty years' truce. Id. I. 115. The treaty was concluded before the end of Munychion, or the tenth month of Ol. 83. 3. Cf. a. 431. Pausanias V. 23, 3. agrees in the year:—ταύτας ἐποιήσαντο Ἀθηναῖοι παραστησάμενοι τὸ δεῦτερον Εὐβοίαν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. Diod. XII. 5. ὀλυμπιάδα ΤΡΙΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑ, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Κρίσων Ἱμεραῖος. Consult and compare, upon the thirty-years' truce, Andocid. de Pace p. 24, 14. Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 51, 23.</p>
444.	Ol. 84. <i>Praxiteles</i> . Diod. XII. 23. Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. D.	<p><i>Pericles</i> begins to have the sole direction of affairs. Cf. a. 429.</p> <p>The Athenian citizens are reduced upon a scrutiny in the year of Lysimachides to 14,040 according to Plutarch; or 14,240 according to Philochorus. The two accounts nearly agree in the aggregate numbers; which are $14,240 + 4760 = 19,000$ in Philochorus, and 14,040 added to "near 5000," making also about 19,000 in Plutarch: Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716. φησὶν ὁ Φιλόχορος—τετρακισχιλίους ἑπτακοσίους ξ' ὀφθῆναι παρεγγράφους.—μήποτε δὲ περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δωρεᾶς ὁ λόγος, ἣν Φιλόχορος Ψαμμήτιχον πέμψαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπὶ Λυσимаχίδου, —τοὺς γὰρ λαβόντας γενέσθαι μυρίου τετρακισχιλίου διακοσίου μ. "Ἄλλως.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p><i>Achæus</i> and <i>Sophocles</i> exhibit tragedy—ἐπεδείκνυντο κοινῇ σὺν Εὐριπίδῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πυ' Ὀλυμπιάδος. Suid. Ἀχαιοὺς Ἑρετρ. <i>Achæus</i> was about 36 years of age, and four years older than <i>Euripides</i>. Cf. a. 484. δράματα ἐδίδαξε μδ'. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἱστορήκασιν. ἄλλοι, κδ'. ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐν. Suid. Ibid.</p> <p><i>Achæus</i> excelled in satyrical pieces, in the opinion of his countryman <i>Menedemus</i>: Laërt. II. 133. μάλιστα πάντων Ὀμήρῳ προσεῖχεν (sc. Μενέδημος). εἶτα καὶ τοῖς μελικοῖς· ἔπειτα Σοφοκλεῖ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιῶ, ὥπερ καὶ δευτερεῖον ἐν τοῖς Σατύροις, Αἰσχύλῳ δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἀπεδίδου.</p>
<p><i>Melissus</i>, the disciple of <i>Parmenides</i> and <i>Heraclitus</i>, flourished: Laërt. IX. 24. φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἡκμαέναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. — And <i>Protagoras</i>: Laërt. IX. 56. Ἀπολλόδωρός φησι τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν βιώσαντα ἔτη ἐβδομήκοντα, σοφιστεῦσαι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη (from Plato <i>Menon</i> p. 91. E.—ἀποθανεῖν ἐγγὺς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότα, τετταράκοντα δὲ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ ὄντα), καὶ ἀκμάζειν κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Euseb. Ol.</p>	

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
54		<p>σιτοδείας ποτὲ γενομένης ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ Φαμμήτιχος ὁ τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε σίτον Ἀθηναίοις αἰτήσασιν αὐτόν· τῆς δὲ διανομῆς γενομένης τοῦ σίτου ξενηλασίαν ἐποίησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῷ διακρίνειν τοὺς αὐθιγε- νεῖς εὖρον καὶ ἑτέρους τετρακισχιλίους ἑπτακοσίους ἐξήκοντα ξένους. Plu- tarch. Pericl. c. 37. ἀκμάζων ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸ πάντων πολλῶν χρόνων [long before B. C. 430], καὶ παῖδας ἔχων γνησίους, νόμον ἔγραψε μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυοῖν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας. ἐπεὶ δὲ, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δωρεὰν τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαντος τετρακισμυρίους πυρῶν μεδίμνους, ἔδει διανέμεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνεφύοντο δίκαι τοῖς νόθοις ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκείνου,—πολλοὶ δὲ συκοφαντήμασι περιέπιπτον. ἐπράθησαν [legendum ἀπηλάθησαν. sic Dionys. Lysia p. 526. ἀπελαθή- σεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν] οὖν ἄλόντες ὀλίγῳ πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάττους· οἱ δὲ μείναντες ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κριθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι, μύριοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἐξητάσθησαν. The women and children being added, the 14,240 will amount to about 58,640, and the 19,000 will give 78,243 for the population exclusive of μέτοικοι and slaves. conf. an. 422.</p>
443.	84, 2. <i>Lysanias</i> . Diod. XII. 24.	<p>The Athenians send a colony to Thurium ἐπὶ Πραξιτέλους ἀρχοντος. Vit. X. or. p. 835. D.—δωδεκάτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου Dionys. Lysia p. 453. Consequently towards the end of the year of <i>Praxiteles</i>, between whom and <i>Pythodorus</i> are eleven archons: and in the spring of B. C. 443. another argument that the archon commenced at midsummer. See <i>Introduction</i> p. xix—xxi. Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. 4. <i>Urbis nostræ trecentesimo decimo anno: tunc enim auctor ille</i> [Herodotus] <i>historiam condidit Thuriis in Italia</i>. But U. C. Var. 310 corresponds with the year B. C. 444, confirming the dates of Dionysius and the author of the <i>Βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων</i>. The colony was conducted by <i>Lampon</i>: Plutarch. Polit. Præc. p. 812. C. Περικλῆς—Λάμπωνα Θουρίων οἰκιστὴν ἐξέπεμψεν. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 521. ὁ δὲ Λάμπων θύτης ἦν καὶ χρησμοδόγος καὶ μάντις [conf. Plutarch. Pericl. c. 6]: ᾧ καὶ τὴν εἰς Σύβαριν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποικίαν ἔνιοι περιάπτουσιν, αὐτὸν ἡγήσασθαι λέγοντες Ἀθηναίων ὄντα σὺν ἄλλοις θ'. Conf. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 96. Phot. lex. v. Θουριομάν- τεῖς.</p>
442.	84, 3. <i>Diphilus</i> . Diod. XII. 26. Dionys. Ant. XI. p. 2305. Mar. Par. No. 61.	
441.	84, 4. <i>Timocles</i> . Diod. XII. 27. Oderici Marm.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>84. 2 anno 1573 [from Oct. B. C. 444] <i>Euripides tragicus. Item Protagoras sophista cujus libri decreto Atheniensium cremati sunt.</i> According to this chronology the death of <i>Protagoras</i> might have happened about B. C. 404, a little before the death of <i>Socrates</i>. But see <i>Appendix c. 21</i>, for the difficulties which occur in the date of the death of <i>Protagoras</i>. He was settled at Athens in B. C. 422. Cf. a. 422.</p> <p><i>Empedocles</i> flourished : Laërt. VIII. 74. ἤκμασε κατὰ τὴν πρὸ Ὀλυμπιάδα. <i>Apollodorus</i> ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς ap. Laert. VIII. 52.</p> <p>ἦν μὲν Μένανος υἱός, εἰς δὲ Θουρίους αὐτὸν νεωστὶ παντελῶς ἐκτισμένους Γλαῦκος . . . ἐλθεῖν φησὶν— οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες ὡς πεφευγὼς οἴκοθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τελέως ἀγνοεῖν ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν· ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔτ' ἦν, ἡ παντελῶς ὑπεργεγηρακὼς· ὅπερ οὐχὶ φαίνεται. 'Αριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξήκοντ' ἐτών, ἔτι θ' Ἑράκλειτον, φησὶ τετελευτηκέναι.</p>	
<p><i>Herodotus</i> æt. 41 went to Thurium: Strab. XIV. p. 656. C. Θούριον ἐκάλεσαν διὰ τὸ κοινωῆσαι τῆς εἰς Θουρίους ἀποικίας. <i>Suidas</i>. Ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀλικαρνασσὸν, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐξελάσας, ἐπειδὴ ὕστερον εἶδεν αὐτὸν φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, εἰς τὸ Θούριον, ἀποικιζόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἐβελοντῆς ἦλθε. Confer <i>Aristot. Rhet. III. 9</i>. <i>Herodot. IV. 99</i>. <i>Plin. H. N. XII. 4</i>. <i>Epigr. apud Steph. Byz. v. Θούριοι</i>.</p> <p><i>Lysias</i> went to Thurium, σὺν τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Πολεμάρχῳ, τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη τετελευτηκότος, ὡς κοινωήσων τοῦ κλήρου, ἔτη γεγονὼς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ Πραξιτέλους ἀρχοντος. κακεῖ διέμεινε (παιδευόμενος παρὰ Τισίᾳ καὶ Νικίᾳ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις)—ἕως Κλεοκρίτου [B. C. 413]. <i>Vit. X. or. p. 835. D. Cephalus</i> the father of <i>Lysias</i> resided at Athens thirty years—Οὐμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπέισθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ἔτη δὲ τριάκοντα ᾤκησε. <i>Lys. adv. Eratosth. p. 120, 26</i>. As he was now dead, he must have settled there about B. C. 473.</p>	
<p><i>Gorgia</i> περὶ φύσεως. <i>Olympiodorus ad Platonis Gorgiam præf. p. 615. ed. Findeisen</i>. ἀμέλει καὶ γράφει ὁ Γοργίας περὶ φύσεως σύγγραμμα οὐκ ἄκομψον τῇ πρὸ Ὀλυμπιάδι. Supplied by Kruger.</p>	<p><i>Euripides</i> gains the prize in tragedy: ἀφ' οὗ <i>Εὐριπίδης</i>—τραγῳδία πρῶτον ἐνίκησεν ἔτη ΗἸΔ'. . . .</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	Didasc. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 283.	
440.	Ol. 85. <i>Myrichides</i> . Diod. XII. 29. <i>Morychides</i> Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 67. Vesp. 283. <i>Morichides</i> Oderici Marm. Didasc.	<p>The Samian war: ἔκτω ἔτει. Thucyd. I. 115—117. This war, therefore, is rightly dated by Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 283. τὰ περὶ Σάμον ἑννεακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει πρότερον γέγονε. For <i>Ameinias</i>, of whose year he speaks, was the nineteenth archon from <i>Timocles</i>. Samos was besieged by sea and land, and surrendered in the ninth month: ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ἐνάτῳ μηνί. Thucyd. I. 117. According to Isocrates de Permut. p. 446. ed. Oxon. this war was carried on with 200 ships, and cost 1000 talents: (τὴν Σάμον) Περικλῆς ὁ μεγίστην ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν εἰληφώς ἀπὸ διακοσίων νεῶν καὶ χιλίων ταλάντων κατεπολέμησε. The 200 ships are confirmed by the narrative of Thucydides I. 116. 117. Nepos Vit. Timoth. c. 1. states the cost at 1200 talents: <i>Timotheus Samum cepit, in quâ oppugnandâ superiore bello Athenienses mille et ducenta talenta consumpserant.</i></p> <p>The date here given for the Samian war is now confirmed by the Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 283 as supplied in ed. Dindorf. τὰ περὶ Σάμον ἰθ' ἔτει πρότερον ἐπὶ Τιμοκλέους γέγονε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑξῆς Μορυχίδου.</p> <p>From the successive transactions in Thucyd. I. 115. which commenced in the sixth year, and yet preceded the siege of Samos, we may place the surrender of Samos and the conclusion of the war in B. C. 439.</p>
439.	85, 2. <i>Glaucines</i> . Didas-	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Διφῶλ . . Mar. Par. No. 61. This, therefore, was the <i>first</i> prize: πρῶτος ἦν. He gained the <i>third</i> prize, τρίτος ἦν, with the Πε- λιάδες, in B. C. 455.</p> <p>The Marble adds—ἐτῶν ὧν ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ. But other authorities compute his age differently, and make him at this time 38. Cf. a. 480.</p>
<p><i>Melissus</i> the philosopher—Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθα- γένους, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος, στρατηγῶν τότε τῆς Σάμου —defends Samos against Pericles. Plutarch. Pericl. c. 26. 27. This agrees with the chrono- logy of Apollodorus, who refers Melissus to the 84th Olympiad. Cf. a. 444. Suidas v. Μέλitos Λάρου.—ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου καὶ Ἐμ- πεδοκλέους χρόνων. οὗτος ἔγραψε περὶ τοῦ οὐτος. ἀντεπολιτεύσατο δὲ Περικλεῖ καὶ ὑπὲρ Σαμίων στρα- τηγήσας ἐνανμάχησε πρὸς Σοφοκλῆν τὸν τραγικὸν ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδοηκοστῇ τετάρτῃ. This notice, which is referred by a blunder of Suidas (mistaking Μέλitos for Μέλισσος) to <i>Meletus</i> the accuser of Socrates, belongs to <i>Melissus</i> the philosopher. The date is derived from Apollodorus.</p>	<p>A decree to prohibit comedy: Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 67. ψήφισμα τοῦ μὴ κωμῳδεῖν, γραφὲν ἐπὶ Μοριχίδου καὶ ἰσχυρὸν ἐκείνῳ τε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ δύο τοὺς ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ Γκίνου τε (leg. ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου τε) καὶ Θεοδώρου. But, two exhibitions are recorded in the Marble of M. Oderico within this prohi- bited period: . . . ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου Σατύροις - - - ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Μοριχίδου - - - vs Κολεοφόροις. - - The Dio- nysia of <i>Morychides</i> were in spring B. C. 439. and the <i>Dionysia</i> of <i>Theodorus</i>, spring B. C. 437. Oderici Epistol. p. xlv. Scholiastem <i>Didascalía</i> <i>hæc nostra aperte refellit, nam et Morychide et</i> <i>Theodoro—comædias actas ostendit.—Alterutrum</i> <i>statuas necesse est, aut nostræ didascalíæ auctorem</i> <i>errásse, aut errásse scholiastem.</i> But we are not acquainted with the form or nature of those dramas, the Σάτυροι, and the Κολεοφόροι. They might have been so written as to elude the law: and the Scholiast and the Marble might both be in the right. Larcher Hérodot. tom. VII. p. 562. has offered this explanation with respect to one of the pieces, the Σάτυροι, and it may be equally true of the other.</p> <p><i>Sophocles</i> was employed in the Samian war: Strabo XIV. p. 638. C. Ἀθηναῖοι πέμψαντες στρα- τηγὸν Περικλέα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Σοφοκλέα τὸν ποιη- τὴν, πολιορκίᾳ κακῶς διέθηκαν τοὺς Σαμίους. His name appears in the list of generals given by Androtio apud Schol. Aristid. p. 182. Soon after the representation of the Ἀντιγόνη: Arg. Anti- gon. φασὶ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα ἡξιώσθαι τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας, εὐδοκμήσαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀν- τινόνης. He mentions his own age at this period in an epigram quoted by Plutarch. Mor. p. 785. B. τουτὶ δὲ ὁμολογουμένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπι- γραμμάτιον: Ὀδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεύξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὧν πέντ' ἐπὶ πενήκοντα.—</p> <p>Because Plutarch had just before spoken of the <i>Ædipus Coloneus</i>, Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 217. quoting perhaps from memory, inaccur- ately makes this the date of the <i>Ædipus</i>.</p>
	<p><i>Pindar</i>, according to some, completed his 80th</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	<p>cal. Alcestit. conf. a. 438. 4. corruptè ἐπὶ Γκλύνου pro ἐπὶ Γλανκίνου apud Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 67. ed. Ald. <i>Gluicides</i> Diod. XII. 30.</p>	
438.	<p>85, 3. <i>Theodorus</i>. Diod. XII. 31. Schol. Acharn. 67. Oderici Marm. Didasc.</p>	
437.	<p>85, 4. <i>Euthymenes</i>. Diod. XII. 32. Schol. Acharn. 67. Aristoph. Acharn. 67. Schol. Æschin. p. 755. Reisk. Harpoer. v. προτύλαια.</p>	<p>Colony of <i>Agnon</i> to Amphipolis. In the year of Euthymenes : Diod. XII. 32. (ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυμένους)—'Αθηναῖοι συνόκησαν Ἀμφίπολιν. Schol. Æschin. p. 755. Reisk. τὰς ἑννέα Ὀδοὺς Ἀγνων συνοκίσας Ἀθηναῖος Ἀμφίπολιν ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήγησιν Εὐθυμένους. —And in the <i>twenty-ninth</i> year after the failure at Drabescus : Thucyd. IV. 102. καὶ αὖθις, ἐνὸς δέοντος τριακοστῷ ἔτει, ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀγνωνος τοῦ Νικίου οἰκιστοῦ ἐκπεμφθέντος—ἔκτισαν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο. Whence the failure at Drabescus is fixed to B. C. 465, and the death of Aristagoras, thirty-two years earlier, to B. C. 497. <i>Confer annos</i>.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>year. Anon. apud Scholiast. Κάθ'αυεν ὀγδώκοντα τελειομένων ἐνιαυτῶν. Thom. Mag. Vit. Pind. τέθνηκεν ἐτῶν γεγονώς, ὥς τινες, ὀγδοήκοντα. Other accounts made him <i>sixty-six</i>: ἑξ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν γεγονώς. Thom. Mag.—or <i>fifty-five</i>: ἀποθανεῖν ἐτῶν νέ. Suid. Eudoc. But these accounts are less probable. The text of Thom. Mag. may be thus reformed: τέθνηκεν ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν γεγονώς ἐπὶ Βίωνος [B. C. 458]· ἢ, ὥς τινες, ὀγδοήκοντα, κατὰ ἔκτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα [in exact computation, Olymp. 85. 3].</p>
	<p><i>Euripidis</i> Ἀλκιστῆς. Arg. Alcest. in MS. Vat. No. 909 apud Dindorf. τὸ δράμα ἐποιήθη ἕξ· ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου ἄρχοντος. τὸ λ'. πρῶτον ἦν Σοφοκλῆς, δεύτερον Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ διαφωφίλῳ, Τηλέφῳ, Ἀλκιστίδι. τὸ δὲ δράμα κωμικωτέραν ἔχει κατασκευήν. That the Τηλέφος was exhibited before B. C. 425 we already knew from Aristoph. Acharn. 430: Dindorf præf. Alcest. p. 8. points out that the Ἀλκιστῆς is quoted in B. C. 425: Aristoph. Acharn. 893 = Eur. Alc. 367. It is quoted again in B. C. 424: Aristoph. Eq. 1252 = Eur. Alc. 182. In B. C. 422: Aristoph. Nub. 1415 = Eur. Alc. 691. In B. C. 414: Aristoph. Av. 1244 = Eur. Alc. 675. That the Κρήσσαις were exhibited before B. C. 425 appears from Schol. Acharn. 432. Referred to also in B. C. 422: Schol. Vesp. 760. From the mention of Ἀλκμαίωνι (where we must read with Dindorf Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφίδος) we learn that the suspicion of Bentley Ep. ad Mill. p. 16., that there were two dramas of the name, is confirmed. The present tragedy is the first; the Ἀλκμαίων, which was exhibited after the death of <i>Euripides</i>, was the second. See Introduction p. xxxiv. c. Dr. Gaisford justly remarks that, as the Ἀλκιστῆς occupies the place of the Satyrical Drama, its comic character may be probably ascribed to that circumstance.</p>
	<p>The prohibition of comedy is repealed, in the year of <i>Euthymenes</i>: οὗτος ὁ ἄρχων, ἐφ' οὗ κατελύθη τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ μὴ κωμῳδεῖν. Schol. Acharn. 67. After subsisting three years, this law ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους κατελύθη. Schol. ibid. M. Oderico p. xliii. has inadvertently misrepresented the sense of the habitual and customary phrases, ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου—ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους, (used to denote the year of the transaction,) as if they were meant to express</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
436.	<p>Ol. 86. <i>Lysimachus</i> Dionys. Isocrat. p. 534. Reisk. Plutarch. Mor. p. 836. E. Laërt. III. 3. Oderici Marm. Didasc. <i>Nausimachus</i> Diod. XII. 33.</p>	<p>The <i>Propylæa</i> commenced: Harpoer. v. Προπύλαια ταῦτα. περὶ τῶν Προπυλαίων τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὡς ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους ἀρχοντος οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξαντο Ἀθηναῖοι Μνησικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονούντος ἄλλοι τε ἱστορήκασιν καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ· Ἡλιόδωρος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἀκροπόλεως μεθ' ἕτερα καὶ ταῦτα φησὶν· Ἐν ἔτεσι μὲν πέντε παντελῶς ἐξεποιήθη τέλαιντα δὲ ἀνηλώθη δισχίλια δώδεκα· πέντε δὲ πύλας ἐποίησαν, δι' ὧν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἰσέασιν. Conf. Suid. et Phot. v. Προπύλαια. Supplied by Kruger.</p>
435.	<p>86, 2. <i>Antiochides</i>. Diod. XII. 34. <i>Antiochides</i> Oderici Marm. Didasc.</p>	<p>Sea-fight of the Corinthians and Coreyreans: Thucyd. I. 29.—<i>χειμῶνος ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἶκον ἐκάτεροι</i> Idem I. 30.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>that the law was passed <i>by the authority</i> of Morychides, and repealed <i>by the authority</i> of Euthymenes: <i>ab Euthymene abrogatum est</i>;—<i>agere iterum (Euthymenes) permisit</i>. And Larcher Hérodote. tom. VII. p. 562. has been partly led into the same oversight.</p> <p><i>Sophocles</i> is named at this date by Eusebius: Ol. 85. 4 anno 1579, commencing Oct. B. C. 438.</p>
<p>Birth of <i>Isocrates</i>: Dionys. Isocrat. p. 534. ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκτῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησι Λυσιμάχου, πέμπτῳ πρότερον ἔτει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, δυοὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι νεώτερος Λυσίου. Vit. X. orat. p. 836. E. γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν ἑκτὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου.—(Λυσίου μὲν νεώτερος) [<i>sic supplendum</i>] δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι, πρεσβύτερος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἑπτὰ. Photius cod. 260. νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίου ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἔτεσι καὶ κ', Πλάτωνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἰ' δεόντων τριῶν. Plato was, according to Laërt. III. 3. Ἰσοκράτους νεώτερος ἔτεσιν ἑξ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου, Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονε. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 68. diss. IX. thus fixes the birth of <i>Isocrates</i>: "He died Metagitnion B. C. 338. "when he had entered his 99th year. Born, "therefore, before Metagitnion, i. e. Hecatom-bæon B. C. 436. The Peloponnesian war began "B. C. 431, and he was born the fifth year before: therefore, before Thargelion B. C. 435. "Hecatom-bæon B. C. 436 would be four years "and ten months before the war. Plato was "born Thargelion B. C. 429, or Thargelion B. C. "428. In the one case, <i>Isocrates</i> was six years "and ten m. in the other, seven years and ten m. "older." These calculations perhaps attempt too much precision. It is sufficient, that <i>Isocrates</i> was born in the beginning of Ol. 86, 1, in the early part of the year of <i>Lysimachus</i>.</p>	<p><i>Cratinus</i>, the comic poet, νικᾷ μετὰ τὴν πέ' ὀλυμπιάδα. Schol. Aristoph. Prolegom. p. xxviii. Beck. That is, after the repeal of the decree to prohibit comedy, which was in force during that Olympiad. Three victories of <i>Cratinus</i> are upon record, after Olymp. 85. He gained the <i>second</i> prize with the Χειμαζόμενοι B. C. 425, and with the Σάτυροι B. C. 424. And the <i>first</i> prize with the Πυτίνη B. C. 423.</p>
<p>Cyrril. Julian. I. p. 13. Ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἑκτῇ ὀλυμπιάδι γενέσθαι φασὶ τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην Δημόκριτον, Ἐμπεδοκλέα τε καὶ Ἱπποκράτην, καὶ Πρόδικον, Ζήνωνα καὶ Παρμενίδην. Eusebius recites these names at Ol. 86. 3 anno 1582 <i>Democritus Abderites, Empedocles, et Hippocrates medicus</i>. Ol. 86. 4 anno 1583 <i>Gorgias et Hippias Prodicus et Zeno et Parmenides philosophi cognoscuntur</i>. <i>Democritus</i> and <i>Hippocrates</i>, (æt. 25,) <i>Prodicus</i>, <i>Zeno</i> of <i>Elea</i>, and <i>Protagoras</i>, were all living at Ol. 86. But <i>Parmenides</i> flourished with <i>Heracitus</i>, 70 years earlier. Cf. a. 503. For <i>Empedocles</i>, cf.</p>	<p>[<i>Phrynichus</i> the comic poet first exhibited: Suidas v. Φρύνιχος. Φρύνιχος Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικὸς, τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ἐδίδαξε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ πς' ὀλυμπιάδος. It seems probable that we should read πς' ὀλυμπιάδος, as in Suid. v. Ἀριστομένης—τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας—ὀλυμπιάδι πς' [B. C. 431]. Confer a. 429.]</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
434.	86, 3. <i>Chares</i> . Diod. XII. 35.	Preparations of Corinth: τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον. Thucyd. I. 31.
433.	86, 4. <i>Apseudes</i> . Diod. XII. 36. Ptol. Μεγ. Συγγράξ. III. 2. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 998. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 74. p. 111.	Coreyrean embassy to Athens: Thucyd. I. 31. The Elgin Marbles preserve the fragment of a treaty between the Athenians and Rhegians in the year of <i>Apseudes</i> : Boeckh. P. I. No. 74. p. 111. ἐπ' Ἀψ]εύδους ἄρχοντος κ δης πρῶτος ἐγράμμ..... λῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀθ. ἀρίας ἐγραμμάτευ εἰ Καλλι ναι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὁμοσάντων Ἀθήνα τα καὶ ἄδολα καὶ ἅ αἶων Ῥηγίνοις κα αχοὶ ἐσόμεθα πισ υροὶ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς..... ὀφείλεσθαι
432.	Ol. 87. <i>Pythodorus</i> . Diod. XII. 37. Thucyd. II. 2. Arg. Medææ. Schol. Avium 998.	Sea fights off Coreyra, in the <i>spring</i> : Thucyd. I. 46—55. Πορτῖδαια ἀπέστη, about <i>midsummer</i> : Id. I. 61—63. Congress at Lacedæmon, in the <i>autumn</i> : I. 67. ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν τριακοντουτῖδων σπονδῶν I. 87.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>a. 444.—for Zeno cf. a. 464—for Protagoras cf. ann. 444, 422. Prodicus of Ceos was φιλόσοφος φυσικὸς καὶ σοφιστὴς, σύγχρονος Δημοκρίτου τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου καὶ Γοργίου, μαθητῆς Πρωταγόρου τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου. Suid. Πρόδικος.</p>	
	<p><i>Lysippus</i> the comic poet ἐνίκα. at the <i>Dionysia</i> of the archon Antiochides : Oderici Marmor. ἐπὶ Ἀντιοχίδου . . . ὑσιππος ἐνίκα μὲν . . . που Καταχίναϊς. <i>Lysippus</i> in the <i>Βάκχαι</i> ridiculed Lampon ; Athen. VIII. p. 344. e. which confirms his station in this age. Ἀύσιππος ἐν Βάκχαις is quoted Athen. III. p. 124. d. Polluc. VII. 77. Ibid. 89. et Steph. Byz. v. Θεσσαλία. Poll. X. 50. 154. This comic poet is likewise quoted by Hesych. v. Βούδιος.—Dicæarch. p. 17. 18. ed. H. Steph. οἱ στίχοι Ἀυσίππου. Εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, στέλεχος εἶ, κ.τ.λ. See also Suid. v. Ἀύσιππος.</p> <p><i>Lysippus</i>, mentioned in another inscription, produced by Oderico p. lxxii. in which a choral victory is recorded ἐπὶ Πινθαράτου [B. C. 271], is a different person ; not only on account of the remoteness of the times, but also because mention is there made of a χορὸς ἀνδρῶν, and not of an exhibition of comedy.</p>
<p><i>Andocides</i> the orator προεχειρίσθη μετὰ Γλαύκωνος σὺν νανσὶν εἴκοσι Κερκυραίοις βοηθήσων. Vit. X. or. p. 834. C.—Thucydides I. 51. εἴκοσι νῆες—ὧν ἦρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου. In the spring of B. C. 432.</p> <p><i>Anaxagoras</i>, after his second visit to Athens, is prosecuted for impiety ; at the time of the prosecution of <i>Aspasia</i> and <i>Phidias</i> : Plutarch. Pericl. c. 32.—Diod. XII. 39. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Εὐθυδήμου [B. C. 431]—Ἀναξαγόραν τὸν σοφιστὴν, διδάσκαλον ὄντα Περικλέους, ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐσυκοφάντουν. which nearly accords with the date of Plutarch. He withdrew to Lampsacus ; where he died about four years afterwards. Suidas : Ἀναξαγόρας—ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, Περικλέους αὐτῷ συνειπόντος, καὶ ἔλθων ἐν Λαμψάκῃ ἐκεῖ καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. Cf. a. 428.</p>	<p><i>Hermippus</i> prosecuted <i>Aspasia</i>. Plutarch. Pericl. c. 31. 32. περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον [about the time of the prosecution of <i>Phidias</i>, and a little before the beginning of the war] Ἀσπασία δίκην ἔφενγεν ἀσεβείας, Ἑρμίππου τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ διώκοντος.</p> <p>(<i>Calliæ</i> Γραμματικὴ Τραγῳδία. Before the <i>Medea</i>. Athen. VII. p. 276. a. Καλλιᾶν γραμματικὴν συνθεῖναι τραγῳδίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ποιῆσαι τὰ μέλη καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν Εὐριπίδην ἐν Μηδείᾳ καὶ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Οἰδίπουν.) In this comic piece, (for such it was,) πρόλογος μὲν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων, ὁ χορὸς δὲ γυναικῶν. Athen. X. p. 453. c. d. The <i>Theseus</i> of Euripides was later than this piece : Athen. X. p. 454. b. ὅθεν ὕστερον—Εὐριπίδης τὴν ἐν τῷ Θησέϊ τὴν ἐγγράμματον εἵκοι ποιῆσαι ῥῆσιν. [Cf. Musgrav. <i>Fragm. Eur.</i> p. 592.] <i>Callias</i> in the</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
431.	87, 2. <i>Euthydemus</i> . Diod. XII. 38. Athen. V. p. 217. b.	<p>The Thebans attempt Plataea, τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, two months before midsummer. Thucyd. II. 2.—μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτιδαία μάχην μηνὶ ἔκτῳ, ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ. Ibid.—in the <i>tenth</i> month, or <i>Munychion</i>, of the archon Pythodorus: towards the end of the month.—τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς τὰ γινόμενα ἦν. Thucyd. II. 4.—Invasion of Attica, eighty days after. II. 19. Consequently in Hecatombæon of the archon Euthydemus. An eclipse is noticed Thucyd. II. 28, which happened Aug. 3.—Alliance between the Athenians and <i>Sitalces</i>, king of Thrace, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει. Thucyd. II. 29.</p> <p>Both the 14th and 15th years of the thirty-years truce fell, in part, within the year of Pythodorus. compare Thucyd. I. 87. II. 2. And the 15th year was commenced at the end of Munychion. The fourteenth year was therefore completed about the beginning of Munychion, or April, B. C. 431. And the thirty-years truce was made in the beginning of Munychion, or April, B. C. 445.</p>
430.	87, 3. <i>Apollodorus</i> . Diod. XII. 43. Athen. V. p. 217. b. Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxix. Beek.	<p>Second invasion of Attica. τοῦ θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένον. Thucyd. II. 47. Plague at Athens: Thucyd. II. 47. ὄντων αὐτῶν οὐ πολλὰς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι. The Peloponnesians in this campaign remained forty days in Attica: Thucyd. II. 57. ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγένοντο.</p>
429.	87, 4. <i>Epameinon</i> . Athen. V. p. 217. e. <i>E-paminondas</i> Diod. XII. 46. <i>Ameinias</i> Laërt. III. 3. <i>Ameinon</i> Arg. Hippolyt.	<p>Potidaea surrenders upon conditions, towards the close of the second year of the war, before the end of Munychion B. C. 429. Thucyd. II. 70. τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος.—Ibid. ταῦτα ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ. The siege had lasted more than two years; cf. a. 432. and had cost the Athenians 2000 talents: Thucyd. II. 70. ἀναλωκίας ἤδη τῆς πόλεως δισχίλια τάλαντα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Meton</i> ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀψεύδους—ἐξέθηκε τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ἑννεακαίδεκατηρίδα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος ἀπὸ μηνὸς σκιροφοριῶνος τρισκαίδεκάτης. Diod. XII. 36. [June 27 B. C. 432.] Compare Schol. Aristoph. Av. 998. Ælian V. H. X. 7. He had profited by the observations of <i>Phaeinus</i>: Theophrast. περὶ σημείων 1, 4. Φαεινὸς Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λυκαβηττοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς τροπὰς συνείδε' παρ' οὗ Μέτων ἀκούσας τὸν τοῦ ἐνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσιν ἐνιαυτῶν συνέταξεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν Φαεινὸς μέτοικος Ἀθήνησιν ὁ δὲ Μέτων Ἀθηναῖος. <i>Meton</i> was still living in B. C. 415, when the expedition sailed to Sicily: Plutarch. Alcib. c. 17. Ælian. V. H. XIII. 12.</p>	<p>Πεδῆται ridiculed <i>Lampon</i> the soothsayer; Athen. VIII. p. 344. e.—<i>Sacas</i>; Schol. Av. 31.—<i>Melanthius</i>; Schol. Av. 151. who are subjects of ridicule in the comedies of Aristophanes. <i>Lampon</i> flourished in the time of <i>Pericles</i> and <i>Anaxagoras</i>, before <i>Pericles</i> had acquired the sole direction of affairs: Plutarch. Pericl. c. 6. <i>conf. a.</i> 443, 2.</p>
<p><i>Hellanicus</i> æt. 65. <i>Herodotus</i> æt. 53. <i>Thucydides</i> æt. 40. <i>Cf. a.</i> 496.</p> <p><i>Hippocrates</i> flourished: Auctor Vitæ. γένει μὲν ἦν Κῶος, υἱὸς Ἑρακλείδου—μαθητὴς δὲ γέγονεν Ἑρακλείδου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς, εἶτα Ἑροδίκου, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου ῥήτορος, φιλοσόφου δὲ Δημοκρίτου Ἀβδηρίτου. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Πελοποννησιακοὺς ἤκμασε χρόνους. At the beginning of the war he was about 28 years of age. <i>Cf. ann.</i> 460, 357.</p>	<p><i>Euripidis</i> Μήδεια. Arg. Med. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος κατὰ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν ἐβδόμην ὀλυμπιάδα. πρῶτος Εὐφορίων· δεῦτερος Σοφοκλῆς· τρίτος Εὐριπίδης, Μήδεια, Φιλοκτήτης, Δίκτυς, Θερισταὶ σάτυροι. The <i>Philoctetes</i> is noticed by Aristoph. Acharn. 424. Musgrave Chron. Seen. Ol. 85. 4. 87. 1. has remarked this. It is strange that he should not at the same time have perceived that the Ἀχαρνεῖς, on this very account, could not have been exhibited five years before the <i>Philoctetes</i>.</p> <p><i>Aristomenes</i> began to exhibit: κωμικὸς, τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, οἱ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, ὀλυμπιάδι πζ'. Suid. Eudoc. <i>Aristomenes</i> exhibited the Ἀδμητος B. C. 388. So that he wrote comedy upwards of forty years, during the whole time of Aristophanes.</p>
<p>Birth of <i>Plato</i>: ἐβδόμη θαρρηλιῶνος. Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1. In the year of Apollodorus: Athen. V. p. 217. b. ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ μετ' Εὐθύδημον ἄρξαντος. δύο δὲ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη μετέλλαξεν ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλιμάχου, ὅς ἐστιν ὀγδοηκοστὸς καὶ δεύτερος. Born, there-</p>	<p><i>Hermippus</i> the comic poet ridiculed <i>Pericles</i>, after the first invasion of Attica: Plutarch. Pericl. c. 33. πολλοὶ ἦδον ἄσματα καὶ σκώμματα, ἐφυβρίζοντες αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν· ἐπεφύετο δὲ καὶ Κλέων—ὥς τὰ ἀνάπαιστα ταῦτα δηλοῖ, ποιήσαντος Ἑρμίππου βασιλεῦ σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις δόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν· περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινούς παρέχει; κ. τ. λ.</p> <p>Euseb. Ol. 87. 3 anno 1586 [from Oct. B. C. 431] <i>Bacchylides lyricus cognoscebatur</i>. He might be still living at this time, but he was already known as a poet B. C. 472. <i>Conf. a.</i> 450.</p>
<p>Birth of <i>Plato</i>: ἐβδόμη θαρρηλιῶνος. Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1. In the year of Apollodorus: Athen. V. p. 217. b. ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ μετ' Εὐθύδημον ἄρξαντος. δύο δὲ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη μετέλλαξεν ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλιμάχου, ὅς ἐστιν ὀγδοηκοστὸς καὶ δεύτερος. Born, there-</p>	<p><i>Eupolis</i> and <i>Phrynichus</i>, the comic poets, exhibit. Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxix. Beck. ἐδίδαξεν (Εὐπολὶς) ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου. ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φρύνιχος. [spring B. C. 429.] <i>Eupolis</i>, ἢ ἐτῶν γεγονὸς, ἤρξατο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. Suid. Eudoc. If his exhibition in the year of Apollodorus is to be</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Plato is not to be trusted for historical facts. But, if Alcibiades served at Potidæa, as he relates <i>Sympos.</i> p. 219. 220. <i>Alcibiades</i> probably served in this last campaign in the winter or spring of the archon Apollodorus: which would suppose him twenty years of age in the year of this archon, and place his birth in B. C. 449. <i>Socrates</i>, according to Plato, was there in a <i>winter</i>: p. 220. a. and <i>summer</i>: p. 220. d. Plutarch <i>Alcib.</i> c. 7. merely follows Plato, and seems to have no other authority: his expression <i>μάχης ισχύρας γενομένης</i> is borrowed from Plato <i>Charmid.</i> p. 153. c. the phrases <i>ἔσωσεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν</i> and <i>ἀξίωμα</i> from Plato <i>Sympos.</i> p. 220. the turn of expression <i>ἔτι τῆς ἐπὶ Δηλῷ μάχης</i> from <i>Sympos.</i> p. 221. a. On the three campaigns of <i>Socrates</i> see Casaubon ad <i>Laert.</i> II. 22. ad <i>Athenæum</i> V. p. 215. c. refuting Laertius and Demochares apud <i>Athen.</i> l. c. Siege of Plataea: τοῦ ἐπιγεγομένου θέρους. <i>Thucyd.</i> II. 71. Naval actions in the Corinthian Gulf, τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους. <i>Id.</i> II. 80—92. <i>Phormio</i>, the Athenian naval commander in those actions, is complimented by <i>Aristophanes</i> in B. C. 424. conf. <i>Aristoph. Equit.</i> 562. et <i>Schol.</i> ad loc. Death of <i>Pericles</i>. ἐπεβίω δὲ (τῷ πολέμῳ) δύο ἔτη καὶ ἑξ μῆνας. <i>Thucyd.</i> II. 65. He died, therefore, in the autumn, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἐπαμείνωνος. <i>Athen.</i> V. p. 217. e. <i>Laert.</i> III. 3. <i>Corsini Fast. Att.</i> tom. II. p. 60.—<i>Pericles excessit Ol.</i> 87. 4. octogenario major, quippe qui <i>Plutarcho</i> teste 55 annis remp. administraverit. This is inaccurate; and proceeds from a misapprehension of <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Pericl.</i> c. 16. τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἔτη πρωτεύων ἐν Ἐφιάλταις καὶ Κίμωνι—καὶ Θουκυδίδαις μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θουκυδίδου κατάλυσιν καὶ τὸν ὁστροκισμὸν, οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν διήνεγκε. But the fifteen years are included in the forty: <i>Cicero Orat.</i> III. 34. <i>Quadraginta annos præfuit Athenis.</i> And <i>Pericles</i> began to appear in public affairs, ἐπεὶ Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἀποτεθνήκει, καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπεπτώκει, Κίμωνα δ' αἱ στρατεῖαι—ἔξω κατεῖχον. <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Pericl.</i> c. 7. Consequently not before B. C. 470. Nor could he be past eighty: since that would suppose him ten years older than his master <i>Anaxagoras</i>. <i>Pericles</i>, therefore, began to act in public about B. C. 469 [conf. a. 469.] and to have the sole direction about B. C. 444.</p> <p><i>Cleon</i> acquires influence in public affairs: <i>Schol.</i> ad <i>Lucian. Timon.</i> c. 30. προστὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἔτη. sc. B. C. 429—422. Conf. <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Pericl.</i> c. 33. 35. (added by <i>Kruger.</i>)</p> <p>March of <i>Sitalces</i> against <i>Perdiccas</i>; τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου. <i>Thucyd.</i> II. 95—101.</p>
428.	Ol. 88. <i>Diotimus.</i> <i>Diod.</i> XII. 49. <i>Philotimus</i> <i>Prolegom.</i> <i>Aristoph.</i> p. xxix. <i>Beck.</i>	<p>Third invasion of Attica: ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος. <i>Thucyd.</i> III. 1. Revolt of all Lesbos, except <i>Methymnæ</i>, μετὰ τὴν ἐσβολὴν εὐθύς. <i>Thucyd.</i> III. 2. Ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς ἡ Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. <i>Id.</i> III. 8. See, for <i>Dorieus</i>, <i>Pausan.</i> VI. 7, 2. <i>Dorieus</i> was put to death by the Lacedæmonians in the time of <i>Conon</i>: <i>Androtion</i> apud <i>Pausan.</i> l. c.—after his capture by the Athenians, in the 25th year of the war B. C. 406. <i>Xenoph. Hellen.</i> I. 5, 19.</p> <p><i>Mytilenæ</i> is besieged, towards the autumn: <i>Thucyd.</i> III. 18. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι—περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἤδη ἀρχόμενον—περιτειχίζουσι <i>Μυτιλήνην</i> ἐν κύκλῳ ἀπλῶ τείχει.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

fore, May B. C. 429. Others dated his birth one year later, or May B. C. 428.—Laërt. III. 2. 3. γίνεται, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς, ὀγδόῃ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι θαργηλιῶνος ἐβδόμῃ. [actually, two months before Olymp. 88.]—ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου γέγονεν, ἐφ' οὗ Περικλῆς ἐτελεύτησεν.—and computed his age at 81 years. Cf. a. 347.

Death of *Anaxagoras* æt. 72. Olymp. 88. 1. Laërt. II. 7. Cf. a. 500. That he was still living at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, is attested by Plutarch and Diodorus. Cf. a. 432. Origen ap. Menag. ad Laërt. II. 7. who says, ἤκμασεν ἔτους πρώτου τῆς πῆ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, has mistaken the date of his death for the date of his ἀκμή. *Anaxagoras* died at Lampsacus. Laërt. II. 14. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. 43. Aristot. Rhet. II. 23, 11.

4. POETS.

understood as his *first* exhibition, (which is probable,) *Eupolis* was born about B. C. 446, and was nearly of the same age as *Aristophanes*, who, at the time of the Plague, that is, at this very period, was σχεδὸν μαιρακίσκος. [cf. a. 427.] *Eupolis* exhibited some comedies after the year B. C. 415. Conf. Cic. Epist. Att. VI. 1. p. 589. Græv. Petavium ad Themist. or. 8. p. 110. b. *Phrynichus* was already known to the public, before the exhibition of the Φορμοφόροι of *Hermippus*: Schol. Aristoph. Av. 750. Φρύνιχος ὁ κωμικός οὗ μέμνηται Ἑρμιππος ἐν Φορμοφόροις ὡς ἀλλότρια ὑποβαλλομένων ποιήματα. And that comedy was exhibited before the death of *Sitalces*. cf. a. 426. According to Suidas, *Phrynichus* first exhibited comedy in the 86th Olympiad. cf. a. 435. But, as it seems likely that the *first* exhibitions of *Phrynichus* are referred by the Schol. to the year of Apollodorus, and as *Phrynichus* was τῶν ἐπιδευτέρων τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας, the numbers in Suidas may be perhaps corrected to πζ' or Olymp. 87. *Phrynichus* was still living in B. C. 405. Conf. Arg. Aristoph. Ran. et Ran. 13.

Euripidis Ἰππόλυτος στεφανηφόρος. Arg. Hippol. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Ἀμεινόνος ἀρχοντος [Feb. or March B. C. 428], Ὀλυμπιάδι πζ' ἔτει τετάρτῳ. πρῶτος Εὐριπίδης· δεύτερος Ἰοφῶν· τρίτος Ἴων.

The first exhibitions of *Plato* the comic poet, who was contemporary with *Aristophanes*, *Phrynichus*, *Eupolis*, and *Pherecrates*, (see *Introd.* p. xl.) and who still exhibited in B. C. 391, should rather be placed here, than at B. C. 453 where the *Chronicon* of Eusebius places them. As *Plato* was found at the same date in the copies used by Syncellus, (conf. Syncell. p. 247. 248.)

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
427.	88, 2. <i>Euclides</i> . Diod. XII. 53. Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 237. <i>Euclides</i> Aristot. Meteorol. I. 6. Phot. et Suid. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 240.	<p>Fourth invasion: Thucyd. III. 26. ἡγήτο δὲ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ταύτης Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Πανσανίου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος υἱός, βασιλέως ὄντος καὶ νεωτέρου ἔτι, πατρὸς ἀδελφὸς ὢν. Lesbos recovered—III. 27—50.—An expedition led by <i>Nicias</i>, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τὴν Λέσβου ἄλωσιν.—III. 51. Surrender of <i>Platæa</i>: ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου.—III. 52.</p> <p>Sedition at <i>Coreyra</i>: Thucyd. III. 70—84.—in the course of this summer. Conf. cap. 76. The Athenians send assistance to the <i>Leontines</i> in Sicily, τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος. Thucyd. III. 86. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος <i>Εὐκλέους</i> Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 240.</p>
426.	88, 3. <i>Euthynus</i> . Εὐθύδημος Diod. XII. 58. Athen. V. p. 218. b. Εὐθυμένης Arg. Acharn. Εὐθυνος Vit. Thucyd. p.	<p>Τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους, Πελοποννήσιοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἦλθον, —Ἄγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἡγουμένου—σεισμῶν δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν ἀπετράποντο πάλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐσβολή. Thucyd. III. 89.—Τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους, an action at <i>Tanagra</i>, Thucyd. III. 91. mentioned by <i>Athenæus</i> V. p. 218. b. Ἰππόνικος ἐπὶ μὲν Εὐθυδήμῳ ἄρχοντι στρατηγῶν</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>this was perhaps the mistake of Eusebius himself. And yet Cyrill. Julian. I. p. 13. B. suggests a more accurate date: <i>ὀγδοηκοστῇ ὀγδῷ ὀλυμπιάδι τὸν κωμῳδὸν Ἀριστοφάνην Εὐπολὺν τε καὶ Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι φασίν</i>. Although the birth of the philosopher Plato was sometimes ascribed to the 88th Olymp. he can hardly be supposed to be intended in this passage, because, in that case, the word <i>γενέσθαι</i> would be used in a double sense in the same sentence. But, if we understand the comic poet Plato to be spoken of, the expression is clear and intelligible; "The comic poet <i>Aristophanes</i>, with <i>Eupolis</i> and <i>Plato</i>, "flourished in Ol. 88."</p>
<p><i>Gorgias</i> is ambassador from Leontium to Athens: Diod. XII. 53. <i>ἦν τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἀρχιπρεσβευτῆς Γοργίας ὁ ῥήτωρ</i>—in the year of Euclides. See, for this embassy, Dionys. Lysia p. 458. and the narrative in Schol. ad Hermog. p. 6. quoted by Matthæi ad Dionys. l. c. <i>Gorgias</i> had been celebrated more than thirty years. Cf. a. 459. He was older than <i>Antipho</i>, and might be now nearly sixty years of age, since <i>Antipho</i> was 52. <i>Gorgias</i> was still living in the reign of <i>Jason of Pheræ</i>: who flourished B. C. 380. Pausan. VI. 17, 5. <i>Ἰάσων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τυραννήσας, Πολυκράτους οὐ τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνεγκαμένον, —τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπίπροσθεν Γοργίαν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐποιήσατο</i>. He lived 105, 107, 108, or 109 years: Apollod. ap. Laërt. VIII. 58. <i>ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ρ'</i>. Cic. Senect. c. 5. <i>centum et septem complevit annos</i>. Pausan. l. c. <i>βιώσαι ἔτη πέντε φασίν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατόν</i>. Lucian. Macrob. c. 23. <i>ἔτη ἑκατὸν ὀκτώ</i>. Philostrat. in vit. <i>λέγεται ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐλάσαι ἔτη</i>. Suid. <i>ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη ρθ'</i>. He speaks of himself Athen. XII. p. 548. d. as πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν βιώσας. He was therefore in reputation for nearly eighty years: consistently with the description in Athenæus XII. p. 548. d. <i>διὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ἤνυ σχεδὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη τῷ φρονεῖν συνεβίωσε</i>.—from Olymp. 80, to the time of <i>Jason of Thessaly</i>. He might have been born about B. C. 485, and have died soon after B. C. 380.</p>	<p><i>Aristophanis Δαιταλεῖς</i>. Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxix. Beck. <i>ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλοτίμου</i>. (leg. Διοτίμου.) Schol. Nub. 529. <i>τὸ πρῶτον δράμα ἐξέθηκε τοὺς Δαιταλεῖς</i>. Schol. Ran. 504. <i>ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ λοιμοῦ—σχεδὸν μειρακίσκος ἦδη ἤπτετο τῶν ἀγώνων</i>. The subject of this comedy is intimated by <i>Aristophanes</i> himself Nub. 529. <i>ὁ σώφρων τε χῶ καταπύγων ἄριστ' ἤκουσάτην</i>. explained by the Scholiast: <i>σώφρον μειράκιον εἰσάγει καὶ ἕτερον ἄχρηστον</i>. [compare Galen apud Brunck. fragm. 3.] <i>εὐδοκίμησε δὲ σφόδρα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι</i>. This drama obtained the second prize: Schol. Ibid. <i>οὐ τότε ἐνίκησεν, ἐπεὶ δεύτερος ἐκρίθη</i>.</p> <p>The actors of his pieces were <i>Callistratus</i> and <i>Philonides</i>: Proleg. Aristoph. l. c. <i>ἐδίδαξε πρῶτος—διὰ Καλλιστράτου</i>. τὰς μὲν γὰρ πολιτικὰς τούτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν διδόναι, τὰ δὲ κατ' Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σωκράτους, Φιλωνίδῃ. Auctor Vitæ p. xxxv. τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ Φιλωνίδου καθίει δράματα. Ibid. p. xxxix. <i>ὑποκριταὶ Ἀριστοφάνους Καλλίστρατος καὶ Φιλωνίδης δι' ὧν ἐδίδασκε τὰ δράματα ἑαυτοῦ, διὰ μὲν Καλλιστράτου [sic enim legendum] τὰ δημοτικὰ διὰ δὲ Φιλωνίδου τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ</i>. Conf. Schol. Vesp. 1013. <i>Callistratus</i> was still living in B. C. 411. <i>Philonides</i> in B. C. 405. <i>Araros</i> son of <i>Aristophanes</i> was the actor of the second <i>Plutus</i> in B. C. 388. [confer annos.]</p> <p><i>Eupolis</i> and <i>Aristophanes</i> are named at this date by Euseb. Ol. 88. 2 anno 1589 [from Oct. B. C. 428].</p>
	<p><i>Aristophanis Βαβυλώνιοι</i>. The year before the <i>Ἀχαρνεῖς</i>. Acharn. 378.—<i>ἐν ἄστει</i>. [Elaphebolion, or March B. C. 426.] Schol. Acharn. 377.—<i>τὴν πέρυσιν κωμῳδίαν</i>] τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. τοὺτους γὰρ πρὸ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν οἷς</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	xxxix. To which M. Kruger adds Schol. Lucian. Timon. c.30. where this archon is written thus: προσθεῖς ἄρχοντα Εὐθύνον. That this is the right reading is attested by an inscription. Conf. Dindorf. ad Schol. Aristoph. tom. IV. 3. p. 415.	<p>παρατέτακται μετὰ Νικίου πρὸς Ταναγραίους. Confirmed by Thucyd. III. 91. This action, in which the Athenians were victorious, happened in the beginning of the year of Euthynus.</p> <p>Lustration of Delos: χειμῶνος. Thucyd. III. 104.—Anon. vit. Thucyd. p. xxxix.—τῆς Δήλου καθάρσεως, ἣν περὶ τὸ ἑβδομον ἔτος ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου ἄρχοντος γεγενῆσθαι φασιν. As the sixth year was nearly completed, the description, περὶ τὸ ἑβδομον ἔτος, may perhaps be justified.</p>
425.	88, 4. <i>Stratocles</i> . Diod. XII. 60. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 584. Arg. Equit.	<p>Eruption of mount Ætna:—Thucyd. III. 116. περὶ τὸ ἔαρ.—λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ῥυθῆναι τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ρεῦμα.</p> <p>Fifth invasion of Attica: Thucyd. IV. 2.—τοῦ ἥρος, πρὶν τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἄγρις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου. But, hearing of the occupation of Pylos, ἀνεχώρουν κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἶκον.—ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. Id. IV. 6.</p> <p>Sphacteria is invested, and is surrendered to Cleon 72 days afterwards: Thucyd. IV. 39. ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μάχης ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι καὶ δύο.</p>
424.	Ol. 89. <i>Isarchus</i> . Diod. XII. 65. Athen. V. p. 218. d. Arg. Aristoph. Nub. Schol. Nub. 549. 552. Vesp. 210. 716.	<p>Cythera occupied by the Athenians: ἐν τῷ θέρει. Thucyd. IV. 53. March of <i>Brasidas</i> through Thessaly into Thrace; τοῦ θέρους. Thucyd. IV. 78. He arrives before Acanthus, ὀλίγον πρὸ τρυγίτου. IV. 84.—<i>Hermocrates</i> of Syracuse rises into notice in the affairs of Sicily, τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους. Thucyd. IV. 58—64.—<i>Delium</i>: τοῦ ἐπιγιννομένου χειμῶνος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου. IV. 89. Consequently towards the end of the year B. C. 424, and in the year of Isarchus.—<i>Amphipolis</i> taken by <i>Brasidas</i> from <i>Thucydides</i>, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος. IV. 102. rightly dated by Philochorus ap. Schol. Vesp. 210. Φιλόχορος ἐπὶ Ἰσάρχου φησὶ—Βρασίδαν ἀποστήσαι Σκιωνεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Death of <i>Sitalces</i>: Thucyd. IV. 101. ἀπέθανεν—ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τοῖς ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Τριβαλλοῦς καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ.</p>
423.	89, 2. <i>Ameinias</i> . Diod. XII. 72. Laërt. III. 3.	Ὅγδοον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ. Thucyd. IV. 116. [towards the end of Munychion B. C. 423.] Truce for a year; Thucyd. IV. 117.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>πολλοὺς κακῶς εἶπε—παρόντων τῶν ξένων. εἶπε γὰρ δράμα τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ ἦτις ἐν τῷ ἔαρι ἐπιτελεῖται.—In the archonship of <i>Euclides</i>: Phot. et Suid. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος. Τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐδίδαξε διὰ Καλλιστράτου Ἀριστοφάνης, ἔτεσι πρὸ τοῦ Εὐκλείδου [B. C. 403] κδ' (sic legendum: conf. Not. F) ἐπὶ Εὐκλέους.</p> <p>(<i>Hermippi</i> Φορμοφόροι. After the first exhibitions of <i>Phrynichus</i>. Cf. a. 429.—before the death of <i>Sitalces</i>, and during the alliance of <i>Sitalces</i> with Athens: Athen. I. 27. e. Ἑρμιππος (ἐν Φορμοφόροις. conf. Hesych. Διὸς βάλανος Athen. p. 28. a.) Καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκων ψώραν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, κ. τ. λ. <i>Sitalces</i> became the ally of Athens B. C. 431, Thucyd. II. 29. and was slain in the autumn of B. C. 424. This comedy, then, may be placed in the archonship of <i>Euthymus</i>, or of <i>Euclides</i>.)</p>
	<p><i>Aristophanis</i> Ἀχαρνέϊς. Arg. Acharn. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους (lege Εὐθύνου) ἄρχοντος, ἐν Ληναίοις [Anthesterion or February B. C. 425] διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ πρῶτος ἦν· δεύτερος Κρατῖνος Χειμαζομένοις—τρίτος Εὐπολις Νουμηνίαις.—In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war: conf. Acharn. 266, 890. Schol. ad 266. Musgrave, deceived by the corrupt reading <i>Εὐθυμένους</i>, in Argum. ascribes this play to B. C. 437. And Scaliger Olymp. ἀναγραφ. Ol. 85. 4. has made the same mistake. Although the play itself v. 266 mentions the sixth year of the war, and quotes the <i>Philoctetes</i> of Euripides, v. 424. and although the archonship of this <i>Euthymenes</i> is referred to as a distant date, v. 67: attested by the Scholiast (ad 66) to have been twelve years before; πρὸ 69 ἱβ' ἐτῶν ἦρχεν ὁ Εὐθυμένης.</p>
<p><i>Xenophon</i> present at Delium. Strab. IX. p. 403. Laërt. II. 22. To this event that date for <i>Xenophon</i> refers, which Laërtius II. 59. records. εὖρον δὲ ἀλλαχόθι ἀκμάσαι αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. Olymp. 89. 1 was the year of the battle of Delium. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 279. justly concludes that <i>Xenophon</i> might be born circa Olymp. 84. [B. C. 444.] Conf. a. 401.</p> <p><i>Thucydides</i> at Amphipolis. Thucyd. IV. 104.</p>	<p><i>Aristophanis</i> Ἰππεῖς. Arg. Equit. ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ Στρατοκλέους ἄρχοντος δημοσίᾳ εἰς Λήναια [Anthesterion, or Feb. B. C. 424] δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους. πρῶτος ἐνέκα· δεύτερος Κρατῖνος Σατύροις· τρίτος Ἀριστομένης Ὑλοφόροις. In the eighth year of the war: Aristoph. Equit. 793. ἔτος ὀγδοον. computed from the battle of Potidæa B. C. 432. The sixth year, mentioned Aristoph. Acharn. (cf. a. 425.) was computed from the invasion of Attica, eight months afterwards.</p>
<p><i>Thucydides</i> was twenty years in banishment, after his command at Amphipolis: V. 26. ἐτη εἴ-</p>	<p><i>Aristophanis</i> αἱ πρῶται Νεφέλαι. Arg. Nub. ἐδιδάχθησαν ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἰσάρχου. [Elaphe-</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	<p>Arg. Aristoph. Nub. Athen. V. p. 218. d. Schol. Lucian. Timon. c. 30. Ἀμυνίας Schol. Nub. 31, 552. Ἀμυνίας Arg. Vesp. and the play itself v. 74. For the reason, conf. Schol. Nub. 31.</p>	<p>ἄμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους.—IV. 118. ἄρχειν δὲ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν, τετράδα ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός. The truce therefore commenced about a month before the actual termination of the <i>eighth</i> year; although Thucydides records it as the first transaction of the <i>ninth</i>. Athenæus V. p. 218. d. refers to this truce: τὰς ἐνιαυσίας ἐπὶ Ἰσάρχου ἐλαφηβολιῶνος σπονδὰς.—Thespiæ destroyed by the Thebans, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει. Thucyd. IV. 133.—The temple of Juno burnt at Argos: Thucyd. IV. 133.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους.—καὶ ἡ Χρυσὶς μὲν εὐθὺς—ἐς Φλιοῦντα φεύγει. ἔτη δὲ Χρυσὶς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐπέλαβεν ὀκτὼ, καὶ ἕνατον ἐκ μέσου, ὅτε ἐπεφεύγει.</p> <p><i>Alcibiades</i> seems to have already begun to act in public affairs. See Aristoph. Vesp. 44 where his speaking is ridiculed. He had been noticed two years before in the Ἀχαρνεῖς B. C. 425: Acharn. 716 et Schol. ad locum. And even in the Δαιταλεῖς B. C. 427: Conf. Galen. apud Brunck. fr. 3. from whence it appears that he had already spoken in public in B. C. 427, and was therefore at that date 20 years of age at the least. At this time he is at least 25: for "he was left an orphan by the death of his father" (Isocrat. Big. c. 11. p. 352. b)—in B. C. 447: and had a younger brother <i>Clinias</i>: Plato Protag. p. 320. a. Κλεινὸν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου τουτονὶ νεώτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐπιτροπεύων ὁ αὐτὸς Περικλῆς. <i>Alcibiades</i>, then, was at least 45 at his own death B. C. 404, in the year of <i>Pythodorus</i>; the 44th archon, including both, from <i>Timarchides</i>, in whose year <i>Clinias</i> fell. If, as Plato reports, <i>Alcibiades</i> served at Potidæa (conf. a. 429), he must have been in his 20th year at least, in the archonship of <i>Apollodorus</i>, which would place his birth in B. C. 449. Nepos, then, Alcib. c. 10. inaccurately—<i>annos circiter quadraginta natus diem obiit supremum Alcibiades</i>. Mr. Mitford vol. V. p. 82. has followed the erroneous account of Nepos: "Thus fell that extraordinary "man [<i>Alcibiades</i>] before he had reached his fortieth year."</p>
422.	<p>89, 3. <i>Alcæus</i>. Diod. XII. 73. Athen. V. p. 215. d. 218, c. e. Thucyd. V. 19. 25. Schol. Æschin. p. 755. Reisk. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 549. 552. Didascalia Aristophanis Pac. conf. a. 421, 4. corrupte Ἀλκ-μαίωνος Schol. Pac. 465.</p>	<p>The truce ended, and hostilities renewed, till the <i>Pythian games</i>. Thucyd. V. 1. (For this translation of the passage, which is rendered according to the version of Corsini, see Appendix c. 1. <i>Pythian games</i>.) Κλέων ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν. Thucyd. V. 2. Deaths of <i>Cleon</i> and <i>Brasidas</i>: V. 6—10.—τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος. V. 12. Disposition to peace, εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μάχην. V. 14. Androtio, therefore, apud Schol. Nub. 549, is correct in the date: Ἀνδρότιον δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν [Κλέωνα] ἐπὶ Ἀλκαίου τεθνάναι. and Schol. Æschin. p. 755. τέταρτον ἀτύχημα, οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀλκαίου. Diodorus XII. 73. 74. also rightly refers this event to the year of <i>Alcæus</i>. And Athenæus V. p. 215. d. ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀμφίπολιν στρατεία γέγονεν ἐπὶ Ἀλκαίου ἀρχοντος. Eratosthenes apud Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 48 places it eight months before the exhibition of the <i>Εἰρήνη</i>: Ἐρατοσθένους γὰρ ἐπὶ Θράκης τὸν θάνατον Βρασίδου καὶ Κλέωνος ὀκτὼ μηνὶ προγεγονέναι φησί· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ [sc. Aristophanes Pac. 269] ἐν τούτοις φησὶν "ἀπόλωλεν Ἀθηναῖος ἀλετρίβανος." But the <i>Εἰρήνη</i> was performed in <i>Elaphebolion</i> of the archon <i>Alcæus</i> (conf. a. 421. 4); which in this year, being intercalary, was the tenth month of the year, and will give <i>Metagitnion</i> the second month of <i>Alcæus</i> for the death of <i>Cleon</i>, conformably with Thucydides.</p> <p>The Athenian citizens are at this time computed at 20,000. Ari-</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>κοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν. His exile would commence about January B. C. 423. towards the middle of the year of Isarchus. He passed part of his exile in Thrace, at Σκαπτή Ἰλῆ. Marcellin. Vit. Thuc. p. xxx. Plutarch. de Exil. p. 605. C.</p> <p><i>Antiochus of Syracuse</i> brought down his history to this date: Diod. XII. 71. τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος τὴν τῶν Σικελικῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [the year of Isarchus] κατέστρεψεν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Κωκάλου τοῦ Σικανῶν βασιλέως, ἐν βίβλοις ἐννέα.</p>	<p>bolion, or March, B. C. 423.] ὅτε Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐνίκα Πυτίνην, Ἀμειψίας δὲ Κόννη. διόπερ Ἀριστοφάνης διαρρίφει παραλόγως ὥςθι δεῖν ἀναδιδάσας τὰς δευτέρας καταμέμφεσθαι τὸ θέατρον. Schol. Nub. 549. Ἰσαρχος δὲ, φησὶν (Ἀνδροτῶν), ἐφ' οὗ αἱ πρῶται Νεφέλαι ἐδιδάχθησαν. [sic legendum et suppleendum.] Schol. v. 552. Ἰσαρχος, ἐφ' οὗ αἱ Νεφέλαι εἰσήχθησαν. Schol. Vesp. 1039. πέρνσι [the year before the Σφήκες] διδάσας τὰς πρῶτας Νεφέλας ἡγήθη. Ad v. 1033. πέρνσι γὰρ τὰς Νεφέλας ἐδίδαξεν ἐν αἷς τοῖς περὶ Σωκράτην ἐκωμώδησεν ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἰππεῦσι τὸν Κλέωνα, οὗς πρὸ τῶν Νεφελῶν καθῆκε. conf. Schol. Vesp. 1007. Cratinus died aet. 97 soon after his victory: Lucian. Macrob. c. 25. Κρατῖνος ὁ τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητῆς ἐπτά πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβίωσε, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου διδάσας τὴν Πυτίνην, καὶ νικήσας, μετ' οὗ πολὺ ἐτελεύτα. Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxix. Beck. τελευτᾷ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσβαλόντων. — alluded to by Aristophanes Pac. 702. in B. C. 421. If we are to understand Aristophanes literally, — ἀπέθανεν ὅθ' οἱ Λάκωνες ἐνέβαλον — we must suppose Cratinus to have died in B. C. 422, after the expiration of the armistice, and before the negociations for the fifty-years' truce.</p> <p>(<i>Eupolidis</i> Ἀσπράτευτοι. Before the Εἰρήνη B. C. 421: Schol. Pac. 808. ὅτι γὰρ ὁ Μελάνθιος ὁψοφάγος προεῖρηται καὶ παρ' Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Ἀσπράτειοις.)</p>
<p><i>Protagoras</i> the sophist comes to Athens, after the Κόννος of <i>Ameipsias</i> [March B. C. 423] and before the Κόλακες of <i>Eupolis</i> [Spring B. C. 421]: Athenæus V. p. 218. c. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι [the Κόλακες] Εὐπολὶς τὸν Πρωταγόραν ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντὰ εἰσάγει. Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τῷ Κόννῳ, δύο πρότερον ἔτεσι διδαχθέντι, οὐ καταριθμεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τῶν φροντιστῶν χορῷ. δῆλον οὖν ὡς μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν χρόνων παραγέγονεν. Conf. a. 444. This was his second visit to Athens: Athen. V. p. 218. b. παραγεγονότος τὸ δεύτερον. Id. XI. p. 506. a. ὅτε δεύτερον ἐπεδήμησε ταῖς Ἀθήναις.</p>	<p><i>Aristophanis</i> Σφήκες. Arg. Vesp. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀμνῖνον (sic) διὰ Φιλωνίδου — εἰς Λήναια [Anthesterion or Feb. B. C. 422]. καὶ ἐνίκα πρῶτος Φιλωνίδης [δεύτερος] Προάγων. Λευκῶν Πρέσβεσι τρίτος. (sic legendum e cod. Rav.) Ed. Ald. et Kuster. Φιλωνίδης προάγων. Γλαύκων πρέσβεσι τρίτος. Cod. Brunekii Φιλωνίδης προάγων. Γλευκεῖς Πρεσβεῖς τεῖς Cod. Ravenn. Φιλωνίδης προάγωνι Λευκῶν πρέσβεσι Γ. The name of <i>Leucon</i> was corrupted, because the last letter of Προάγωνι adhered to the following word, ΠΡΟΑΓΩΝΙΑΕΤΚΩΝ. hence the corruption of the word into ΓΑΕΤΚΩΝ and ΓΛΑΥΚΩΝ. <i>Leucon</i>, the comic poet, is acknowledged by various testimonies; Athen. VIII. p. 343. c. Phot. Lex. v. Τίβιοι. Hesych. v. Παάπις. — and flourished in these times. Cf. Suid. Λεύκων. Philonides, therefore, obtained the first prize with the Σφήκες of Aristophanes; as he obtained the first with the Βάτραχοι (Φιλωνίδης ἐπεγράφη καὶ ἐνίκα) in B. C. 405.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>stoph. Vesp. 707. δύο μυριάδες τῶν δημοτικῶν. Schol. ad loc. ἐκ πολλοῦ [legendum videtur ἐκ πολλῶν. Conf. Not. G] φαίνεται περὶ τοσοῦτον ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλῆθος προΐστασθαι. καὶ Δημοσθένους γὰρ φησιν [Aristogit. I. p. 785] εἰσὶ δ' ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι. Schol. Platon. Ruhnk. p. 10. ὁμοῦ σημαίνει ποτὲ μὲν τὸ ἐγγύς. ὡς δηλοῖ Δημοσθένους—ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος. εἰσὶν ὁμοῦ πάντες δισμύριοι Ἀθηναῖοι. This passage of Demosthenes Libanius has in view: Demosth. Apolog. tom. IV. p. 290. Reisk. τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὥς, Ἀθηναίων δισμυρίων ὄντων, σιωπῶσι μὲν οἱ πλείους; κ. τ. λ. quoted also in Schol. Iliad. V. 867. ed. Bekker. The aggregate number, before the Scrutiny, was 19,000 in B. C. 444. The computation of Demosthenes, near 20,000, refers to B. C. 331. or near that date. The numbers were found upon actual enumeration to be 21,000 in B. C. 317. cf. ann. 444. 317. 331, 3. Aristophanes in B. C. 392 mentions 30,000. Ecclesiast. 1132. —πολιτῶν πλείον ἢ τρισμυρίων ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος. but M. de Ste Croix, Mém. de l'Acad. tom. 48. p. 161. with much probability supposes that the μέτοικοι are included in this estimate. By citizens are to be understood all the male Athenians above the age of twenty; from which age they had the right to vote in the Public Assembly. The proportion of all the males above the age of twenty to the whole population was found to be 4897 in 20,160 at the census taken in Great Britain A. D. 1821. Taking this proportion for our standard, we have 82,360 for the whole population, (exclusive of μέτοικοι and slaves,) when the citizens amounted to 20,000. Petitus Leg. Att. p. 288. thinks that the constitution required 6000 at the least to be present in the Public Assembly, <i>ut rata forent decreta</i>: but this is erroneous; for we learn from Thueyd. VIII. 72. that in the Peloponnesian war less than 5000 attended: οὐπόποτε Ἀθηναίους, διὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὴν ὑπερόριον ἀσχολίαν, ἐς οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα οὕτω μέγα ἐλθεῖν βουλευσοντας ἐν ᾧ πεντακισχιλίους ξυνελθεῖν. We may understand from this passage that near 5000 usually attended, because it occurs in an argument where the object is to depreciate the numbers. And, as those who would be absent upon the service of the state, and upon mercantile affairs, and from age or sickness, may be fairly computed at three fourths of the whole, this testimony of Thucydides, that near 5000 were usually present, confirms the estimate of 20,000 citizens.</p>
421.	89, 4. <i>Aristion</i> . Athen. V. p. 216. d. 218. d. e. <i>Ariston</i> Diod. XII. 75.	Truce for fifty years. Thucyd. V. 18. Concluded, τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἅμα ἡρι—ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις ἄρχων Ἀλκαῖος, ἐλαφροβολιῶνος μηνὸς ἑκτῇ φθίνοντος. V. 19. 20 [April 10 B. C. 421]. Thucydides adds V. 20.—αὐται αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν, αὐτοδekaetῶν διελθόντων, καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν, ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον—ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐγένετο.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p><i>Aristophanis</i> αἱ δεῦτεραι Νεφέλαι. Arg. Nub. VI. ἐπὶ Ἀμεινίου ἄρχοντος. τοῦτο δὲ ταντὸ ἐστὶ τῷ προτέρῳ. διεσκευάσται δὲ ἐπὶ μέρους, ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναδιδάξαι μὲν αὐτὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ προθυμηθέντος, οὐκέτι δὲ τοῦτο δι' ἥνποτε αἰτίαν ποιήσαντος. Schol. 31. Ἀμυνία] μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ—τὸν τότε ἄρχοντα διασύρειν προαιρούμενος.—τότε γὰρ ἦρχεν Ἀμεινίας τοῦ Προνόπου υἱὸς [conf. Dindorf. tom. IV. 1. p. 378]. ἐπεὶ οὖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρότερον κομψοδεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα ὁ νόμος ἐκώλυνε—παρατρέψας ὀλίγον Ἀμυνίαν αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀμεινίαν. Schol. 549. Κλέωνα] ὥσπερ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ διαλέγεται.—καὶ Ἀνδροτίων δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀλκαίου τεθνάναι, δυσὶν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον.—Πῶς οὖν δύναται καὶ τοῦ Μαρικῶς μνησθῆναι;—ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Εὐπολὶς ὡς τεθηκότος Κλέωνος μέμνηται. ἡ ἐπεὶ οὐ φέρονται αἱ διδασκαλῖαι τῶν δύο Νεφελῶν, (legit <i>Elmsleius</i> τῶν δευτέρων N.) οὐδὲν δυνάμεθα διαρθρώσαι εἰ Εὐπολὶς ἐπλάσαστο τὴν Κλέωνος τελευτὴν ἐν Μαρικῇ. Schol. 552. δῆλον ὅτι πρῶτος [πρότερος <i>Hermannus</i>] ὁ Μαρικῶς ἐδιδάχθη τῶν δευτέρων Νεφελῶν. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι Καλλίμαχον ἐγκαλεῖν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις, ὅτι φέρουσιν ὕστερον τρίτῳ ἔτει τὸν Μαρικῶν τῶν Νεφελῶν, σαφῶς ἐνταῦθα εἰρημένον ὅτι πρότερον καθεῖται. λανθάνει δ' αὐτὸν, φησὶν, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς διδαχθείσαις οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἴρηκεν ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὕστερον διασκευασθείσαις εἰ λέγεται, οὐδὲν ἄπονον. αἱ διδασκαλῖαι δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τὰς διδαχθείσας φέρουσι. In these passages, there are two testimonies for the exhibition of the δεῦτεραι Νεφέλαι in the year of <i>Ameinias</i>; namely, Auctor Arg. VI. and Scholiast. ad v. 31. This comedy therefore would be acted ἐν ἄστει [<i>Elaphebolion</i> or March B. C. 422], a month after the Σφῆκες. but, as it failed in obtaining one of the three prizes, it was not registered in the διδασκαλῖαι. The most easy solution of the difficulty, which arises out of the mention of the Μαρικῶς and the death of <i>Cleon</i>, is, to suppose with <i>Petit. Miscell. I. 3</i> that a third edition was prepared by the poet, in which those passages were added. Compare with the preceding passages Schol. Nub. 591.</p> <p>Death of <i>Cratinus</i>, probably after the expiration of the truce. Cf. a. 423.</p>
	<p><i>Eupolidis</i> Μαρικῶς. Schol. Nub. 552. ὕστερον τρίτῳ ἔτει τῶν Νεφελῶν. Schol. Nub. 591. ἐδιδάχθη καθ' Ὑπερβόλου μετὰ τὸν Κλέωνος θάνατον. Therefore in the spring of the archon <i>Alcæus</i>, a few months after the death of <i>Cleon</i>.</p> <p><i>Eupolidis</i> Κόλακες. Two years after the Κόννος of <i>Ameipsias</i>. Athen. V. p. 218. c. Conse.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2 EVENTS.
420.	Ol. 90. <i>Astyphilus</i> . Athen. V. p. 218. d. e. πέμπτος ὦν ἀπὸ Ἰσάρχου. <i>Astyphilus</i> Mar. Par. No. 62. <i>Aristophylus</i> Diod. XII. 77.	<i>Alcibiades</i> , ἡλικία μὲν ἔτι τότε ὦν νέος, effects a treaty between the Athenians and the Argives. Thucyd. V. 43. Athenian embassies were to be sent into Peloponnesus, τριάκοντα ἡμέραις πρὸ Ὀλυμπίων. Peloponnesian embassies to Athens, δέκα ἡμέραις πρὸ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων. Thucyd. V. 47. Ὀλύμπια δὲ ἐγένετο τοῦ θέρους τούτου, οἷς Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀρκὰς παγκράτιον τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίκα. Id. V. 49.
419.	90, 2. <i>Archias</i> . Diod. XII. 78.	<i>Alcibiades</i> στρατηγὸς ὦν Ἀθηναίων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἦλθε. Thucyd. V. 52.—τοῦ θέρους. Ibid.
418.	90, 3. <i>Antiphon</i> . Diod. XII. 80.	Ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ. Thucyd. V. 56. <i>Mantineia</i> . Thucyd. V. 64—74. In August, a little before the <i>Carnia</i> . After their victory, the Lacedæmonians, ἀναχωρήσαντες, (Κάρνεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον ὄντα,) τὴν ἐορτὴν ἤγον. Thucyd. V. 75. To this action Androtio apud Schol. Aristoph. Av. 13. refers, although the numbers are corrupted : πρὸ ἐτῶν δύο κακῶς περὶ Μαντίνειαν ἀπῆλλαξαν (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι), ὥς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποβαλεῖν Λάχητα καὶ Νικόστρατον [cf. Thucyd. V. 61. 74], καθὰ καὶ Ἀνδροτίων φησὶν. The year of <i>Chabrias</i> , in which the Ὀρνίθες were exhibited, being the fourth from the battle of Mantineia, which was in the first month of <i>Antiphon</i> , we must read in the Schol. πρὸ ἐτῶν δ' κακῶς, κ. τ. λ.
74 417.	90, 4. <i>Euphemus</i> . Diod. XII. 81. Athen. V. p. 217. a. b.	Fourteenth year of the war ended : Thucyd. V. 81. τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα. Corresponding to <i>Munychion</i> of the archon <i>Antiphon</i> .
416.	Ol. 91. <i>Arimnestus</i> .	Πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα [Munychion B. C. 416]. τοῦ δ' ἐπι-

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>quently, in the year of Alcæus. The Μαρικᾶς might be exhibited ἐν Ληναίοις, and the Κόλακες, ἐν ἄστει. The expression of Maximus Tyr. Diss. 20. tom. I. p. 391. Καλλίαν ἐν Διονυσίοις ἐκωμῶδει Εὐπολις, may seem to fix the Κόλακες to the <i>Dionysia magna</i>. Cleon was slain about seven months before the Lenæan festival, and about eight months before the <i>Dionysia magna</i>: Conf. annum 422, 2.</p> <p>The Κόλακες are now fixed to the <i>Dionysia magna</i> of the archon Alcæus by the following testimony, supplied by Kruger, and more fully by Dindorf Poet. Scen. Gr. p. 620. Aristoph. tom. IV. 3. p. 4. ed. Oxon. <i>Aristophanis Εἰρήνη</i>. ἐνίκησε δὲ τῷ δράματι ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀλκαίου ἐν ἄστει. πρῶτος Εὐπολις Κόλαξι, δεύτερος Ἀριστοφάνης Εἰρήνῃ, τρίτος Λεύκων Φράτορσι. τὸ δὲ δράμα ὑπεκρίνατο Ἀπολλόδωρος.</p> <p>Ion of Chios was now dead: Schol. Pac. 837. ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἴων ἤδη τέθνηκε, δῆλον.</p>
	<p><i>Pherecratis</i> Ἀγριοι. Athen. V. p. 218. d. ἐδιδάχθησαν ἐπὶ Ἀριστίωνος ἀρχοντος. Plato Protag. p. 327. d.—Ἀγριοι, οἳ περ οὗς Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητὴς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. [Anthesterion, or Feb. B. C. 420.]</p> <p><i>Eupolidis</i> Αὐτόλυκος. Athen. V. p. 216. d. Ἀριστίων· ἐπὶ τούτου Εὐπολις τὸν Αὐτόλυκον διδάσας διὰ Δημοστράτου χλευάζει τὴν νίκην τοῦ Αὐτολύκου (νενικηκὸς παγκράτιον).</p>
Plato in his fourteenth year:—Athen. V. p. 217.	Agathon gains the tragic prize: Athen. V. p.

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	Arg. Aristoph. Av. Isæus p. 57, 33. Hesych. v. Ἐρμικοπίδαι. Arimnestus Diod. XII. 82.	γυγνομένου θέρους—ἐπὶ Μῆλον τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν. Thucyd. V. 83. 84. Melos surrendered towards the end of the year, in the winter; τοῦ ἐπιγυγνομένου χειμῶνος. Thucyd. V. 116. Therefore in the winter of the archon Arimnestus. Melos had subsisted 700 years: Thucyd. V. 112. ἐπτακόσια ἔτη ἤδη οἰκουμένης.
415.	91, 2. Chabrias. Diod. XIII. 2. Arg. Aristoph. Av. bis. Schol. Av. 767. Schol. Pluti 179.	<p>The expedition sails to Sicily, θέρους μεσοῦντος ἤδη. Thucyd. VI. 30. Recall of Alcibiades; VI. 53. After midsummer; therefore in the year of Chabrias. Argum. Av. III. therefore, inaccurately;—ἐπὶ Ἀριμνήστον τοῦ πρὸ Χαβρίων Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπουσι τὴν Σαλαμινίαν, Ἀλκιβιάδην μεταστελλόμενοι. Philochorus apud Schol. Av. 767. is more exact: (οἱ Ἐρμικοπίδαι) ἐπὶ Χαβρίων θανάτῳ κατεγνώσθησαν. Isæus p. 57, 33 computes from Arimnestus, because the armament sailed in the very beginning of the year of Chabrias, or at the very end of the archonship of Arimnestus.</p> <p>The first campaign in Sicily was in the seventeenth year of the war: Thucyd. VII. 28. ἔτει ἐπτακαίδεκάτῳ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐσβολήν.</p>
414.	91, 3. Pisander. Diod. XIII. 7.	<p>Ἐβδομον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα. Thucyd. VI. 93 [Munychion B. C. 414]. Second campaign in Sicily; ἅμα τῷ ἡρι εὐθὺς ἀρχομένῳ. Thucyd. VI. 94. Arrival of Gylippus; Thucyd. VII. 1. 2.—τοῦ θέρους. VI. 96. 104. Eurymedon sent with supplies from Athens, εὐθὺς περὶ ἡλίου τροπᾶς τὰς χειμερινὰς [December B. C. 414]. Thucyd. VII. 16.</p> <p>Perdiccas king of Macedon was still living as late as the end of summer B. C. 414. Thucyd. VII. 9. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι καὶ Εὐετίων, στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ Περδίκκον στρατεύσας, κ. τ. λ. The accession, therefore, of Archelaus could hardly be in this year, but at the soonest perhaps in the beginning of B. C. 413.</p>
413.	91, 4. Cleocritus. Diod. XIII. 9. Arg. Aristoph. Lysistr. Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. E.	<p>Ὀγδοον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος—ἐτελεύτα. Thucyd. VII. 18. [Munychion B. C. 413.] Invasion of Attica, τοῦ ἡρος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου, πρωΐαιτάτα. Thucyd. VII. 19. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἄγρις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου—καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς χώρας τὰ περὶ τὸ πεδῖον ἐδήωσαν, ἔπειτα δὲ Δεκέλειαν ἐτείχεον. Ibid. Referred by Diodorus XIII. 9. to the year of Cleocritus, or the end of the preceding year, of Pisander. cf. Diod. XIII. 8. Sufficiently in agreement with Thucydides.</p> <p>Third campaign in Sicily. Thucyd. VII. 21, ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ ἡρος τούτου. Demosthenes sent, τοῦ ἡρος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου. VII. 20. He arrives, after some interval, in the course of the summer. Conf. Thucyd. VII. 26. 31. 35. 42. The Athenians μελόντων ἀποπλεῖν, ἢ σελήνῃ ἐκλείπει. VII. 50. [August 27.] Flight of the army, τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας. VII. 75. about eight or nine</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>a. ὅτε Ἀγάθων ἐνίκα, Πλάτων ἦν δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται, Πλάτων δὲ γεννᾶται ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ μετ' Εὐθύδημον.—ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀπολλοδώρου τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατος ἐστὶν ἄρχων Εὐφήμος.</p>	<p>217. a. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται Ἀθηναῖοι [Anthesterion, or Feb. B. C. 416].</p>
<p><i>Andocides</i> is imprisoned on the mutilation of the <i>Hermæ</i>. For his conduct in that affair, compare <i>Thucyd.</i> VI. 60. <i>Lysias</i> adv. <i>Andocid.</i> p. 105. <i>Andocides</i> himself de <i>Myst.</i> p. 5, 30—9, 40. <i>Plutarch</i> <i>Alcibiad.</i> c. 21. and <i>Vit.</i> X. or. p. 834. D.</p> <p>After his escape from that danger, he visited Cyprus and other countries till the time of the four-hundred B. C. 411. <i>Vit.</i> X. or. p. 834. E. ἐπέθετο ναυκληρίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς τε Κυπρίων βασιλεῦσι καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις δοκίμοις ἐπεξενώθη.—ληφθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως ἐδέθη· διαδράς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καθ' ὃν χρόνον οἱ τετρακόσιοι διεῖπον τὰ πράγματα. <i>Lysias</i> adv. <i>Andocid.</i> p. 105, 26.—ἐπλευσεν ὡς τὸν Κιτιέων βασιλέα, καὶ προδιδούς ληφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐδέθη.—ἀποδράς δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ κινδύνου, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων.</p>	<p><i>Xenocles</i> πρῶτος Οἰδίποδι, <i>Λυκάονι</i>, <i>Βάκχαις</i>, Ἀθάμαντι σατυρικῶ. <i>Euripides</i> δεύτερος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, <i>Παλαμῇδῃ</i>, <i>Τρωσὶ</i> [sic], <i>Σισύφῳ</i> σατυρικῶ, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐνενηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα Ἐξαίνετος ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνος στάδιον [Cf. <i>Diod.</i> XII. 82]. <i>Ælian.</i> V. H. II. 8. The <i>Palamedes</i> was exhibited a little before the Ὀρνίθες. <i>Schol.</i> Av. 843. παρακωμῶδεϊ τὸν Εὐριπίδου Παλαμῆδην, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ δεδιδαγμένον. And the <i>Troades</i> were also referred to in the same comedy: <i>Schol.</i> Av. 1717. χλευάζει παρὰ τὰ ἐκ Τρωάδων Εὐριπίδου· “ἀνεχε, πάρεχε”——and were exhibited seven years after the Σφήκες. <i>Schol.</i> Vesp. 1317. ὅτε-ρεὶ ἡ τῶν Τρωάδων κάθesis (τῆς τῶν Σφηκῶν) ἔτεσιν ἐπτά. These characters of time agree with the date of <i>Ælian</i>.</p> <p><i>Archippus</i> the comic poet gained his single prize in this Olympiad. <i>Suidas.</i> Ἀρχίππος—ἐνίκησεν ἅπαξ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος.</p>
	<p><i>Aristoph.</i> Ἀμφιδράας. Arg. Avium III. εἰς Λήναια τὸν Ἀμφιδράον ἐδίδαξε διὰ Φιλωνίδου [Anthesterion, or Feb. B. C. 414].</p> <p><i>Aristoph.</i> Ὀρνίθες. Arg. Avium II. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Χαβρίων ἄρχοντος εἰς ἄστυ διὰ Καλλιστράτου. ὃς ἦν δεύτερος τοῖς Ὀρνίσι· πρῶτος Ἀμειψίας Κωμασταῖς· τρίτος Φρύνιχος Μονοτρόφῳ. Arg. Av. III. ἐπὶ Χαβρίων τὸ δράμα καθήκεν εἰς ἄστυ διὰ Καλλίου (l. Καλλιστράτου). [Elaphebolion, or March, B. C. 414.] <i>Schol.</i> Av. 998. καθεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Μονότροπος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου.</p>
	<p><i>Hegemonis Thasii</i> Γιγαντομαχία. On the day on which news arrived of the defeat in Sicily. [Sept. or Octob. B. C. 413.] <i>Chamæleon</i> apud Athen. IX. p. 406. e.—407. b. Ἠγήμων ὁ Θάσιος ὁ τὰς Παρωδίας γράψας—ἐν τῇ Γιγαντομαχίᾳ οὕτω σφόδρα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκλήλησεν, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πλείστα αὐτοὺς γελάσαι· καὶ τότε ἀγγελεθέντων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν γενομένων περὶ Σικελίαν ἀτυχημάτων, οὐδεὶς ἀπέστη. (forte ἀνέστη.) ἐκλαίον οὖν ἐγκαλυψάμενοι, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν δὲ, ἵνα μὴ γένωνται διαφανεῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων θεωροῦσιν ἀχθόμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ. <i>Hegemon</i> was contemporary with <i>Cratinus</i>, and was the first</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>days after the eclipse. Surrender of Nicias, ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ βαλλόμενος. Plutarch. Nic. c. 27. 16 or 17 days after the eclipse. [Sept. 12 or 13.] Plutarch. Nicia c. 28. τετρὰς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, δὴν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεταγειννῶνα προσαγορεύουσι. Dodwell Ann. Thucyd. p. 211. supposes a space of only six days between the eclipse and the retreat. They were probably eight or nine: ἀνεπειρώντο ἡμέρας ὅσαι ἐδόκουν ἱκαναὶ εἶναι.—then followed τῇ προτεραίᾳ. then τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. Thucyd. VII. 51—53. then the last sea-fight. c. 69. The eight days of the retreat are clearly marked. c. 75, 1st day.—c. 78, 2d. τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, πρῶτ.—c. 78, 3d. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ—c. 79, 4th. πρῶτ δὲ ἄραντες.—c. 79, 5th. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προὔχουρον.—c. 80, 6th day; ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡφ.—c. 83, 7th. τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ.—c. 84, 8th and last: Νικίας ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο—See Dodwell Ann. Thuc. p. 211.</p>
412.	<p>Ol. 92. Callias. Diod. XIII. 34. Arg. Aristoph. Lysistrat. Schol. Lysistrat. 173. Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. E. Dionys. Lysia p. 453. Reisk.</p>	<p>Lesbos, Chios, and Erythræ, prepare to revolt. Thucyd. VIII. 5. Early in the winter, and before the spring. conf. c. 3, 6. Then, ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἐνὸς δέον εἰκοστὸν ἔτος. VIII. 6. [Munychion B. C. 412.] Mission of Alcibiades by the Lacedæmonians to Asia. Thucyd. VIII. 12. Immediately after the Isthmian games. conf. c. 10—12. First treaty between Lacedæmon and Persia. VIII. 17. ἡ πρώτη ξυμμαχία, Μιλησίων εὐθὺς ἀποστάντων. These transactions were in the summer. (μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους follows c. 22.) The Athenians recur to the deposit of 1000 talents. Thucyd. VIII. 15. After Alcibiades had arrived in Ionia. conf. c. 14. Philochorus, therefore, apud Schol. Lysist. 173. rightly dates the fact: ἤρξαντο κινεῖν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος. Second treaty between the Lacedæmonians and Tissaphernes. Thucyd. VIII. 37. conf. c. 29. 38. 39.</p>
411.	<p>92, 2. Theopompus. Diod. XIII. 38. Plutarch. Mor. p. 833. D. Lys. p. 161, 33. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 371. cf. Schol. 771.</p>	<p>Third treaty between the Lacedæmonians and Tissaphernes. Thucyd. VIII. 58. Towards the end of the twentieth year, about February B. C. 411. (it had been preceded by ἡλίου τροπᾶς c. 39. and an interval of 80 days c. 44.) The date of this treaty coincided with the 13th year of Darius: Thucyd. VIII. 58. τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Δαρείου βασιλεύοντος. Then, ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος. c. 60. [Munych. B. C. 411.] Constitution of the four-hundred framed by Antipho. Thucyd. VIII. 67. 68. ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ οἱ τύραννοι κατελύθησαν. The actual interval from B. C. 510 would be ninety-nine years. The four-hundred held the government four months, and quitted it after midsummer, in the beginning of the year of Theopompus: Vit. X. or. p. 835. E. ἐπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον ἄρχοντος, ἥδη τῶν τετρακοσίων κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν. Id. p. 833. D. ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ τετρακόσιοι κατελύθησαν. Harpocrat. v. τετρακόσιοι. οἱ τετρακόσιοι πρὸ ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν κατέστησαν τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, οἵτινες τέτταρας μῆνας ἤρξαν τῆς πόλεως, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ. Repeated by Phot. in voce Suid. in voce.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p>who introduced parody upon the stage: Athen. XV. p. 698. c. Κρατῖνος ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν Ἠγῆμων ὁ Θάσιος. Idem XV. p. 699. a.—τούτων δὲ (τῶν παρωδῶν) πρῶτος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς θυμελικοὺς Ἠγῆμων. Aristot. Poet. c. 3. Ἠγῆμων, ὁ τὰς παρωδίας ποιήσας πρῶτος. He was protected by Alcibiades: Athen. IX. p. 407. c. As he recited parodies in B. C. 413, he could only have been contemporary with the latter years of Cratinus.</p>
<p><i>Antipho the Rhamnusian</i>—Ἀντιφῶν Σωφίλων Ῥαμνοῦσιος—who had a share in the establishment of the four-hundred, in the year of Callias, was born about B. C. 479. <i>conf. a.</i> 479. This date for his birth coincides with the description Vit. X. or. p. 832. D. Ἀλκιβιάδην, Κριτῆν, Ἀνσίαν, Ἀρχῖνον, εὖροι τις ἂν ἐπιβεβληκότας αὐτῷ πρεσβύτη ἤδη ὄντι. He would be about twelve years older than <i>Andocides</i>; twenty-one older than <i>Lysias</i>; eight older than his pupil <i>Thucydides</i>; and sixty-eight at his death in B. C. 411. That <i>Thucydides</i> was the pupil of <i>Antipho</i> (λέγεται δὲ Θουκυδίδου γενέσθαι διδάσκαλος. Suid. Ἀντιφ.)—is confirmed by Hermogen. de Formis II. p. 391. 402. ed. Crispin. Themist. or. 26. p. 329. Schol. Thucyd. VIII. 68. ap. Duk. ad loc. Marcellin. vit. Thuc. p. xxv. Aristid. pro quatuorv. p. 131. t. II. Jebb. and by the allusion of Plato Menexen. p. 236. a.</p>	<p><i>Euripidis Ἑλένη</i>—τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην Aristoph. Thesm. 850. Exhibited with the Ἀνδρομέδα. Schol. Thesm. 1021. Ἀνδρομέδαν: πιθανῶς συνδεδιδασκται γὰρ τῇ Ἑλένῃ.</p> <p><i>Euripidis Ἀνδρομέδα</i>. in the eighth year before the Βάτραχοι. Schol. Ran. 53. ἡ γὰρ Ἀνδρομέδα ὀγδόφ' εἶται προήκται. Therefore in the year of Cleocritus. At the exhibition of the Ὀρνίθες, the Ἀνδρομέδα had not yet been presented: Schol. Av. 347. μηδὲ διδαχθείσης τῆς τραγωδίας.</p> <p>Musgrave must have overlooked the latter of these testimonies, and must have had a different reading for the former, Schol. Ran. 53, since he places the Ἀνδρομέδα in the tenth year before the Βάτραχοι, and in the same year with the Ὀρνίθες.</p>
<p><i>Lysias</i> returns from Thurium to Athens, ἐπὶ Καλλίου—ἤδη τῶν τετρακοσίων κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν Vit. X. or. p. 835. E. Towards the end, therefore, of the year of Callias. Dionysius Lys. p. 453. concurs:—κατὰ ἄρχοντα Καλλίαν, ἐβδόμον καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχων, ὡς ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν.</p> <p><i>Antipho</i> put to death: Vit. X. or. p. 833. A. μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν τετρακοσίων εἰσαγγελθεὶς σὺν Ἀρχεπτολέμῳ ἐνὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐάλω καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν προδοτῶν ἐπιτιμίοις ὑπαχθεὶς ἀταφος ἐρρίφη. The decree and sentence are preserved, from Cæcilius, p. 833. E.—834. B. Thucydides VIII. 68. speaks of the death of <i>Antipho</i>: ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρις ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων αἰτίας, ὡς ξυγκατέστησε θανάτου δίκην, ἀπολογησάμενος.</p>	<p><i>Aristophanis Λυσιστράτη</i>. Schol. Lysistr. 173. Καλλίου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ εἰσῆχθη τὸ δράμα. Arg. Lysistr. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Κλεόκριτου ἄρξαντος. εἰσῆκται δὲ διὰ Καλλιστράτου. Schol. Lysistr. 1096. ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἐμελλον πλεῖν πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων τῆς καθέσεως τούτου τοῦ δράματος. Four years were the actual interval, from the sailing of the expedition B. C. 415, θέρους μεσοῦντος, to the <i>Dionysia</i> of the archon Callias B. C. 411. Musgrave has neglected these testimonies, and has followed Petitus in the chronology of this play, which he places in Ol. 92. 4. or three years below the true time.</p> <p><i>Aristophanis Θεσμοφορίζουσαι</i>. The year after the Ἀνδρομέδα, which had been exhibited πέρυσιν ἐν τῷδε ταύτῳ χωρίῳ. Conf. Thesm. 1060. Since, therefore, the Ἀνδρομέδα was exhibited by Euripides in the year of Cleocritus, the Θεσμοφορίζουσαι</p>

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Dodwell, who supposes the four-hundred to have been deposed in the year of <i>Callias</i>, has neglected the testimony of Vit. X. or. p. 833. D.</p> <p><i>Mindarus</i>, the Lacedæmonian ναύαρχος, was sent to succeed <i>Astychus</i>—<i>Μίνδαρος διάδοχος τῆς Ἀστυόχου ναυαρχίας ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐπῆλθε</i>. Thucyd. VIII. 85.—while the four-hundred were in possession of the government: conf. Thucyd. VIII. 86. He is defeated at <i>Cynossema</i>. Thucyd. VIII. 104—106.—towards the end of the summer: cf. VIII. 108.—a little after the deposition of the four-hundred. c. 97. 98.</p>
410.	<p>92, 3. <i>Glaucippus</i>. Diod. XIII. 43. Lysias p. 161, 36. Dionys. Lys. p. 497. Reisk. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 973. Arg. Sophocl. Philoctet. Marbre de Choiseul Mém. Acad. t. 48. p. 337.</p>	<p><i>Mindarus</i> slain by <i>Alcibiades</i> at Cyzicus. Xenoph. Hellen. I. 1, 16—18. <i>Mindarus</i> collected his fleet ἡδὴ τοῦ χειμῶνος λήγοντος. Diod. XIII. 49. the winter of the archon <i>Theopompus</i> [conf. a. 409]: in whose year, therefore, <i>Mindarus</i> fell, before midsummer B. C. 410. and a negotiation for peace, referred by Philochorus to the year of that archon, was in consequence of the defeat of <i>Mindarus</i>; as Diodorus relates XIII. 53. The account of Philochorus is this: Schol. Eurip. Orest. 371. Λακεδαιμονίων πρεσβευσαμένων περὶ εἰρήνης ἀπιστήσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ προσήκαντο, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Θεοπόμπου ὃς ἦν πρὸ Διοκλέους, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φιλόχορος. Ibid. 772. εἰς Κλεοφῶντα αἰνίσσεται πρὸ ἐτῶν δύο [two years before the <i>Orestes</i>] ἐμποδίσαντα ταῖς σπονδαῖς.—πρὸ ἐτῶν γὰρ δύο τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ Ὀρέστου, αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κωλύσας σπονδὰς γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἱστορεῖ. Diodorus XIII. 49—53. has erroneously placed both the defeat of <i>Mindarus</i> and this negotiation a year too low, in the archonship of <i>Glaucippus</i>. Wesseling ad Diod. XIII. 52. imagines that there was a variation in the accounts both of the time and of the occasion of this embassy for peace: but the seeming variation only arises out of the erroneous dates of Diodorus, who placed the treaty in the archonship of <i>Glaucippus</i>, because he had placed the death of <i>Mindarus</i> in that year. See Note H.</p>
409.	<p>92, 4. <i>Diocles</i>. Diod. XIII. 54. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 179. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 371. Lysias p. 161, 39. Chandler. Inser. Ant. P. 2. No. I. p. 37.</p>	<p><i>Thrasyllus</i> ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους ἐξέπλευσεν ἐς Σάμον. Xen. Hel. I. 2, 1. consequently in the year of <i>Glaucippus</i>: which fixes the defeat of <i>Mindarus</i> to the year of <i>Theopompus</i>. <i>Thrasyllus</i> enters Lydia, ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου.—2, 4. After the campaign, ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη ἐς Λάμψακον, καὶ χειμῶν ἐπῆει.—ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐχειμάζον ἅπαντες. 2, 14—15.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Thucydides</i> brings down his narration to the autumn of this year: VIII. 108. Ἀλκιβιάδης—πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἤδη ἐς τὴν Σάμον κατέπλευσε. <i>Xenophon</i> and <i>Theopompus</i> continue the history: Diod. XIII. 42. ἦρχε Θεόπομπος. [B. C. 411.]—Ξενοφῶν καὶ Θεόπομπος ἀφ' ὧν ἀπέλιπε Θουκυδίδης τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποίηται. καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν περιέλαβε χρόνον ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτῶ, Θεόπομπος δὲ, τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις διελθὼν ἐπ' ἑτὴ ἑπτακαίδεκα, καταλήγει τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς τὴν περὶ Κνίδου ναυμαχίαν, ἐν βίβλοις δυοκαίδεκα.</p>	<p>ζοῦσαι were acted in the year of <i>Callias</i>, τοῦ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον. Confirmed by Schol. Thesm. 848. Λάμαχος—ἤδη ἐτεθνήκει ἐν Σικελίᾳ τετάρτῳ ἔτει πρότερον. Idem ad 197. γέρων γὰρ τότε Εὐριπίδης· ἕκτῳ γοῦν ἔτει ὕστερον τέλευτᾷ. If the Scholiast placed the death of <i>Euripides</i> at the year of <i>Antigenes</i> (cf. a. 405), the sixth year would be the exact description. <i>Euripides</i>, however, died in the year of <i>Callias</i> B. C. 406. between whom and the present <i>Callias</i> are five archons: which sufficiently agrees with the date of this comedy at the <i>Dionysia</i> of B. C. 411, but refutes the date of <i>Musgrave</i>, who places the Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι in the archonship of <i>Pisander</i> B. C. 413.</p>
	<p><i>Anonymus</i> apud <i>Lysiam</i> p. 161, 34. ἐπὶ Θεόπομπου ἄρχοντος καταστὰς χορηγὸς τραγωδοῖς ἀνῆλωσα τριάκοντα μῶας, καὶ τρίτῳ μηνί [i. e. the third month after the <i>Dionysia</i> in <i>Elaphebolion</i>] Θαργηλίοις νικήσας ἀνδρικῶ χορῶ δισχιλίᾳς δραχμάς. cf. a. 404.</p>
<p><i>Herodotus</i> (æt. 75) is still employed upon his history: since he mentions I. 130. a fact which happened in this year. See the note of <i>Larcher</i> tom. I. p. 411. He also notices III. 15. the death of <i>Amyrtæus</i> and the succession of <i>Pausiris</i>. <i>Amyrtæus</i> seems to have recovered Egypt B. C. 414, to have reigned six years, and died B. C. 408. (See the year B. C. 455. and the <i>Appendix</i> there referred to.) which brings down the narrative of <i>Herodotus</i> one year lower than the incident pointed out by <i>Larcher</i>. He is therefore engaged upon his work from 44 to 48 years after that recitation at which <i>Thucydides</i> was present, B. C. 452 or 456.</p> <p><i>Plato</i> (æt. 20) begins to hear <i>Socrates</i>: <i>Laërt.</i></p>	<p><i>Sophocles</i> Φιλοκλήτης. Arg. <i>Philoctet.</i> ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου. πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς.</p> <p><i>Anonym.</i> ap. <i>Lys.</i> p. 161, 36. ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος εἰς Πυρρίχιστὰς Παναθηναίους τοῖς μεγάλοις [Hecatombæon, or July, B. C. 410] ἀνῆλωσα ὀκτακοσίας δραχμάς. ἔτι δ' ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια [Elaphebolion B. C. 409] ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐνίκησα καὶ ἀνῆλωσα—πεντακισχιλίᾳς δραχμάς.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
80 408.	Ol. 93. <i>Euctemon</i> . Diod. XIII. 68. Mar. Par. No. 63.	<p>The Athenians move from Lampsacus, ἐπεὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγεν, ἔαρος ἀρχομένου. [the spring of the archon <i>Diocles</i>.] Xen. Hel. I. 3, 1. Alcibiades takes Selymbria: 3, 10.—and Byzantium. 3, 20. Pharnabazus heard of the capture, τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδίῳ ὧν τὸν χειμῶνα. 4, 1.</p> <p>Mr. Kruger supplies the following testimony: Pausan. V. 8, 3. δρόμος δύο ἵππων τελείων συνωρίς κληθεῖσα τρίτῃ μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτέθη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνεήκοντα· Εὐαγόρας δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἥλειος. Kruger adds, "Conf. Xen. Hellen. I. 2, 1. Diod. XIII. 75." Diodorus well illustrates Pausanias; but the passage of Xenophon is an interpolation.</p>
407.	93, 2. <i>Antigenes</i> . Diod. XIII. 76. Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1313. Reisk. Mar. Par. No. 64. Arg. Aristoph. Ran. Schol. Ran. 706. 732. 1469. corrupte Ἀντίου apud Schol. Ran. 33.	<p>Cyrus is sent, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, καὶ ξυμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος. Xen. Hel. I. 4, 2. Alcibiades returns to Athens, ἡμέρα, ἥ τὰ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις. 4, 12. Plutarch. Alcib. c. 34. ἥ γὰρ ἡμέρα κατέπλευσεν, ἐδράτο τὰ Πλυντήρια τῇ θεῷ. δρῶσι δὲ τὰ ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαι Θαργηλιῶνος ἔκτη φθίνοντος. He remains there till the μυστήρια. Xen. Hel. I. 4, 20. τὰ μυστήρια—κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν, ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας. Plutarch. Alcib. c. 34. ἱερεῖς καὶ μύστας καὶ μυσταγωγούς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις περικαλύψας ἦγεν, κ. τ. λ. Immediately afterwards, he proceeded to the siege of Andros: Plutarch. Alcib. c. 35. ἐκπλεύσας ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ, καὶ προσβαλὼν Ἀνδρῶν, κ. τ. λ. Xen. Hel. I. 4, 21. μετὰ τὸν κατάπλου τριτῷ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἀνδρον, ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. As he was at Athens, according to Xenophon himself, from the 25th Thargelion to the 20th Boëdromion, or nearly four months, we may suspect τριτῷ μηνὶ to be a corruption of τετάρτῳ μηνὶ.</p> <p>During the stay of Alcibiades at Athens, <i>Lysander</i> is sent as ναύαρχος. Xen. Hel. I. 5, 1. Then followed the defeat of <i>Antiochus</i>, the deposition of <i>Alcibiades</i>, and the substitution of ἄλλους δέκα, between September B. C. 407 and Sept. B. C. 406. when <i>Callicratidas</i> succeeded <i>Lysander</i>. Xen. Hel. I. 5, 12—6, 4. The Scholiast, Aristoph. Ran. 1469. who places the return of <i>Alcibiades</i> in the year of <i>Antigenes</i>, seems to have followed Andron rather than Xenophon, in the date of the return of <i>Alcibiades</i>. and Andron διαφέρεται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα περὶ τῆς καθόδου. Schol. ibid. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 259. also dates the return of <i>Alcibiades</i> a year later, at the Πλυντήρια of the archon Antigenes, or Thargelion B. C. 406. for which he refers to Xenophon. But this is inaccurate, and contrary to the narrative of Xenophon.</p>
406.	93, 3. <i>Callias</i> . Diod. XIII. 80. Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1313. Athen. V. p. 218. a. Mar. Par. No. 65. Arg. Aristoph. Ran. Schol. Ran. 406. 504. 706. 737. 1580.	<p>Sea fight off Arginusæ: described by Xenophon Hel. I. 6. In the year of Callias: Athen. V. p. 218. a. ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Καλλίου, τῆς Περικλέους τελευτῆς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἑκοσὶ καὶ τέτταρσιν. [the twenty-fourth year current.] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1580. ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλομένων ἐκ Δεκελείας ἀπίνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔχουσιν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ εἰρήνην ἀγεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου, Κλεοφῶν ἐπέειπε τὸν δῆμον μὴ προσδέξασθαι. These proposi-</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
III. 6. γεγονώς, φασὶν, εἴκοσιν ἔτη, διήκουσε Σωκράτους.	
	<p><i>Euripidis</i> Ὀρέστης. In the year of <i>Diocles</i>. Schol. <i>Orest.</i> 371. Διοκλέους, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν Ὀρέστην ἐδίδαξε. conf. Schol. <i>Orest.</i> 772.</p> <p><i>Aristophanis</i> Πλούτος α'. ἐπὶ Διοκλέους. Schol. <i>Plut.</i> 179. confirmed by Schol. <i>Plut.</i> 173. ἐν δευτέρῳ (Πλούτῳ) ὃς ἔσχατος ἐδιδάχθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ὕστερον. <i>Antipater</i> is the twentieth archon from <i>Diocles</i>. conf. a. 388.</p> <p>Anon. ap. <i>Lys.</i> p. 161, 39. ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς [Thargelion B. C. 408] κυκλικῶ χορῶ ἀνήλωσα τριακοσίας δραχμὰς. See the relative expense of these χορηγίαι at B. C. 404.</p>
	<p>(<i>Strattidis</i> Ἀνθρωποβόραιστος. <i>Sannyrionis</i> Δανάη. After the Ὀρέστης, which was ridiculed in those comedies. conf. Schol. <i>Eurip.</i> <i>Orest.</i> 279. Schol. <i>Aristoph.</i> <i>Ran.</i> 305.)</p>
<p><i>Hellanicus</i> relates the events of the year of <i>Antigenes</i> and the battle of <i>Arginusæ</i>: Schol. <i>Aristoph.</i> <i>Ran.</i> 706. τοὺς συνναναμαχήσαντας δούλους Ἑλλάνικός φησιν ἐλευθερωθῆναι, καὶ ἐγγραφέντας ὥς Πλαταιεῖς συμπολιτεύσασθαι αὐτοῖς, διεξιὼν τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένους τοῦ πρὸ Καλλίου. This passage thus supplied in ed. <i>Dindorf</i>. confirms the emen-</p>	<p>Death of <i>Euripides</i>: in the archonship of <i>Callias</i>. <i>Apollodor.</i> apud <i>Diod.</i> XIII. 103. at the age of seventy-five years. <i>Auct. Vit.</i> apud <i>Elmsleium</i>. ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς φησὶ Φιλόχορος, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς· ὥς δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης, οἷ'. These testimonies are valuable, and confirm the other dates for the life of <i>Euripides</i>. <i>Callias</i></p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
82	Arg. Œdip. Colon. apud Elmsl. Cf. a. 402.	<p>tions for peace, which was thus a second time prevented by the demagogue <i>Cleophon</i>, were five years after the former propositions in the year of <i>Theopompus</i>. <i>conf. a. 410</i>. The overtures of the Lacedæmonians and the intervention of <i>Cleophon</i> are noticed by <i>Æschines</i> <i>Fals. Leg. p. 38, 5—12</i>. The battle was followed by the feast of <i>Apaturia</i>: μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο Ἀπατούρια. <i>Xen. Hel. I. 7, 8</i>. [in <i>Pyaneption</i>.] — Condemnation of the generals; <i>Xen. Hel. I. 7, 8—38</i>.</p> <p><i>Dionysius</i> becomes master of Syracuse: <i>Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1313</i>. ὀγδοηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνιαυτῷ [after <i>Olymp. 72. 2</i>] κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Καλλίων μετ' Ἀντιγένην. He reigned 38 years: <i>Helladius</i> apud <i>Photium</i> <i>cod. 279. p. 1580</i>. τῆς Σικελίας ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα δυοῖν ἀποδέοντα. <i>Cic. Tusc. V. 20. Duodequadragesima annos tyrannus Syracusanorum fuit Dionysius, cum quinque et viginti annos natus dominatum occupavisset.</i> — <i>Duodequadragesima annorum</i> <i>Val. Max. IX. 13, 4 ext.</i> That his assumption of the government is rightly placed in the year of <i>Callias</i>, appears from <i>Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1</i>. speaking of <i>Euripides</i>; and from <i>Philistus</i>, who began his "History of the "elder <i>Dionysius</i>" at the archonship of <i>Callias</i>. His accession to the supreme power was subsequent to the capture of <i>Agrigentum</i>: <i>Diod. XIII. 91. 92.</i> confirmed by <i>Xenophon Hel. II. 2, 24. Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακούσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα</i>. And <i>Agrigentum</i> was taken in the year of <i>Callias</i>: <i>Diod. XIII. 80. Philist. apud Diod. XIII. 103.</i> a little before the winter solstice: <i>Diod. XIII. 91. μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς χειμερινῆς τροπῆς</i>. Consequently about the fifth month of <i>Callias</i>, Nov. or Dec. B. C. 406. After a siege of eight months. <i>Diod. XIII. 91.</i> or seven, according to <i>Xenophon Hel. I. 5, 21</i>. The siege, therefore, was commenced in the year of <i>Antigenes</i>: where <i>Xenophon I. 5, 21.</i> places the expedition of the <i>Carthaginians</i>: ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι, καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιw [confirming the numbers of <i>Timæus</i> ap. <i>Diod. XIII. 80</i>] εἶλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχη μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ μῆνας. As the reign of <i>Dionysius</i> was preceded by the surrender of the city, its commencement may be dated from the sixth month of <i>Callias</i>, or December B. C. 406.</p>
405.	93, 4. <i>Alexias</i> . <i>Diod. XIII. 104.</i> <i>Lysias</i> p. 161, 43.	<p>Battle of <i>Ægospotami</i>. <i>Xen. Hel. II. 1, 27, 28</i>. Rightly placed by <i>Diod. XIII. 104.</i> in the year of <i>Alexias</i>: for the battle was fought a few months before the surrender of Athens, and Athens surrendered in the tenth month of <i>Alexias</i>. <i>Thucyd. V. 26.</i> ἔτη τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο τῷ πολέμῳ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι—εὐρήσει τις τοσαῦτα ἔτη καὶ ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς παρενεγκούσας. The war began in <i>Munychion</i> of the archon <i>Pythodorus</i> [spring B. C. 431]. It therefore ended in <i>Munychion</i> of the archon <i>Alexias</i> [spring B. C. 404]. Compare <i>Thucyd. II. 2. Polybius I. 6.</i> confirms this date for the battle of <i>Ægospotami. conf. a. 387.</i> <i>Dodwell Ann. Xenoph. p. 239.</i> and <i>Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 261.</i> suppose the action at <i>Ægospotami</i> to have happened in the fourth month before Athens surrendered. But that interval is</p>

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dation of Bentley ad v. 732. τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένους Ἑλλάνικός φησι χρυσοῦν νόμισμα κοπῆναι. and justifies the opinion of Mr. Kruger that the battle of *Arginusæ* was alluded to by the Scholiast. *Hellanicus* then still wrote in the year of *Callias*: whence we collect that his life was extended to more than 90 years. He was born in Ol. 71. 1; his death might happen in Ol. 93. 4 in his 91st year. For *Hellanicus* see Note A. §. 14.

Philistus, ὁ τὰς ἱστορίας ὑστερον συγγράψας, is active in the party of *Dionysius*, in the year of *Callias*; Diod. XIII. 91. He was slain fifty years afterwards, in B. C. 356. During the latter years of the elder *Dionysius*, *Philistus* lived in exile, and was not recalled till after the accession of the younger: Plutarch. Dion. c. 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεπτίνης—γενομένων αὐτῷ θυοῦν θυγατέρων, τὴν ἑτέραν ἔδωκε Φιλίστῳ, μηδὲν φράσας πρὸς Διονύσιον, ὀργισθεὶς ἐκείνος—τὸν Φιλίστον ἐξήλασε Σικελίας φυγόντα παρὰ ξένους τινὰς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὅπου καὶ δοκεῖ τὰ πλεῖστα συνθεῖναι τῆς ἱστορίας σχολάζων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπανήλθε τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ζῶντος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν κατήγαγεν αὐτὸν ὁ πρὸς Δίωνα τῶν ἄλλων φθόνος. The first part of his "Sicilian History" terminated at the siege of Agrigentum and the archonship of *Callias*: Diod. XIII. 103. Φιλίστος τὴν πρώτην σύνταξιν τῶν Σικελικῶν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [the year of *Callias*] κατέστρεφεν, εἰς τὴν Ἀκράγαντος ἄλωσιν, ἐν βίβλοις ἑπτὰ διελθὼν χρόνον ἐτῶν πλείων τῶν ὀκτακοσίων. τῆς δὲ δευτέρας συντάξεως τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας τελευτῆς πεποιήται, γέγραφε δὲ βίβλους τέσσαρας. This second part contained the history of the elder *Dionysius*; quoted by Cicero Epist. ad Q. frat. II. 13. Divinat. I. 20. 33. And it seems to have ended at the archonship of *Nausigenes* B. C. 363. where his history of the younger *Dionysius* began. cf. a. 363.

(*Democritus* in his travels visited Persia in the reign of *Darius*: Conf. Julian. Ep. 37. p. 413. φασὶ γὰρ Δημόκριτον τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην ἐπειδὴ Δαρείῳ γυναικὸς καλῆς ἀλγοῦντι θάνατον κ. τ. λ. which will place his visit to Persia within B. C. 423—405. His travels are noticed in various testimonies: Laërt. IX. 35. φησὶ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν Ὀμωνύμοις [conf. F. H. III. p. 544. u] καὶ Ἀντισθένης ἐν Διαδοχαῖς ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας γεωμετρίαν μαθησόμενον καὶ πρὸς Χαλδαίους καὶ εἰς τὴν Περσίδα καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν γενέσθαι. τοῖς τε γυμνοσφοισταῖς

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[B. C. 406] is the 75th archon from *Calliades* [B. C. 480]. His 74th year therefore was completed in Boëdromion of the archon *Callias*. Thom. Mag. (in vit. Eurip.) follows *Philochorus*:—ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς. Suidas v. Εὐριπ. and Moschopulus vit. Eur. preserve the numbers of *Eratosthenes*:—ἔτη βεβιωκέναι φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε. *Euripides* died on the same day on which *Dionysius* assumed the tyranny: Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1.—ἀποθανόντος καθ' ἡν ἡμέραν ἐγεννήθη Διονύσιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος—ἅμα τῆς τύχης, ὡς Τίμαιος ἔφη, τὸν μιμητὴν ἐξαγούσης τῶν τραγικῶν παθῶν, καὶ τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν ἐπεισαγούσης. [where either Plutarch, or the transcriber, has, by mistake, put the day of the birth of *Dionysius* for the day of his assuming the government.] which brings down the time of his death to the sixth month of *Callias*: that he was already dead in the eighth month of that archon, we know from Aristoph. Ran. cf. a. 405. The Parian Marble No. 64 inaccurately places this event in the year of *Antigenes*. Suidas and Moschopulus express the time generally, as the 93d Olympiad. For the circumstances of his death compare Steph. Byz. v. Βορμίσκος.

In the year of *Callias*, the expense of the dramatic exhibitions was divided between two χορηγοί. Schol. Ran. 406. ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνδου ἐδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγικοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς. Before the *Βάτραχοι*, since the poet alludes to the change. Schol. ibid. κατεσχίσθη—ἔοικε παρεμφαίνειν ὅτι ἦδη λιτῶς ἐχορηγεῖτο τοῖς ποιηταῖς. This regulation, therefore, made no immediate change in the number of the prizes, since at the representation of the *Βάτραχοι* there were still three prizes for comedy: although it might reduce the number of competitors from ten to five. conf. a. 388.

Death of *Sophocles*: Diod. XIII. 103. περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, [in the year of *Callias*,] ἐτελεύτησε Σοφοκλῆς—ἔτη βιώσας ἐνενήκοντα, νίκας δ' ἔχων ὀκτωκαίδεκα. Mar. Par. No. 65. ἀ. σὺ Σο. οκλῆς ὁ ποιητὴς βιώσας ἔτη . ΔΔΔΔΙ ἐτελεύτησεν— οὗτος Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ πρ. τ. . . ον. According to *Lucian*. *Macrob.* c. 24. he lived to 95. But the true age of the poet was 90 years. *Callias* is the ninetieth archon, including both, from *Philippus*. He survived *Euripides*: Thom. Mag. vit. Eur. φασὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκούσματι τῆς Εὐριπίδου τελευτῆς—Σοφοκλέα αὐτὸν μὲν καὶ φαῖνεν ἔνδε-

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84		<p>too short. See <i>Appendix c.</i> 11.</p> <p><i>Conon</i>, after the defeat of the fleet, fled to <i>Evagoras</i> to Cyprus. Xenoph. Hel. II. 1, 29. According to Xenophon l. c. only <i>nine</i> Athenian ships escaped. A client of Lysias, who was present at the battle, affirms that <i>twelve</i> were saved: Lys. ἀπολ. δωροδ. p. 162, 28. αἱ σωθεῖσαι τῶν νεῶν δώδεκα ἦσαν· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν δύο ἐκόμισα, τὴν ἑμαντοῦ καὶ τὴν Ναυσυμάχου τριήρη. A client of Isocrates, who also saved his ship, expresses himself more generally: Isocr. in Callimach. p. 382. b. ὅτε γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἀπώλεσε τὰς ναῦς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστερήθη,—μετ' ὀλίγων ἔσωσα τὴν ναῦν.</p>
404.	<p>Ol. 94. <i>Pythodorus</i>. Lysias p. 109, 10. [Xenoph. Hellen. II. 3, 1.] ἀναρχία πρὸ Εὐκλείδου Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. F. ἀναρχία Diod. XIV. 3.</p>	<p><i>Athens</i> is taken by <i>Lysander</i>, in the spring. Compare Thucyd. V. 26. II. 2.—ἐκτὴ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ μουνυχιῶνος μηνός Plutarch. Lysand. c. 15. The <i>thirty</i> govern for eight months.—ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσί Xenoph. Hel. II. 4, 21. Philochorus apud Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1147. fixes the victory of Thrasybulus to the <i>fifth</i> year after the archonship of Diocles: ὡς Φιλόχορος, πέμπτῳ ἔτει ὕστερον, [that is, after the exhibition of the <i>first Plutus</i>] μάχῃ τῶν μετὰ Θρασυβούλου γενομένην ἦν. (sic emendat Hemsterhus.) Philochorus therefore agrees with Xenophon: as Hemsterhusius has justly remarked. Petitus, to confirm the false date of Diodorus, has corrupted the genuine reading πέμπτῳ into ὀγδόῳ. See Hemsterh. ad Plut. p. 439. 440. Dodwell Annal. Thucyd. et Xenoph. p. 58. 241. has accurately pointed out the blunder of Diodorus, and</p>

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φασί τινες συμμίζει αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰνδία καὶ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἔλθειν. Strabo XV. p. 703. Δημόκριτον—πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας πεπλανημένον. Suidas p. 920. B. ἦλθε καὶ εἰς Πέρσας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰγυπτίους, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐπαιδεύθη σοφά. Conf. Ælian. V. H. IV. 20. He passed 5 years in Egypt: Diod. I. 98. ὑπολαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔτη διατρίβειν πέντε. He continued his travels till his 80th year, as Menag. ad Laërt. IX. 35. and Fabric. B. G. tom. II. p. 628 interpret his own account apud Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 304. A. repeated by Euseb. Præp. X. p. 472. B. ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων γῆν πλείστην ἐπεπλανησάμην ἱστορέων τὰ μήκιστα· καὶ ἀέρας τε καὶ γέας πλείστας εἶδον καὶ λογίων ἀνθρώπων πλείστων ἐπὶ-κουσα· καὶ γραμμέων συνθέσις μετ' ἀποδείξιός οὐ-δεὶς πῶ με παρήλλαξεν, οὐδ' οἱ Αἰγυπτίων καλεόμε-νοι Ἀρπεδονάπται, οἷς ἐπὶ πᾶσι [melius Clemens σὺν οἷς ἐπὶ πᾶσι] ἐπ' ἔτεα οὐδῶκοντα ἐπὶ ξείνης ἐγε-νήην. But this number (which had already been suspected by Brucker Hist. Phil. tom. I. p. 1178) is justly rejected by Dr. Gaisford, who observes, that ἐπ' ἔτεα οὐδῶκοντα will not mean *usque ad 80^{um} annum*, but *annos 80*; and that the passage will express "I sojourned 80 years in a foreign land;" which would be absurd. He traces the source of the error by shewing, that although π means 80, yet in ancient times it also denoted πέντε, as appears from Priscian. de fig. num. 1, 5 confirmed by Inscriptions. And he restores the number to a conformity with Diodorus I. 98 by reading ἐπ' ἔτεα π [sc. πέντε]. The sense of Clemens will then be this:—"with "whom last of all I sojourned 5 years in a foreign "land."

If Democritus visited Egypt at the close of his travels, we may place his five years in Egypt, at the earliest, towards the end of the reign of Darius.)

Lysias banished, after the battle of Ægospotami: Vit. X. or. p. 835. E. τῆς ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίας γενομένης, καὶ τῶν τριάκοντα παραλαβόντων τὴν πόλιν, ἐξέπεσεν ἐπὶ ἔτη μέγας. Banished, therefore, in the year of Alexias. conf. a. 411. He withdrew to Megara: διῆγεν ἐν Μεγάρῳ. Ibid. His own account of the conduct of the thirty, of the death of his brother Polemarchus, and of his own escape to Megara, is given, κατὰ Ἐρατοσθ. p. 120—122.

Andocides is in exile (and chiefly resident in Elis) during the whole period from the four-hun-

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δῦσθαι χιτῶνα· τοὺς δὲ ὑποκριτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀστεφανώ-τους τῷ τότε εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα.—and died before the exhibition of the Βάτραχοι. consequently, before the *Lenæan* festival of the year of Callias. That account, therefore, may be suspected, which places the death of Sophocles at the season of a tragic victory. cf. Vit. Sophocl. Diod. XIII. 103. Val. Max. IX. 12, 5. ext. And that, which supposes him to have exhibited tragedy after the death of Euripides, is equally doubtful; unless we understand this of the Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀγρῶν, in *Posideon* of the archon Callias. Euripides, then, died towards the end of B. C. 406. Sophocles, in the beginning of B. C. 405.

Aristophanis Βάτραχοι. Arg. Ran. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἀρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντιγένῃ, ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ [Anthesterion, or February, B. C. 405]. Φιλωνίδης ἐπεγράφη καὶ ἐνίκα. Φρύνιχος δεῦτερος Μού-σαις Πλάτων τρίτος Κλεοφῶντι. Both Euripides and Sophocles were now dead: Ran. 67—78. Arg. III. Sophocl. Œd. Colon. ed. Elmsl. ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Βατράχοις ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἀνάγει τοὺς τραγικοὺς [sic legendum: νοη. στρατηγούς] ὑπὲρ γῆς, ὁ δὲ Φρύνιχος ἐν Μούσαις, ἃς συγκαθῆκε τοῖς Βατράχοις, φησὶν οὕτως·

μάκαρ Σοφοκλῆς, ὃς πολὺν χρόνον βίου
ἀπέθανεν, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ καὶ δεξιός.
πολλὰς ποιήσας καὶ καλὰς τραγωδίας
καλῶς ἐτελεύτησ', οὐδὲν ὑπομεινὼς κακόν.

—attesting both the recent death of Sophocles, and the respect in which he was held. Iophon the tragic poet, son of Sophocles, was still living. Ran. 73. 78.

Antimachus flourished: Diod. XIII. 108. ἐτε-λεύτησε Δαρείῳ—καθ' ὃν χρόνον καὶ Ἀντίμαχον τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖός φησιν ἠνθη-κέναι. [in the year of Alexias.] See, for Antima- chus, Plutarch. Lysand. c. 18. Suid. v. Ἀντίμα- chos.

Birth of Antiphanes the comic poet. Suidas. Ἀντιφάνης—κωμικὸς τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας.—γένονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνενηκοστὴν τρίτην ὀλυμπιάδα, καὶ ἔγραψε κωμωδίας τρεῖς. οἱ δὲ σπ'. νίκας δὲ εἶλε γ'. —τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Κίῳ, οὐδ' ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων. Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxx. Beck.—ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Χίῳ (sic.) —ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα σξ'. Γέγονε in Suidas is rendered by Kuster *vixit*; and *floruit* by Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 258. and is so understood by Scaliger Olymp. ἀναγρ. Ol. 93. 1. who has Ἀν-τιφάνης ἐγνωρίζετο. But the word should be rendered *natus est*. Because Antiphanes began to

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		<p>perhaps has traced it to the right cause. And yet Diodorus had misled Scaliger Olymp. ἀναγραφ. Ol. 94. 1—94. 4. and even Bentley: Diss. Phalar. p. 396.</p> <p>Death of <i>Alcibiades</i>, during the tyranny of the thirty. Plutarch. Alcib. c. 38. 39. Nepos Vit. Alcib. c. 10. confirmed by Isocrates de Bigis c. 16. p. 355. b. ἐπειδὴ κατέστησαν οἱ τριάκοντα—ἐκεῖνος ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξέπεσεν—Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Λύσανδρος ὁμοίως ἔργον ἐποίησαντο ἐκεῖνον ἀποκτείνειν, κ. τ. λ. He was now at the least 45 years of age, and had been engaged in public affairs more than twenty years. cf. a. 423.</p> <p><i>Thrasybulus</i> occupies Phylē, and advances to the Piræus, in <i>Posideon</i>, when the eight months of the thirty terminate. But the contest is continued for some time after their deposition. cf. a. 403.</p>
403.	<p>94, 2. <i>Euclides</i>. Diod. XIV. 12. Plutarch. Mor. p. 835. F. Lysias p. 162, 2. <i>Æschin</i>. Timarch. p. 65. Reisk. Schol. ad loc. p. 728. Reisk. Lucian. Catapl. tom. III. p. 179. Idem</p>	<p><i>Thrasybulus</i> and his party,—οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ,—carry on the war against the ten, the successors of the thirty, during many months of this year: Xenoph. Hel. II. 4, 22—38. But they were in possession of Athens before the year of Euclides: ἐπὶ ἀναρχίας τῆς πρὸ Εὐκλείδου. Vit. X. or. p. 835. F. —before Hecatombæon; since they appointed the annual magistrates;—τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο. Xenoph. Hel. II. 4, 43. Although the contest between the parties was not finally concluded till <i>Boëdromion</i>. Plutarch. Mor. p. 349. F.</p>

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dred to the return of Thrasybulus: Vit. X. or. p. 834. F. ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καθ' ὃν χρόνον οἱ τετρακόσιοι διεῖπον τὰ πράγματα· δεθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ διαφυγὼν, αὐθις ὅποτε κατελύθη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, τῶν τριάκοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντων. οἰκήσας δὲ τὸν τῆς φυγῆς χρόνον ἐν Ἡλίδι, κατελθόντων τῶν περὶ Θρασύβουλον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. During this exile, he visited Cyprus, Syracuse, and perhaps other countries: Lys. adv. Andocid. p. 103, 39. διώχληκε πόλεις πολλὰς ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ, Σικελίαν, Ἰταλίαν, Πελοπόννησον, Θετταλίαν, Ἑλλήσποντον, Ἰωνίαν, Κύπρον· βασιλέας πολλοὺς κεκολάκευκε, πλὴν τοῦ Συρακουσίου Διονυσίου. —οὗτος δὲ μόνος τῶν συγγενομένων Ἀνδοκίδῃ οὐκ ἐξηπατήθη. Some of these countries were visited by Andocides before the time of the four-hundred. cf. a. 415.—Syracuse, at least, after the accession of Dionysius, in B. C. 406. consequently in this latter exile.

Thucydides (æt. 68) returns from exile. cf. Thucyd. V. 26. He was still employed upon his history after the conclusion of the war: cf. II. 65.

Andocides ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Vit. X. or. p. 835. A.—καταπλεύσας δεῦρο εἰς δημοκρατίαν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν Lys. adv. Andocid. p. 105, 35. He came, confiding in the peace and amnesty: ὥς αἱ

4. POETS.

exhibit comedy after Ol. 98, and was actually exhibiting after the year B. C. 343, sixty-one years later than the present date; and was still living after the accession of Alexander; Athen. XIII. p. 555. a. and after the victory of Antipater in B. C. 331. Antiphanes, then, was born B. C. 404, began to exhibit about B. C. 383, and died æt. 74 B. C. 330. conf. ann. 383. 343. 331.

Anonymus apud Lysiam p. 161, 43. ἐπειδὴ κατέπλευσα ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου ἀρχοντος, [after the battle of Ægospotami: cf. p. 162, 20—26.] εὐθὺς ἐγυμνασιάρχουν εἰς Προμήθεια καὶ ἐνίκων ἀναλώσας δώδεκα μνᾶς. καὶ ὕστερον κατέστην χορηγὸς παιδικῶ χορῶ καὶ ἀνῆλθωσα πλέον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς. From the several heads of expenditure enumerated by the client of Lysias, in the years of Theopompus, Glaucippus, and Diocles; and again, of Alexias and Euclides, we learn the relative charges of those exhibitions: they are thus stated p. 161.

ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου τραγῳδοῖς, [March B. C. 410] λ' μνᾶς.	dr. 3000.
— θαρρηλίοις, [May B. C. 410] ἀνδρικῶ χορῶ δισχιλίας δραχμᾶς.	2000.
ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, [August B. C. 410] εἰς πυρρίχιστας ὀκτακοσίας δραχμᾶς.	800.
ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου εἰς Διόνυσια, [March B. C. 409] ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν—πεντακισχιλίας δραχμᾶς.	5000.
ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς, [Thargelion B. C. 408] κυκλικῶ χορῶ τριακοσίας.	300.
ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου χορηγὸς παιδικῶ χορῶ [about spring B. C. 404] πλέον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς.	1500.
ἐπὶ Εὐκλείδου κωμῳδοῖς, [Feb. or March B. C. 402] ἑκκαίδεκα μνᾶς.	1600.
— Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς, [Thargelion B. C. 402] πυρρίχισταῖς ἀγευείοις ἑπτὰ μνᾶς.	700.

Conf. an. 349.

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	<p>Hermotim. tom. IV. p. 102. Bipont. et Schol. ad locum. Chandler Inser. Ant. P. 2. No. VI. p. 49. Tzetz. Chil. V. 986. Schol. Hom. Iliad. VII. 185.</p>	<p>τῇ δωδεκάτῃ (Βοηδρομιῶνος) χαριστήρια ἔθνον ἐλευθερίας· ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς κατήλθον. alluded to in a mutilated passage, Sympos. IX. 6. p. 741. B. τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος ἡμέραν ἐξαιρούμεν, οὐ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, ἀλλ' ὅτι ταύτῃ δοκοῦσιν ἐρίσαι περὶ τῆς χάρας οἱ θεοί. Πάντα, εἶπεν ὁ Λαμπρίας, ὅσῳ τοῦ Θρασυβούλου γέγονε Ποσειδῶν πολιτικώτερος, εἰ μὴ κρατῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ, κ. τ. λ. This allusion has not escaped the diligence of Wyttenb. ad locum, or of Taylor Vit. Lys. p. 139. Reisk. The whole war, therefore, lasted ten months; from <i>Posideon</i> of the archon <i>Pythodorus</i>, to <i>Boëdromion</i> of the archon <i>Euclides</i>. Xenophon confirms this: II. 4, 43. ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ [after the appointment of the magistrates] ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ἑλεσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπεισαν ξυναλλαγῆναι,—ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν. The date, then, of this act of oblivion or amnesty was 12th Boëdromion, September B. C. 403.</p> <p>The archonship of <i>Euclides</i>, a marked epoch in the civil history of Athens, is referred to in the following testimonies, in addition to those quoted in col. 1.—Andocides p. 12, 5. 10. p. 13, 38. Isæus p. 61, 6. p. 74, 3. Demosth. Timocrat. p. 742. (bis.) Eubulid. p. 1307. Athen. XIII. p. 577. b. And, with a reference to the new alphabet, by Schol. Euripid. Phœniss. 709. Plutarch. Aristid. c. 1. Phot. et Suid. v. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος. Schol. Hermogen. p. 17. Add Schol. Hom. Iliad. VII. 185. Καλλίστρατος ὁ Σάμιος ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν ταύτην μετήνεγκε τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ παρέδωκεν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Εὐκλείδου [I. Εὐκλείδου], ὥς φησιν Ἐφφορος.</p>
88	<p>402. 94, 3. <i>Micon</i>. Mar. Par. No. 66. Μίκων τέταρτος ἀπὸ Καλλίου Arg. Œdip. Colon. apud Elmsleium. <i>Micion</i> Diod. XIV. 17.</p>	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>συνθήκαι καὶ αὐτῷ εἰσι, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις Id. p. 106, 25.</p> <p><i>Lysias</i> returns to Athens: Vit. X. or. p. 835. F. ἐπεὶ χρησιμώτατος ὤφθη—γράφαντος αὐτῷ Θρασυβούλου πολιτείαν μετὰ τὴν κάθοδον ἐπὶ ἀναρχίας τῆς πρὸ Εὐκλείδου. [before July B. C. 403.] ἀπενεγκαμένον δὲ Ἀρχίνου γραφὴν παρανόμων,—τὸν λοιπὸν ᾤκησε χρόνον ἰσοτελὲς ὢν.</p> <p><i>Lysias</i> κατὰ Ἐρατοσθένους. Soon after the return of <i>Lysias</i>. p. 123, 22. ὅσοι ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν εἴσονται πότερον ἀδίκως τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐκκηρύττουν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. The thirty, then, had been recently expelled.</p> <p><i>Aristophon</i> the orator τὸν νόμον εἰσήνεγκεν ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου ἀρχοντος, ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀσπῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι. Athen. XIII. p. 577. b. This was <i>Aristophon</i> the <i>Azenian</i>, as <i>Ruhnkenius</i> (tom. VIII. p. 129. Reisk.) well determines. He was still living in B. C. 355. 354. cf. ann. 355, 3. 354, 2. The law of <i>Aristophon</i> is referred to by <i>Demosth.</i> <i>Eubulid.</i> p. 1307. The same law had been passed by <i>Pericles</i> more than forty years before: cf. a. 444, 2. but was relaxed towards the end of the life of <i>Pericles</i>, out of tenderness to <i>Pericles</i> himself; conf. <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Pericl.</i> c. 37. and was now re-enacted by <i>Aristophon</i>.</p>	
<p><i>Andocides</i>, after his return, takes a share in the conduct of affairs: <i>Lysias</i> <i>Andocid.</i> p. 106, 7. τὸ τελευταῖον νῦν ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν—παρασκευάζεται τῇ πόλει καὶ πράττει καὶ ἤδη δημηγορεῖ, καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ καὶ ἀποδοκιμάζει τῶν ἀρχόντων τισι, καὶ συμβουλεύει εἰς τὴν βουλὴν εἰσιῶν. <i>Andocides</i> and his influence in the state seem pointed at in the following passage: <i>Lys.</i> ἀπολ. δωροδ. p. 163, 25. κατηγοροῖς τοιούτοις—οἱ περὶ ἀσεβείας μὲν ἀγωνιζόμενοι τηλικούτοι γεγόνασιν, οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενοι δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπολογήσασθαι, ἐτέρων κατηγορεῖν τολμῶσι.</p> <p>Among the leading orators were <i>Archinus</i> and <i>Cephalus</i>: <i>Dinarch.</i> κατὰ Δημοσθ. p. 100, 3. ὁ καταλυθεὶς δῆμος πάλιν ἡγεμὼν ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων,—συμβούλους ἔχων Ἀρχίνον καὶ Κέφαλον τὸν Κολυτῆα. Compare <i>Dinarch.</i> p. 95. <i>Cephalus</i> appeared for <i>Andocides</i> in the cause περὶ Μυστηρίων B. C. 400. cf. <i>Andocid.</i> p. 19, 30. He flourished during a long course of years with <i>Callistratus</i> and <i>Aristophon</i> the <i>Azenian.</i> cf. a. 372. For the virtue, or the good fortune, of <i>Cephalus</i>, in escaping prosecutions, see <i>Æschin.</i> <i>Ctes.</i> p. 81, 40. with the reply of <i>Demosthenes</i> p. 310. <i>Reisk.</i> <i>Archinus</i> is mentioned by <i>Plato</i> <i>Menex.</i> p. 234. b.</p>	<p><i>Cephisodotus</i> gains the prize in comedy: or rather, <i>Cephisodorus</i>. See a similar interchange of names in the archon of B. C. 358. <i>Anonymus</i> apud <i>Lysiam</i> p. 162, 2. ἐπὶ Εὐκλείδου κωμφοδοῖς χορηγῶν ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΟΤΩ [lego ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΩ] ἐνίκων καὶ ἀνῆλωσα σὺν τῇ τῆς σκευῆς ἀναθέσει ἑκκαίδεκα μῦθας. <i>Cephisodorus</i> was a poet of the old comedy; of whose dramas the titles of four have been preserved. <i>Suidas</i>: <i>Κηφισόδωρος</i>, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας [sic legendum cum <i>Kuster.</i> aliisque]· ἔστιν αὐτοῦ τῶν δραμάτων Ἀντιλαῖς, Ἀμαζόνες, Τροφώνιος, Ὅτς. <i>Κηφισόδωρος</i> ἐν Ἀμαζόνισιν is quoted by <i>Athen.</i> XIV. p. 629. c. <i>Phot.</i> et <i>Suid.</i> v. ὄνος ἕεται. <i>Κηφισόδωρος</i> ἐν Τροφώνῳ is quoted <i>Athen.</i> XV. p. 667. d. 689. f. XII. p. 553. a. <i>Poll.</i> VII. 40. 87. <i>Κηφισόδωρος</i> ἐν Ὅτς is referred to, <i>Athen.</i> III. p. 119. d. VIII. p. 345. f. XV. p. 701. b. He is mentioned, in some of these passages, in conjunction with <i>Cratinus</i>, <i>Aristophanes</i>, <i>Callias</i>, <i>Diocles</i>, <i>Eupolis</i>, <i>Hermippus</i>: which confirms the account of his time.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
401.	94, 4. <i>Xenænetus</i> . Laërt. II. 55. Lysias p. 148, 23. <i>Exænetus</i> Diod. XIV. 19.	<p>Expedition of <i>Cyrus</i>: ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ξεναυέτου. Laërt. II. 55. Diodorus XIV. 19. agrees in this date. But <i>Cyrus</i> set out from Sardis before midsummer; consequently before the year of <i>Micon</i> was ended. For Xenophon Anab. I. enumerates about eighty-four days of march, and ninety-eight days of rest, before the battle of Cunaxa. And that battle was fought in the autumn: for the Greeks had reached Armenia in the winter. Anab. IV. 5, 12. <i>Samius</i> was the Lacedæmonian ναύαρχος when <i>Cyrus</i> set out:—Σαμίω τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ Xenoph. Hel. III. 1, 1. Isocrates Panegy. c. 40. p. 71. gives a sketch of this expedition.</p> <p>Dodwell Annal. Xen. p. 242. 243., when he supposes <i>Cyrus</i> to have set forth—<i>hoc anno Juliano medio elapso</i>,—and even,—<i>hoc anno Juliano exeunte</i>,—and —<i>hoc anno Attico mense quarto</i>,—[i. e. October] forgets the length of time consumed in the march.</p> <p>First year of the war of Lacedæmon and Elis:—Xenoph. Hel. III. 2, 23. φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἅγισ ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν. ἀρτὶ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντος, σεισμὸς ἐπιγίγνεται. Pausan. III. 8, 2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἅγισ ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν. τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος, ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν.</p>
400.	Ol. 95. <i>Laches</i> . Diod. XIV. 35. Mar. Par. No. 67. Aristid. tom. II. p. 286. Jebb.	<p>Return of the Greeks: they arrive at Cotyora eight months after the battle. Anab. V. 5, 4. Towards the close, therefore, of the year of <i>Xenænetus</i>. They remain at Cotyora forty-five days. Anab. V. 5, 5.—And reach Chrysopolis after midsummer; consequently, in the year of <i>Laches</i>; and the Marble No. 67 rightly dates it, ἀρχοντος Λάχητος. When they arrived at Chrysopolis, <i>Anaxibius</i> was ναύαρχος. Anabas. VII. 1, 2. When the Cyrean army entered the service of <i>Seuthes</i>, <i>Polus</i> had succeeded <i>Anaxibius</i>: Anab. VII. 2, 5. and it was winter: Anab. VII. 4, 3. They remained with <i>Seuthes</i> nearly two months. VII. 6, 1.</p> <p>Second year of the war of Lacedæmon and Elis: Xenoph. Hel. III. 2, 25. περιϊόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>and by Æschines Ctes. p. 82, 1. Other passages, where <i>Archinus</i> is named, have been collected by Taylor Vit. Lys. p. 141. 142. Reisk.</p> <p><i>Xenophon</i> ἀναβέβηκε σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπὶ Ξεναϊνέτου ἀρχοντος, ἐνὶ προτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς Σωκράτους τελευτῆς. [that is, in the year of the preceding archon.] Laërt. II. 55. If he was present at Delium twenty-three years before, he might have been about 42 at the time of the <i>Anabasis</i>. The age of <i>Xenophon</i> is examined at large by Mr. Mitford Hist. of Greece c. 23. s. 6. note at the end: who refutes Spelman; supposes <i>Xenophon</i> to be under thirty at the time of this expedition; and rejects the authority of Strabo for his presence at Delium. Mr. Mitford successfully combats Spelman, whose calculation is extravagant. Other positions of Mr. Mitford are not so tenable. It is said, respecting the presence of <i>Xenophon</i> at Delium, “Athenæus has shewn, from Plato, that “this could not be.” I have found nothing stated, on the authority of Plato, in Athenæus, to this purpose.—It is said again, “The titles “<i>νέος</i> and <i>νεανίσκος</i> are more than once in the “<i>Anabasis</i> given to <i>Xenophon</i>.” I find no passage in the <i>Anabasis</i>, in which these terms are so applied. In the only passage quoted (II. 1, 13) it will be found on referring to the edition of Schneider (who has restored the true reading) that the text was corrupt, and that the term <i>νεανίσκος</i> is there applied, not to <i>Xenophon</i>, but to another person. See Schneid. ad Anab. II. 1, 12. Weiske <i>Xenoph.</i> tom. III. p. 313.</p> <p><i>Ctesias</i>, the historian, τοῖς μὲν χρόνοις ὑπῆρξε κατὰ τὴν Κύρου στρατείαν—γενόμενος δὲ αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀναληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη διετέλεσε τιμώμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Diod. II. 32. From B. C. 401 to B. C. 384.</p> <p><i>Andocidis</i> περὶ Μυστηρίων. Three years after his return from exile. De Myster. p. 17, 16. τρία μὲν ἔτη ἐπιδημῶν καὶ ἤκων ἐκ Κύπρου, οὐκ ἀσεβεῖν ἐδόκουν—νῦν δὲ ἀδικῶ. Andocides was at this time about 67 years of age. Cf. a. 467. That he was advanced in age may be collected from Lysias contra Andocid. p. 106, 5. οὐ χρὴ οὔτε πρεσβύτερον οἶντα, οὔτε νεώτερον, ὁρῶντας Ἀνδοκίδην σωζόμενον—ἀθεωτέρους γενέσθαι ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι ἥμισυς ὁ βίος βιώναι κρείττων ἀλόπως ἐστὶ διπλασίου λυπουμένῳ ὥσπερ οὗτος. Lysias indeed asserts p. 107, 19. οὐδεπώποτ’ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατεύσατο,</p>	<p><i>Sophoclis</i> Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ Κολώνῳ. Arg. III. <i>Œdip.</i> Colon. ed. Elmsl. τὸν ἐπὶ Κολώνῳ Οἰδίποδα ἐπὶ τετελευτηκότῃ τῷ πάππῳ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ υἱοῦς ἐδίδαξεν, υἱὸς ὦν Ἀρίστωνος, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Μίκωνος, ὃς τέταρτος ἀπὸ Καλλίου, ἐφ’ οὗ φασιν οἱ πλείους τὸν Σοφοκλέα τελευτῆσαι. The <i>Œdipus Coloneus</i> was therefore exhibited in Feb. or March B. C. 401. For the death of <i>Sophocles</i> cf. a. 405. For the younger <i>Sophocles</i>—Σοφοκλῆς Ἀρίστωνος, υἱὸς δὲ τοῦ προτέρου Σοφοκλέους Suid.—cf. a. 396.</p> <p><i>Telestes</i> gains a dithyrambic prize in the year of Micon: Mar. Par. No. 66. ἀφ’ οὗ Τελέστης Σελ. νίκησεν Ἀθήνησιν, ἔτη ΗΔΔΔΠ . . . ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Μίκωνος. Confirmed by Diodorus, who places the ἀκμὴ of <i>Telestes</i> at the year of Ithycles. cf. a. 398.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Ἦλιν, καὶ ξυνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἀγίδι, κ. τ. λ.—Pausan. III. 8, 2. τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἔτει τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Ἄγις καὶ ἤλασε τῆς λείας τὴν πολλήν.</p>
399.	<p>95, 2. <i>Aristocrates</i>. Diod. XIV. 38. Mar. Par. No. 68.</p>	<p><i>Thimbron</i> commands in Asia. He had already sailed from Peloponnesus, when the Cyreans were with <i>Seuthes</i>: Anab. VII. 6, 1. Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ στρατεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρην, καὶ Θίμβρων (or Θίβρων) ἐκπέπλευκεν, ὡς πολέμῳ. The campaign of <i>Thimbron</i> was therefore in the summer of this year. The Cyreans, after their service with <i>Seuthes</i>, were incorporated with the troops of <i>Thimbron</i>: καὶ ἐπολέμει πρὸς Τισσαφέρην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον. Xenophon. Anab. VII. fin.—Idem Hel. III. 1, 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρον ξυνέμειξαν αὐτῷ [<i>Thimbroni</i>], ἐκ τούτου ἤδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρει.</p> <p><i>Dercyllidas</i> supersedes <i>Thimbron</i>: Xenoph. Hel. III. 1, 8. Before the conclusion of the war in Elis: Ib. III. 2, 21.—which ended in this year: Hel. III. 2, 30, τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος θέρους πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ξυνεχώρησε σφᾶς τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν. Pausan. III. 8, 2. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου—οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Θράσυδρος (sic) συγχώρουσι τοῦ ἄστεως καταρρίψαι τὸ τεῖχος. Ephorus was arrived at this point of history in his 18th book: Athen. XI. p. 500. c. Ἐφορος ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ—“Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ Θίμβρωνος Δερκυλλίδαυ ἐπεμψαν “ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀκούοντες ὅτι πάντα πράττειν εἰώθασιν οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν “ βάρβαροι μετὰ ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου, διόπερ Δερκυλλίδαυ ἐπεμψαν.”</p> <p><i>Thrasydæus</i> the <i>Elean</i> was the friend of <i>Lysias</i>; and had assisted the party of <i>Thrasybulus</i> in B. C. 404. Vit. X. or. p. 835. F. ἐπιθεμέων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τῇ καθόδῳ, Λυσίας—δύο ἔπεισε τάλαντα δοῦναι ΘΡΑΣΥΛΑΙΟΝ τὸν Ἠλεῖον, ξένον αὐτῷ γεγονότα. In Phot. cod. 262. p. 1463. (who follows this author) the name is rightly given.—ΘΡΑΣΥΔΑΙΟΝ τὸν Ἠλεῖον ἔπεισε, κ. τ. λ.</p>
398.	<p>95, 3. <i>Ithyclus</i>. Diod. XIV. 44. Chandler Inscr. Ant. P. 2. No. IV. 1. p. 42. [τάδε οἱ ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν] χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐπὶ Ἰθυκλέους ἄρχοντος—</p>	<p><i>Dercyllidas</i>, after having wintered in Bithynia, Xenoph. Hel. III. 2, 2. ὅμα τῷ ἦρι ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Λάμφακον.—2, 6. While he is there,—ἐνταῦθα ὄντος αὐτοῦ—commissioners meet him to prolong his command: ἐροῦντες μένοντι ἄρχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν. Id. III. 2, 6. He makes a truce with <i>Pharnabazus</i>: 2, 9.—passes into the Chersonese, where he raises a wall: ἀπετέλεσε τὸ τεῖχος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἡρινου χρόνου, πρὸ ὁπώρας 2, 10. He returns to Asia and besieges <i>Atarnæ</i> for eight months. ἐν ὀκτῷ μηνὶ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῖς, he moved to</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>οὔτε ἱππεὺς, οὔτε ὀπλίτης, οὔτε τριήραρχος, οὔτε ἐπιβάτης· οὔτε πρὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς, οὔτε μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν, πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς. But this inconsistency is obviated, by reading, with Taylor, either πλέον ἢ ἙΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ ἔτη γ. or, which is to the same effect, πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα ἈΦ' ἩΒΗΣ ἔτη γ. See the learned note of Taylor ad loc.</p>	
<p>Death of Socrates. ἐπὶ Λάχηςτος Diod. XIV. 35. 37. Aristid. tom. II. p. 286. Jebb. Apollodorus apud Laërt. II. 44. ἐτελεύτησε τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς πέμπτῃς ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονώς ἑτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ ταῦτά φησι καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς. Mar. Par. No. 67. ἀφ' οὗ—Σωκράτης φιλόσοφ. 5 ἐτελεύτησε ἔτη ΙΔΙΔΔ, ἔτη ΗΔΔΔΠ. ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Λάχηςτος. Xenophon Hel. I. 7, 15. attests that he was still living in B. C. 406.—and in B. C. 401. Anab. III. 1, 5. That he died during the absence of Xenophon in Asia, may be collected from Memor. IV. 8, 4. His death happened at the end of Thargelion; the month in which the annual offering was sent to Delos. Conf. Plat. Phæd. p. 58. b. c.</p> <p>If Socrates was born in Thargelion B. C. 468, he would have just entered his <i>seventieth</i> year at the time of his death, in Thargelion B. C. 399. cf. a. 468. The number, <i>seventy</i> years, for his age, in Apollod. and Demetr. seems to be from Plato Criton. p. 52. c. ἐν ἔτεσι βδομήκοντα. Apol. p. 17. d. ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πλείω. See the Introduction p. xxi.</p> <p>Plato withdrew to Megara: Laërt. III. 6. γυνόμενος ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν, καθὰ φησιν Ἑρμόδωρος, εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Εὐκλείδην σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶ Σωκρατικοῖς ὑπεχώρησεν. Idem II. 106. πρὸς τοῦτον [Euclidem] φησὶν ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος ἀφικέσθαι Πλάτωνα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς φιλοσόφους μετὰ τὴν Σωκράτους τελευτὴν, δέξαντας τὴν ὁμότητα τῶν τυράννων. In this last particular there is an error; the tyrants having been expelled five years before. Plato had in reality at this time completed his 29th year, or his 30th. conf. a. 429.</p>	<p><i>Meletus</i>, the tragic poet, is the accuser of Socrates: (See <i>Introd.</i> p. xxxiv.) Plato Apolog. p. 23. e. Μέλητος μὲν ἐπέθετο ὑπὲρ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀχθόμενος. It appears that he was young: Plato <i>ibid.</i> p. 25. d. τοσοῦτον σὺ ἐμοῦ σοφώτερος εἶ, τηλικούτου ὄντος τηλικόσδε ὢν. p. 26. e. δοκεῖ οὐτοσὶ—τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ὕβρει τινὶ καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ καὶ νεότητι γράψασθαι. Idem Euthyphr. p. 2. b. Μέλητρον—νέον ὄντα τοσοῦτον πρᾶγμα ἐγνωκέναι. He was mentioned by Sannyrrio in the Γέλως, by Aristophanes in the Βάτραχοι, Γηρυτάδης, Πελαργοί, Γεωργοί. and some of these appear to have been late comedies: the date of the Βάτραχοι was B. C. 405. the Γηρυτάδης was later than the <i>Hecuba</i> of Euripides, which was quoted in that comedy: Athen. XII. p. 551. b. In the Πελαργοί Patrocles was ridiculed: Schol. Plut. 84. and Neoclydes; <i>Ibid.</i> 665. the former of whom was noticed in the <i>Plutus</i>, the latter in the <i>Plutus</i> and <i>Ecclesiastusæ</i>. But the Γεωργοί was exhibited in the time of Nicias: Plutarch. Nic. c. 8. consequently more than fourteen years earlier than the death of Socrates: which would suppose <i>Meletus</i> between thirty and forty at the time of this prosecution; an age which might be called young in comparison with that of Socrates or perhaps of Anytus.</p>
<p>Ctesias brought his "Persian History" down to this year: Diod. XIV. 46. Κτησίας ὁ συγγραφεὺς τὴν τῶν Περσικῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἑνιαυτὸν [the archonship of Ithycales] κατέστρεφεν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμράμειος. Photius Bibl. Cod. 72. p. 105—133. has given an account of this work, which was in 23 books; Phot. p. 105. Suid. v. Κτησίας. He also wrote Ἰνδικὰ, a sepa-</p>	<p><i>Astydamas</i> first exhibited: Diod. XIV. 43, Ἀστυδάμας ὁ τραγωδιογράφος τότε πρῶτον [in the year of Aristocrates, Feb. or March B. C. 398] ἐδίδαξεν· ἔζησε δὲ ἔτη ἐξήκοντα. whence the lacuna in Mar. Par. No. 68. has been ingeniously supplied: ἀφ' οὗ Ἀ[στυδάμας πρῶτον ἐδίδαξεν] Ἀθηνησιν, ἔτη ΗΔΔΔΠ, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοκράτους. The elder Astydamas was the son of</p>

B.C.	I. ARCHONS.	4. EVENTS.
	[πα]ρέδοσαν ταμίαις τοῖς ἐπὶ Συνιάδου . . .	Ephesus : III. 2, 11. The siege of Atarnæ must have been begun before the rampart in the Chersonese was finished ; for it lasted eight months, and was followed by quarters at Ephesus ; and yet <i>Dercyllidas</i> in the next campaign had reached the Vale of Mæander before the summer of 397 (conf. a. 397). For the times of <i>Thimbron Dercyllidas</i> and <i>Agésilas</i> in Asia, see Appendix c. 11.
397.	95, 4. <i>Suniades</i> . Lys. p. 109, 15. <i>Συνιάδου</i> Inser. ap. Chandler. conf. a. 398. <i>Lysiades</i> Diod. XIV. 47.	<i>Dercyllidas</i> receives orders to invade Caria. Xen. Hel. III. 2, 12. He meets <i>Pharnabazus</i> and <i>Tissaphernes</i> with an army in the Vale of Mæander ; when the corn was grown ;—ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σῖτος. III. 2, 17. —and concludes an armistice with <i>Tissaphernes</i> . III. 2, 19, 20.
396.	Ol. 96. <i>Phormion</i> . Diod. XIV. 54.	<i>Agésilas</i> passes with an army from Aulis to Ephesus. Plutarch. Ages. c. 6. 7. Xen. Hel. III. 4, 3. Apparently in the spring. cf. a. 395. First campaign of <i>Agésilas</i> in Asia : described by Plutarch Ages. c. 7—9. and by Xenophon Hel. III. 4, 5—15. It began with a truce of three months with <i>Tissaphernes</i> : Xen. Hel. III. 4, 6. Agesil. c. 1, 10.—and ended in his wintering at Ephesus. Xen. Hel. III. 4, 15. 16. Agesil. c. 1, 23—26.
395.	96, 2. <i>Diophantus</i> . Diod. XIV. 82. Pausan. VIII. 45, 3. Oderici Marmorea Didascal.	<i>Agésilas</i> prepares for his second campaign in Asia, ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε. Xen. Hel. III. 4, 16. About the same time, (that is, in the spring,) the first year of his command expires : Hel. III. 4, 20, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἦδη, ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, διελλύθει. ὥστε οἱ περὶ Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέπλεον. He gains a victory near Sardis. Hel. III. 4, 21—24. <i>Tithraustes</i> sent to supersede <i>Tissaphernes</i> : 4, 25. Mission of <i>Timocrates</i> into Greece : III. 5, 1—3. <i>Agésilas</i> , ἅμα μετοπώρῳ, penetrates into Phrygia and Paphlagonia. Hel. IV. 1, 1—3. <i>Lysander</i> is slain at Haliartus : III. 5, 17—19. in the thirtieth

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>rate work: an abstract is given by Photius p. 145—157. Plutarch vit. Artax. quotes from the latter books of the <i>Περσικά</i> of <i>Ctesias</i>, and speak strongly of his bad faith and want of veracity. See especially Artaxerx. c. 13. Large quotations from his <i>Ἰνδικὰ</i> are to be found in <i>Ælian</i> Hist. An. XVII. 29. XVI. 31. 37. III. 3. IV. 21. 26. 27. 46. 52. V. 3.—in <i>Arrian</i> Indic. et Exped. Alex. V.—in <i>Aristot.</i> Generat. Anim. II. 2. (where he charges him with falsehood.) Hist. Anim. III. fin. II. 3, 10 (where he adds, εἰ δὲ πιστεῦσαι <i>Κτησίᾳ</i>). VIII. 27, 3. (where again—<i>Κτησίας οὐκ ὦν ἀξιόπιστος</i>.) See also <i>Pollux</i> V. 41. <i>Pausan.</i> IX. 21, 4. <i>Lucian</i> Conserib. Hist. tom. IV. p. 202. <i>Bipont.</i> accuses <i>Ctesias</i> of having falsified history, to ingratiate himself with <i>Artaxerxes</i>.</p>	<p><i>Morsimus</i> and grandson of <i>Philocles</i>, and studied under <i>Isocrates</i>: <i>Suid.</i> Ἀστυδάμας ὁ πρεσβύτερος, υἱὸς Μορσίμου τοῦ Φιλοκλέους, τραγικῶν ἀμφοτέρων, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός. ἔγραψε τραγωδίας σμ' ἐνίκησε ἐξ. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ ἦν Ἰσοκράτους, καὶ ἐτράπη ἐπὶ τραγωδίαν. <i>Schol. Aristoph. Ran.</i> 151. Μορσίμου. τραγωδίας καὶ οὗτος ποιητῆς, καὶ ψυχρός. ἔστι δὲ Φιλοκλέους υἱός.—υἱὸν δὲ ἔσχεν Ἀμφιδάμαντα. [<i>leg.</i> Ἀστυδάμαντα.]</p> <p><i>Philoxenus Timotheus</i> and <i>Telestes</i> flourished: <i>Diod.</i> XIV. 46. (Ἰθυκλῆς) ἤκμασαν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ ἐπισημότατοι διθυραμβοποιοὶ, Φιλόξενος Κυθήριος, Τιμόθεος Μιλήσιος, Τελέστης Σελευσύντιος, Πολύειδος, ὃς καὶ ζωγραφικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς εἶχεν ἐμπειρίαν. For <i>Philoxenus</i> cf. a. 380. For <i>Timotheus</i> cf. a. 357. For <i>Telestes</i> cf. a. 401. <i>Polyidus</i> is a dithyrambic poet, and the rival of <i>Timotheus</i>, in <i>Athen.</i> VIII. p. 352. b. and perhaps <i>Πολύειδος</i>, twice mentioned <i>Aristot. Poet.</i> (c. 17. 18. <i>Bipont.</i>) is no other than this dithyrambic poet.</p>
<p>(Birth of <i>Xenocrates</i>, cir. Olymp. 96. 1. conf. a. 315.)</p>	<p><i>Sophocles</i> ὁ Σοφοκλέους τραγωδίαν διδάσκειν ἤρξατο [in the year of <i>Lysias</i>, Feb. or March B.C. 396], καὶ νίκας ἔσχε δνοκαίδεκα. <i>Diod.</i> XIV. 53. Perhaps <i>Σοφοκλῆς ὁ Σοφοκλέους υἱὸν</i>, or <i>υἱοῦς</i>, was the original reading: as in <i>Suid.</i> and <i>Arg. Cædip. Colon.</i> apud <i>Elmsleium.</i> cf. a. 401. If 95</p> <p>Wesseling (ad <i>Diod.</i> XIV. 53) could have seen that <i>Argument</i>, he would have pronounced with greater certainty upon the question. <i>Sophocles</i>, therefore, in B.C. 401 exhibited in the name of his grandfather; in the present year, he first exhibited in his own person. The author of the <i>Argument</i>, and <i>Diodorus</i>, are not at variance.</p>
<p><i>Plato</i> æt. 34 returns to Athens. Not later than the year of <i>Diophantus</i>, because he served in the Athenian forces at the battle of Corinth: <i>Laërt.</i> III. 8. αὐτὸν φησιν Ἀριστόξενος τρὶς ἐστρατεύσθαι ἅπαξ μὲν εἰς Τάναγραν, δεύτερον δὲ, εἰς Κόρινθον, τρίτον, ἐπὶ Δηλῷ. <i>Ælian.</i> V. H. VII. 14. ἐστρατεύσατο Πλάτων εἰς Τάναγραν καὶ εἰς Κόρινθον. Not the celebrated battles of Tanagra and Delium, but some other actions, in the Corinthian or Theban war. This action at Delium</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2 EVENTS.
		<p>year—<i>ἔτει τριακοστῷ</i>—after the battle of Delium. Plutarch. Lysand. c. 29. consequently in the year of Diophantus. <i>Agesilaus</i>, meanwhile, wintered at Daseylum:—<i>ἐνταῦθα διεχέλιμαζε</i> Xen. Hel. IV. 1, 16.</p> <p>Dodwell Ann. Xen. p. 249. supposes the spring spoken of, Hel. III. 4, 16. to be the spring of that summer in which the battle of Coronea was fought; and contracts the operations of <i>two</i> years into one. See <i>Appendix</i> c. 11.</p>
394.	<p>96, 3. <i>Eubulides</i>. Diod. XIV. 85. Aristid. tom. II. p. 286. Jebb. ἀπὸ Λάχητος εἰς Εὐβουλίδην ἑβδομος ἄρχων Εὐβουλίδης αὐτός. <i>Eubulus</i> Lys. p. 154, 27. Conf. Hemst. ad Aristoph. Plut. p. 325.</p>	<p><i>Agesilaus</i> withdraws from the satrapy of Pharnabazus: <i>σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαιεν ἦδη</i>. Xen. Hel. IV. 1, 41. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Θήβης πεδίον, κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο· καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε ξυνέλεγε στράτευμα. Ibid. He is recalled: IV. 2, 2.—when he had already completed the <i>second year</i>. Plutarch. Agesil. c. 14. Xenoph. Ages. 1, 34. He passes the Hellespont about midsummer. He performed in a month—<i>μείον ἢ ἐν μηνί</i> Xen. Ages. 2, 1. <i>triginta diebus</i> Nepos Ages. c. 3.—the march, which had cost <i>Xerxes</i> a year; but six months in another place: Nep. Themist. c. 5.—and he was at the entrance of Boeotia on the 14th of August. Xenoph. Hel. IV. 3, 10. Battle near <i>Corinth</i>: ἡ μεγάλη μάχη πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ Demosth. Leptin. p. 472.—described at large by Xenophon Hel. IV. 2, 9—23. News of it met <i>Agesilaus</i> at Amphipolis. IV. 3, 1. It happened, therefore, about midsummer: in the year of <i>Diophantus</i>; Aristid. tom. II. p. 286.—<i>Cnidus</i>: ἐπ' Εὐβούλου [sic] ἄρχοντος. Lys. p. 154, 27. a few days <i>before</i> the eclipse: Xen. Hel. IV. 3, 10.—<i>Coronea</i>: a few days <i>after</i> the eclipse [which happened Aug. 14]: Hel. IV. 3, 14—19. Plutarch. Ages. c. 17. 18. ἅμα μὲν τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλείποντα καὶ γενόμενον μηνοειδῇ κατείδεν, ἅμα δ' ἤκουσε τεθνάναι Πείσανδρον, ἡττημένον ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Κνίδου.—ἐπεὶ δὲ προῖδαν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Κορωνείᾳ κατείδε τοὺς πολεμίους, παρετάξατο. Conformably with Xenophon.</p> <p>Corsini, having established against Dodwell that the <i>Pythia</i> were celebrated every <i>third</i> Olympic year; and having fixed them to the month Munychion, and consequently, in the present year Olymp. 96. 3, to the end of the year, or April B. C. 393, thus arranges the circumstances of the battle of <i>Coronea</i>. Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 286. 287. Fixing the battle of <i>Cnidus</i> to the beginning of Ol. 96. 3 and the eclipse to the 14th of August, and consequently <i>Coronea</i> itself also to the beginning of Ol. 96. 3, he proceeds:—Ol. 96. 3. <i>propemodum exeunte Delphos vulneribus saucius transferri voluit Agesilaus, Πυθίων ἀγομένων. quum Pythia agerentur</i>. [April B. C. 393.] This would suppose <i>nine months</i> between the battle and the removal of</p>

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was subsequent to the battle of Corinth. In the anecdote in Laërt. III. 24. *Plato* himself alludes to his military service: λόγος ὅτι καὶ Χαβρία συν-εἶπε [vulgo male συνείπετο] τῷ στρατηγῷ φεύγοντι θανάτου—ὅτε καὶ ἀνιόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν σὺν τῷ Χαβρία Κρώβυλος ὁ συκοφάντης ἀπαντήσας φησὶν, “Ἄλλω συναγορεύων ἦκεις, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι καὶ σὲ τὸ “Σωκράτους κώνειον ἀναμένει;” τὸν δὲ φάναι, “Καὶ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστρατενύμην ὑπέμενον “τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ νῦν,” κ. τ. λ.

Plato had passed the preceding three or four years in travels in Italy, Cyrenæ, and Egypt. Laërt. III. 6. 7. [after the death of *Socrates*,] εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Εὐκλείδην ὑπεχώρησεν· ἔπειτα εἰς Κυρήνην ἀπῆλθε πρὸς Θεόδωρον.—κάκειθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς, Φιλόλαον καὶ Εὐρυτον· ἔνθεν τε εἰς Αἴγυπτον.—διέγνω δὴ καὶ τοῖς μάγοις συμμίξαι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας πολέμους ἀπέστη. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας, διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ.

Xenophon ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἐς Βοιωτοὺς δόδον. Anab. V. 3, 6. And, sentence of banishment being passed upon him at Athens, he withdrew under Lacedæmonian protection to Scillus. Anab. V. 3, 7—12. Here he composed his works: Laërt. II. 52. τοῦντεῦθεν διετέλει κυνηγετῶν, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐσιτῶν, καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφων.

Theopompus τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σύνταξιν κατέστρεφεν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν [the year of *Diophantus*] καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ Κυνὸν ναυμαχίαν, γράψας βίβλους δώδεκα. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς οὗτος ἦρκεται μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ Κυνὸς σῆμα ναυμαχίας, εἰς ἣν Θουκυδίδης κατέλξε πραγματεῖαν. ἔγραψε δὲ χρόνον ἐτῶν δεκαεπτὰ. Diod. XIV. 84.

(*Lysias* Μαντιθέῳ δοκιμαζομένῳ ἀπολογία. After the year 394, because allusion is made by the speaker to the battles of Corinth and Coronea. *Mantitheus* had served at *Haliartus* B. C. 395. ὅτε τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσασθε πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, καὶ εἰς Ἀλίαρτον ἔδει βοηθεῖν. p. 146, 41. [where *Thrasylbulus* commanded the Athenians: *Plutarch*. *Lysand.* c. 29.] compare *Xen.* *Hel.* III. 5, 17.—and at the battle of Corinth B. C. 394. where, πλείστων ἐνθανόντων, ὕστερον ἀνεχώρησε τοῦ σεμνοῦ Στεριεῶς [*Thrasylbulus*] τοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δειλίαν ὠνειδικότος. *Lys.* p. 147, 13. (compare for the loss of the Athenians *Xen.* *Hel.* IV. 2, 17—21.)—and again at Coronea; οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα—Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβολόντος. *Lys.* *ibid.* This oration, then, may be dated after B. C. 394, and perhaps before

4. POETS.

(*Strattidis* Ποτάμοι. Before the Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι of *Aristophanes*: *Schol.* *Plut.* 1195. Λυκόφρων (ὡς ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶν) ὥρθη πρῶτον τοῦτον [sc. *Aristophan.* *Plut.* 1195] δᾶδας ἡγήκεναι. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἐκκλησιαζούσαις αὐτό [B. C. 392]. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Στράτις, [Στράτις *Ald.*] πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων [before the *Ecclesiæz.* and the *Plutus* β'.] τοὺς Ποταμοὺς [legit *Hemsterhus.* Ποταμίους] διδάσκων, εἰς Φιλύλλιον ἀναφέρει τὸ πρᾶγμα. It can hardly be supposed that *Lycophron*, not only forgetting *Philyllius* and *Strattis*, but *Aristophanes* himself, should have affirmed that to be done for the first time in the *Plutus* β', which had been done already in the *Ecclesiæzusæ*. But what was not true of the second *Plutus* might be true of the first, twenty years before. Those verses, then. (v. 97 1195. seq.) were in the first edition of the *Plutus*, and of that *Lycophron* intended to speak. If this be true, we obtain the following order for these comedies.

Aristophanis Πλούτος α'. [B. C. 408]

Philyllii comœdia ὅπου δᾶδας ἡγήκε. [ὅπον in this sense in Laërt. I. 90. IV. 20. *Schol.* *Vesp.* 1301. *Schol.* *Hom.* II. VIII. 109. ed. *Bekker.*]

Strattidis Ποτάμοι.—

Aristophanis Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι. [B. C. 392]

— Πλούτος β'. [B. C. 388]

Strattis was a little later than *Callias*: *Καλλίας*, μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν γενόμενος τοῖς χρόνοις Στράτιδος. *Athen.* X. p. 453. c. and continued to write comedy when *Isocrates* was advanced in years: Ἐρμιππος—προβαλόντα, φησὶ, τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Ἴσο-

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p><i>Agesilaus</i> to Delphi. But what are the accounts of the original historians? Xenophon Hel. IV. 3, 21—23. Πρωτὶ δὲ [the morning of the day after the action] Γούλιον τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι—καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν—καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἱ τε σπονδαὶ γίνονται, καὶ Ἀγησίλαος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν. Plutarch. Ages. c. 19. ὥς δ' ἐπεμψαν οἱ πολέμοι νεκρῶν ἀναλρεσιν αἰτοῦντες, ἐσπέισατο, καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπεκομίσθη. <i>Agesilaus</i>, then, was certainly at Delphi immediately after the battle, in Aug. or Sept. B. C. 394. See Appendix c. 1. <i>Pythian games</i>.</p>
393.	96, 4. <i>Demostratus</i> . Diod. XIV. 90.	<p>Sedition at Corinth, and battle of <i>Lechæum</i>. Xenoph. Hel. IV. 4, 1—13. the <i>third</i> victory of the Lacedæmonians: τρίτον, ἡνίκα Λέχαιον ἔλαβον Andocid. de Pac. p. 25, 38. In the year of <i>Eubulides</i>: Diod. XIV. 86. Aristides tom. II. p. 286. Jebb. τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ μάχης καὶ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μέσος ἄρχων Εὐβουλίδης.—confirming Diodorus in his date for the battle of <i>Lechæum</i>. Diodorus adds, <i>ibid.</i> ὁ δὲ πόλεμος οὗτος ἐκλήθη Κορινθιακὸς, καὶ διέμεινεν ἑπτὰ ὀκτώ. The eight years might be consistently computed from the year of <i>Eubulides</i>, since the war was ended in the year of <i>Theodotus</i>. Pausanias III. 9, 6. dates the beginning of this war from the year preceding: ὁ κληθεὶς Κορινθιακὸς πόλεμος ἐς πλέον ἀεὶ προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρξάμενος ἐς Βοιωτίαν ἐξόδου. that is, when <i>Lysander</i> was slain: which was the true commencement, and perhaps the author whom Diodorus followed might compute the <i>eight years</i> from thence; for the beginning of the war had been already related by Diodorus XIV. 82. under the year of <i>Diophantus</i>.</p> <p><i>Pharnabazus</i>, with <i>Conon</i>, in the spring after the battle of <i>Cnidus</i>, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι, ravages the coasts of Peloponnesus. Xen. Hel. IV. 8, 7—8. Compare <i>Isocrat.</i> Panegy. c. 33. p. 65. d. The long walls of Athens are restored. Hel. IV. 8, 10. Six years after the death of <i>Socrates</i>: Laërt. II. 39. τῶν ὑπὸ Κόνωνος τειχῶν ἀνασταθέντων, ἃ γέγονεν ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑξ τῆς Σωκράτους τελευτῆς ὑστερον. which agrees with the account of Xenophon. After the departure of <i>Pharnabazus</i>, <i>Teleutias</i> in the bay of Corinth cooperates with <i>Agesilaus</i> in Corinthia. Xen. Hel. IV. 4, 19. Compare IV. 8, 11.</p>
98	392. Ol. 97. <i>Philocles</i> . Diod. XIV. 94. <i>Olim legebat</i> <i>tur</i> Φιλοκλέους <i>apud</i> <i>Schol.</i> <i>Aristoph.</i> <i>Plut.</i> 179. <i>nunc corrupte</i> Διο- κλέους. See a similar corruption in the ar- chon of B. C. 322.	<p>The Lacedæmonians στρατεύουσι πάλιν ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τότε ἡγούμενου. Xen. Hel. IV. 5, 1. At the season of the Isthmian games. <i>Ibid.</i>—in the summer season: οἷα δὴ θέρους 5, 4.—before the <i>Hyacinthia</i>. Hel. IV. 5, 11. <i>Iphicrates</i> κατέκοψε τὴν μόραν. Compare <i>Demosth.</i> <i>Aristocrat.</i> p. 686. <i>Æschin.</i> <i>Ctesiph.</i> p. 88, 31. <i>Harpocrat.</i> v. <i>Ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ</i>. The action is described at length by Xenophon Hel. IV. 5, 11—18. It happened before the <i>Hyacinthine games</i>: 5, 11. therefore in the year of <i>Demostratus</i>; where Diodorus XIV. 91. rightly places it. <i>Agesilaus</i> conducted the survivors home. Xen. Hel. IV. 5, 18.</p>
391.	97, 2. <i>Nicoteles</i> . Diod. XIV. 97. <i>Oderici</i> <i>Marm.</i> <i>Didasc.</i>	<p>Expedition of <i>Agesilaus</i> into <i>Acarnania</i>: Xen. Hel. IV. 6, 3. ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἐφόροις—ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνανίας, καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. He withdrew in the autumn: 6, 12. ἡνίκα ἤδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>the death of <i>Thrasylbulus</i>, which happened B. C. 390, or 389.)</p>	<p>κράτη ἀναλαβεῖν Λαγίσκαν τὴν ἐταίραν.—μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Στράτις ἐν τούτοις Καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκαν, Ἰσοκράτους τὴν παλλακὴν,— κ. τ. λ. Athen. XIII. p. 592. d. Harpocrat. v. Λαγίσκα. These lines could hardly have been written earlier than the 99th Olympiad B. C. 384.</p>
<p><i>Speusippus</i> and <i>Diogenes</i> are placed here by Eusebius: Ol. 96. 4 anno 1623 [commencing Oct. B. C. 394] <i>Speusippus</i> cognoscebatur. <i>Diogenes</i> cynicus philosophus cognoscebatur.</p>	<p><i>Xenarchus</i> the μμογράφος, son of Sophron, flourished at the court of Dionysius: during the Rhegian war: Phot. et Suid. v. Ῥηγίνους. Ξέναρχος ὁ Σώφρονος τοῦ μμογράφου υἱὸς ἐκωμῶδει τοὺς Ῥηγίνους ὡς δειλοὺς, ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου πεισθείς. The Rhegian war began in the archonship of Aristocrates, about B. C. 399. Diod. XIV. 40.—and continued till the year of Theodotus B. C. 387. Diod. XIV. 112. conf. Polyb. I. 6. The μμοιοι of <i>Sophron</i> and <i>Xenarchus</i> are mentioned Aristot. Poët. c. 2. Bipont.—<i>Sophron</i>, in a treatise of Aristotle not now extant, ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν, apud Athen. XI. p. 505. c.</p>
	<p><i>Aristophanis</i> Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι. In the year of 99 Demostratus. [Feb. or March B. C. 392.] For the play was represented two years after the Corinthian war began: Schol. Eccles. 193. περὶ δὲ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ Φιλόχορος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι πρὸ δύο ἐτῶν ἐγένετο συμμαχία ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ [sic legendum cum Petit.] καὶ Βοιωτῶν. And that war began in the year of Diophantus. cf. a. 393, 2.</p>
<p><i>Andocidis</i> περὶ εἰρήνης. After the battles of Corinth, Coronea, and Lechæum; which are mentioned by the orator p. 25, 35—40. And four years after the commencement of the war, by the</p>	<p><i>Plato</i>, the comic poet, exhibited: ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει ὕστερον [after the archonship of Dioeles B. C. 402½]—ἐπὶ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ. [Feb. or March B. C. 391.] Schol. Plut. 179. Hemsterh. ad loc. thus</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
390.	97, 3. <i>Demostratus</i> . Diod. XIV. 99.	<p><i>Agesilaus</i> prepares a second expedition, but is prevented by the submission of the Acarnanians: Xen. Hel. IV. 7, 1. παρελθόντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, πάλιν φρουρὰν ἔφαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνανᾶς. οἱ δὲ—εἰρήνην μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ξυμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποιήσαντο. Expedition of <i>Agesipolis</i> into Argolis: Hel. IV. 7, 2—7. ἐκ δὲ τούτου—ἐς τὸ Ἄργος φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι εἴη αὐτῷ ἡγήτεον, κ. τ. λ. Pausanias III. 5, 8 relates the expedition of <i>Agesipolis</i>, and agrees with Xenophon in the circumstances. Diodorus assigns the expedition to the year of Nicoteles, and names Ἀγησίλαος instead of Ἀγησίπολις. perhaps by an error of the transcriber. Conf. Wess. ad Diod. XIV. 97.</p> <p>Ten Athenian ships were sent to Cyprus, ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ τοῦ Εὐαγόρου, and captured by <i>Teleutias</i>. Xenoph. Hel. IV. 8, 24. alluded to by Lysias pro Aristoph. Bon. p. 155, 35. ὅτε οἱ Κύπριοι ἦλθον, καὶ ἔδοτε αὐτοῖς τὰς δέκα ναῦς. Compare p. 153, 38. After this event, <i>Thrasybulus</i> is sent out with forty ships to oppose <i>Teleutias</i>. Hel. IV. 8, 25. compare Lysias in Ergoclem p. 179, 35—180, 15. He is slain at Aspendus. Hel. IV. 8, 30. during the command of <i>Teleutias</i>: Hel. V. 1, 2. and according to Diodorus XIV. 99 in the year of <i>Demostratus</i>. Perhaps in the beginning of B. C. 389.</p>
389.	97, 4. <i>Antipater</i> . Diod. XIV. 103. Arg. Aristoph. Plut. Schol. Plut. 173.	<p>After the death of <i>Thrasybulus</i> (which happened in the archonship of <i>Demostratus</i>, and perhaps in the beginning of B. C. 389: conf. Dodwell. Ann. Xen. p. 258), <i>Agyrrhius</i> is sent as his successor to Aspendus:—ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς.—Xen. Hel. IV. 8, 31. Diod. XIV. 99. and <i>Iphicrates</i> to the Hellespont. Xen. Hel. IV. 8, 34. The services which <i>Thrasybulus</i> had rendered to the Athenians at Byzantium, in his last expedition or command, are referred to by Demosthenes Leptin. p. 474. Reisk. See Wolf ad Leptin. (who aptly compares Xenoph. Hellen. IV. 8, 27. with Demosth. Leptin. §. 48.) and Schneider ad Hellen. V. 1, 28. But Schneider, ad Xen. Hel. IV. 8, 24, when he speaks of <i>Thrasybuli deterrima ante mortem consilia</i>, is unjust to <i>Thrasybulus</i>; and ascribes too much importance to the charges of an adverse orator.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>march of <i>Lysander</i> into Bœotia : p. 25, 42. Βοιωτοί—τὸν μὲν πόλεμον ἐποιήσαντο ἕνεκα Ὀρχομενοῦ—πολεμήσαντες δὲ ἔτη τέτταρα—τὴν εἰρήνην ποιοῦνται. illustrated by Plutarch <i>Lysand.</i> c. 28. Λύσανδρος τὴν Ὀρχομενίων πόλιν ἐκουσίως προσχωρήσασαν ἔλαβε. The oration may be placed, therefore, in the year of Philocles. <i>Andocides</i> was banished for advising this negotiation, and died in exile : Vit. X. or. p. 835. Α. πεμφθεὶς δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ δόξας ἀδικεῖν ἔφυγε.</p>	<p>rightly corrects the name, instead of the corrupt Διοκλέους.</p> <p>The title of the comedy is also corrupted.—Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ. <i>Duplex emendandi via : vel ἐν Ἀμφιαράῳ, vel, quod magis adlubescit, ἐν τῷ Παιδαρίῳ.</i> Hemst. ad locum. A more probable reading is, ἐν Φάωνι. Photius v. παρουσία quotes Πλάτ. ἐν Φάωνι, from whence Suidas, transcribing Photius, has corrupted it into Πλάτων ἐν Φαίδωνι. (conf. Porson. ad Euripid. Med. 140. p. 22.) a similar error to that which we find in this passage of the Scholiast.</p>
<p>Hieronymus apud Euseb. Chron. Ol. 97. 4. <i>Plato philosophus agnoscitur.</i> placed by Eusebius in the Armenian version at Ol. 98. 2 anno 1629 [from Oct. B. C. 388]. But this notice seems to refer to the voyage to Sicily, which was made by <i>Plato</i> in his fortieth year : consequently in the archonship of Antipater. Plato Epist. VII. p. 324. a. ὅτε γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς Συρακούσας ἐγὼ ἀφικόμεν, σχεδὸν ἔτη τετταράκοντα γεγονώς, Δίῳ εἶχε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἣν τανῦν Ἰππαρίνος γέγονε. The first of the three voyages : Athen. XI. p. 507. b. τρις εἰς Σικελίαν ἐκπλεύσας, ἅπαρ μὲν τῶν ῥυάκων χάριν, ὅτε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ Διονυσίῳ συγγενόμενος ἐκινδύνευσεν δις δὲ πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον Διονύσιον. Laërt. III. 18. τρις πέπλευκεν εἰς Σικελίαν. πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ θέαν τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν κρατήρων, ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους—ἠνάγκασεν ὥστε συμμίζειν αὐτῷ. Three are mentioned by</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
388.	Ol. 98. <i>Pyrrhion</i> . Diod. XIV. 107. <i>Pyrgion</i> Dionys. Ant. I. p. 189.	<p><i>Hierax</i> ναύαρχος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων. Xenoph. Hel. V. 1, 3.—ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρακος ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσιν. 1, 6. At the time of the command of <i>Antalcidas</i>, <i>Iphicrates</i> was still at the Hellespont: compare Hel. IV. 8, 34—39. V. 1, 6—7. <i>Antalcidas</i> sends <i>Nicolochus</i> to oppose him: V. 1, 6.—who is besieged at Abydos by <i>Iphicrates</i> and his colleagues: V. 1, 7. οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ—ὡς ᾗσθοντο ἐς Ἀβυδὸν καταπεπλευκότες τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερρόνησου ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτόν. When <i>Antalcidas</i> returned to the coast,—κατέβη μετὰ Τιριβάζου—[in the spring of B. C. 387,] he found <i>Nicolochus</i> still besieged by <i>Iphicrates</i> and <i>Diotimus</i>: V. 1, 25. ᾗκουσε Νικόλοχον πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου. Lysias in his oration ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους χρημάτων p. 156, 21 mentions charges against <i>Diotimus</i>, during an expedition, from which he had returned when that oration was delivered: ἐναγχος ἡκούετε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς Διότιμος ἔχει τάλαντα τετταράκοντα πλείω ἢ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει—καὶ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν, ἐκείνου χαλεπῶς φέροντος ὅτι ἀπὸν διεβάλλετο, οὐδεὶς ἐξήλεγξε. If this be the <i>Diotimus</i> of Xenophon, and the expedition that in which he was the colleague of <i>Iphicrates</i>, (which Schneider ad Xen. Hel. V. 1, 25. seems to think probable,) that oration of Lysias would be brought down to the year of Theodotus B. C. 387.</p> <p>At the time of the appointment of <i>Antalcidas</i>, <i>Chabrias</i> ἐξέπλει ἐς Κύπρον, βοηθῶν Εὐαγόρᾳ. Xen. Hel. V. 1, 10.</p>
102 387.	98, 2. <i>Theodotus</i> . Diod. XIV. 110. Aristid. tom. II. p. 286. Jebb. ἀπὸ Εὐβουλίδου ἄρχων ὀγδοὺς Θεόδοτος.	<p><i>Peace of Antalcidas</i>. Xen. Hel. V. 1. 25—36. <i>Evagoras</i> was excepted out of the treaty: Isocrat. Panegyr. c. 39. p. 69. e. ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔκδοτός ἐστιν. The treaty, excepting Cyprus out of the protection granted to the rest, is extant in Xenophon Hel. V. 1, 31. Polybius I. 6 fixes the year of this celebrated peace: ἔτος ἐνειστήκει μετὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν ἐννεακαίδέκατον, πρὶν δὲ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἐκκαίδέκατον. And Aristides tom. II. p. 286 the</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

Aristides tom. II. p. 66. p. 235. 249. Themistius or. 8. p. 105. a. or. 13. p. 175. d. or. 17. p. 215. c. or. 23. p. 285. c. or. 34. c. 28.

(Æschines the orator is born about this time ; since he was in his 45th year at the prosecution of Timarchus. cf. a. 345.)

Lysias Ὀλυμπιακός. Diod. XIV. 109. (Olymp. 98.) Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ — τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν λόγον ἀνέγνω. Vit. X. or. p. 836. D. ἀνέγνω δὲ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει λόγον μέγιστον, διαλλαγέοντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταλῦσαι Διονύσιον. A fragment is preserved by Dionys. Lysia p. 519. Reisk.

(*Lysias* ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους χρημάτων. *Aristophanes* was put to death about five years after the victory at Cnidus: Lys. p. 154, 28. ἐν τέτταρσιν ἢ πέντε ἔτεσι—τραγῳδοῖς δις χορηγήσας—καὶ τρία ἔτη τριηραρχήσας, κ. τ. λ. And this cause followed soon after ; about the year of Antipater or Pyrrhion, or perhaps a year or two later. see col. 2.) *Conon* was now dead: Lys. p. 155, 22. ὁ Κόνωνος θάνατος καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι ἃς διέθετο ἐν Κύπρῳ. In Thucydides and Xenophon, the first mention of *Conon* is in B. C. 413, when he commanded in Naupactus: Thucyd. VII. 31. And the last is in B. C. 392, when he was imprisoned by *Tribazus*: Xen. Hel. IV. 8, 16. He seems to have died soon afterwards, of sickness, at Cyprus. Lys. p. 155, 28.

Callisthenes ὁ ἱστοριογράφος τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σὺνταξιν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γενομένης εἰρήνης—ἤρκεται γράφειν. διελθὼν δὲ τριακονταετῇ χρόνον, ἔγραψε μὲν βιβλούς δέκα, τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν κατέπαυσε τῆς συντάξεως εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Φιλομήλου κατάληψιν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ. Diod. XIV. 117. Compare Diod. XVI. 14.

4. POETS.

Aristophanis Πλούτος β'. Arg. Plut. III. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀντιπάτρου [Feb. or March B. C. 388]· ἀνταγωνιζομένου αὐτῷ Νικοχάρους μὲν Λάκωσιν Ἀριστομένους δὲ Ἀδμήτῳ Νικοφώντος δὲ Ἀδωνίδι Ἀλκαίῳ δὲ Πασιφάῃ. τελευταίαν δὲ διδάξας τὴν κωμωδίαν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ συνστήσαι Ἀραρότα δι' αὐτῆς τοῖς θεαταῖς βουλούμενος, τὰ ὑπόλοιπα δύο δι' ἐκείνου καθήκε, Κώκαλον καὶ Αἰολοσίκωνα. Compare Anonym. Vit. Aristoph. p. xxxviii. Beek. Ἀριστοφάνης μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον παῖδας καταλιπὼν τρεῖς, Φίλιππον—καὶ Νικόστρατον καὶ Ἀραρότα, δι' οὓς καὶ ἐδίδαξε τὸν Πλούτον. The words, therefore, δι' αὐτῆς, in Arg. Plut. are not to be expunged, as the editor of Porson. Aristophanic. supposes. In the Πλούτος β' *Aristophanes* was the poet, or διδάσκαλος, and *Araros* was the actor, like *Callistratus* in the Βαβυλώνιοι or *Philonides* in the Σφήκες. In the Κώκαλος and Αἰολοσίκων (τὰ ὑπόλοιπα δύο) *Araros* would be the διδάσκαλος. whence Clemens Strom. VI. p. 628. D. τὸν Κώκαλον τὸν ποιηθέντα Ἀραρότι τῷ Ἀριστοφάνους νικῇ. [sic leg. cum Casaub.] According to Platonius p. xi. *Aristophanes* himself was the διδάσκαλος of the Αἰολοσίκων.—τὸν γοῦν Αἰολοσίκωνα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν. But, as there were two dramas of the name [conf. Athen. IX. p. 372. a], the author of Arg. Plut. must be understood of Αἰολοσίκων δεύτερος.

In the year of the Βάτραχοι [B. C. 405] there were three comic prizes, but it seems implied that there was now only one, as no mention is made of the second and third. And the ten χορηγοὶ supplied only five competitors for comedy (all of whom were named in the register). For so we may interpret σύνδυο χορηγεῖν Schol. Ran. 406. with Dr. Elmsley apud Dindorf. Aristoph. tom. VII. Part. I. p. 247.

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>archon: Θεόδωρος ἐφ' οὗ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. And Diodorus XIV. 110. or rather Callisthenes, apud Diod. XIV. 117. The treaty seems to have been concluded in the beginning of the year of Theodotus; about autumn: because the Mantinean war, which was carried on in the archonship of Mystichides, was in the second year after the peace; and because the restoration of Platæa, accomplished <i>after</i> the treaty, took place nevertheless in the year of the treaty, as Pausanias implies.</p>
386.	98, 3. <i>Mystichides</i> . Diod. XV. 2.	<p>Restoration of <i>Platæa</i>: ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἦν πρὸς βασιλέα γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔπραξεν Ἀνταλκίδας—τῶν Πλαταιέων κατελθόντων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. Pausan. IX. 1, 3. Platæa was restored in consequence of the measures of <i>Agésilas</i> with the Thebans. conf. Xen. Hel. V. 1, 33. In the year of <i>Theodotus</i>; as it should seem, from the account of Pausanias.</p>
385.	98, 4. <i>Dexitheus</i> . Diod. XV. 8. Plutarch. Mor. p. 345. D. Inscript. apud Chandler. conf. a. 384.	<p>Siege of <i>Mantineia</i> by <i>Agesipolis</i>: Xen. Hel. V. 2, 1—7. Related by Pausanias VIII. 8, 5. Diodorus XV. 5. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μυστιχίδου—(Λακεδαιμόνιοι) οὐδὲ δύο ἔτη φυλάξαντες τὰς κοινὰς σπονδὰς, πλησιόχωρον οὖσαν τὴν τῶν Μαντινέων πόλιν—ὑπώπτεισαν αὐτῆς τὴν αὔξησιν. διὸ—προσέταττον τὰ τεῖχη καθελεῖν, κ. τ. λ.—About spring: and about eighteen months after the conclusion of the peace. Wherefore we may date the siege towards the close of the year of Mystichides, and the peace in the beginning of the year of Theodotus. This appears to be the war, in which <i>Pelopidas</i> and <i>Epaminondas</i> served together, and were both wounded, and rescued by <i>Agesipolis</i>: Plutarch. Pelopid. c. 4. supposed by Palmerius Exercit. p. 195. to be a war unnoticed by Xenophon. The fall of Mantineia is mentioned by Isocrates Panegy. c. 35. p. 67. a. de Pace c. 33. p. 179. c.</p> <p>Great sea fight between <i>Evagoras</i> and the Persians: in the year of Mystichides. Diod. XV. 2. After the peace of Antalcidas. This appears from the order observed in the narrative of Theopompus in the XIIth book of his <i>Philippics</i>, of which an abstract is given by Photius Cod. 176. p. 389. περιέχει ὁ δωδέκατος λόγος—περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἦν αὐτὸς (ὁ βασιλεὺς) τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐβράβευσεν ὅπως τε πρὸς Εὐαγόραν ἐπικρατέστερον ἐπολέμει, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχίας· καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναίων ἡ πόλις ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα συνθήκαις ἐπειράτο ἐμμένειν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπέρογκα φρονούντες παρέβαινον τὰς συνθήκας.</p>
384.	Ol. 99. <i>Diotrephes</i> . Diod. XV. 14. Dionys. ad Amm. p. 727. Reisk. Chandler. Inscr. Ant. P. 2. No. *V. p. xx. 46. τὰδε παρέδωσαν οἱ ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ οἱ ἐπὶ Δεξιφροῦς ἀρχοντος] ταμίαις τοῖς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ Δεξιφροῦς Elmsley ad Eur. Med. p. 139, shews that the name of this archon	<p>Pausan. V. 8, 3. ἐνάτῃ ἤρρεσεν Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ πῶλων ἄρμασιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ Συβαριάδης τὸν στέφανον τῶν πῶλων ἔσχε τοῦ ἄρματος.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>The orator <i>Androtion</i> began about this time to engage in public affairs. <i>conf. a. 355.</i> <i>Androtion</i> was a pupil of <i>Isocrates</i>: <i>Suidas.</i> Ἀνδροτίων Ἀνδρωνος, Ἀθηναῖος, ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγός, μαθητὴς Ἰσοκράτους. <i>Schol. in Hermogen. p. 401.</i> Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἀνδροτίωνα· καὶ ἦν, ὥς φησιν ὁ ῥήτωρ [<i>Demosth. in Androtion. p. 594</i>], τεχνίτης τοῦ λέγειν.</p>	
<p><i>Ctesias</i> the historian remained till this time at the court of Persia. <i>cf. a. 401.</i> <i>Lysiae</i> κατὰ Θεομνήστον. <i>Lys. p. 116, 26.</i> ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔτη εἰσὶ τριάκοντα τρία, ἐξ ὅτου δ' ὑμεῖς κατέληλύθατε, εἰκοστὸν τουτί. Perhaps, therefore, in the year of <i>Dexitheus</i>, who was the twentieth archon from <i>Pythodorus</i>. <i>Birth of Aristotle</i>: <i>Apollod. apud Laërt. V. 9.</i> γεννηθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. <i>Dionys. ad Amm. p. 727. Reisk.</i> ἐγεννήθη κατὰ τὴν ἐνενηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην ὀλυμπιάδα, Διοτρεφοῦς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχοντος, γ' ἔτεσι Δημοσθένους πρεσβύτερος. [<i>sic legendum cum Wolfio.</i>]</p>	

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	should be written Διει- τρέφης.	
383.	99, 2. <i>Phanostratus</i> . Diod. XV. 15. Ptolem. μεγ. συντάξ. IV. 11. cf. Corsin. Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 297.	
382.	99, 3. <i>Evander</i> . De- mosth. Timocrat. p. 743. Reisk. Ptolem. μεγ. συν- τάξ. IV. 11. cf. Wess. ad Diod. XV. 20. <i>Me- nander</i> Diod. XV. 20.	First campaign of the Olynthian war. Xen. Hel. V. 2,—23—24. Early in the year. In the archonship of Phanostratus. Diod. XV. 19. <i>Phæbidas</i> seizes the Cadmea, θέρους ὄντος. Hel. V. 2, 29. ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Μενάνδρου. Diod. XV. 20.—At the time of the <i>Pythia</i> : Aristid. tom. I. p. 258. Jebb. Πυθίων ὄντων ἡ Καδμεία κατελήφθη. <i>Teleutias</i> marched to Olynthus after that event. Hel. V. 2, 37—38. And yet he withdrew, τοῦτο στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος. Ibid. 2, 43. Mr. Mitford, in a judicious note, Hist. of Greece vol. VI. p. 120. is with reason dissatisfied with Dodwell Ann. Xen. p. 266. <i>Amyntas</i> was at this time king of Macedonia: Isocrat. Paneg. c. 35. p. 67. a. (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) νῦν Ὀλυνθίους καὶ Φλιασίους πολιορκοῦσιν, Ἀμύντα δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ—συμπράττουσι.
381.	99, 4. <i>Demophilus</i> . Diod. XV. 22.	Second campaign of the Olynthian war: ἅμα τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαινόμενος. Xen. Hel. V. 3, 1. <i>Teleutias</i> slain: 3, 3—6. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Μενάνδρου—ὁ Τελεντίας ἔπεσε. Diod. XV. 20. 21. Therefore before midsummer.
380.	Ol. 100. <i>Pytheas</i> . Diod. XV. 23. Mar. Par. No. 70.	Third campaign of the Olynthian war. <i>Agesipolis</i> takes the command. Xen. Hel. V. 3, 8—9. Ibid. 3, 18. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησιπόλις εὐθὺς—ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει αὐτῶν, ἔφθειρε τὸν σῆτον. In the year of <i>Demophilus</i> : Diod. XV. 22. which is the correct date; but probably in the beginning of B. C. 380. See Note A. Siege of Phlius by <i>Agesilaus</i> ; ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος. Xen. Hel. V. 3, 10—17.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p><i>Antiphanes</i> began to exhibit : Proleg. <i>Aristoph.</i> p. xxx. Ἀντιφάνης—ἤρξατο διδάσκειν μετὰ τὴν 5ῃ ὀλυμπιάδα. "After Ol. 98" will place his earliest exhibitions in Ol. 99. He was at this time about 21 years of age. He still wrote comedy in B. C. 343, and probably in B. C. 330 (the year of his death), a period of more than fifty years. <i>Conf. ann.</i> 404. 331. Within this space he alludes to many contemporaries, whose time is known. In the Ὀμφάλη he mentions <i>Thearion</i> ; <i>Athen.</i> III. p. 112. c, who is noticed by <i>Aristophanes</i> in two of his later comedies ; <i>Athen.</i> <i>ibid.</i> and by <i>Plato Gorg.</i> p. 518. b. This was perhaps an early drama. In the <i>Τριταγωνιστῆς</i> <i>apud Athen.</i> XV. p. 643. d, are lines in praise of <i>Philoxenus</i> of <i>Cythera</i>, written, it should seem, soon after his death : and <i>Philoxenus</i> died B. C. 380 [<i>cf. annum</i>]. <i>Timotheus</i> (the dithyrambic poet) is ridiculed in the <i>Kaueis</i>. <i>Athen.</i> X. p. 433. c. In other pieces <i>Antiphanes</i> noticed <i>Callimædon</i>, <i>Misgolas</i>, <i>Sinopæ</i>, <i>Demosthenes</i>, <i>Adæus</i>. <i>conf. ann.</i> 348. 343.</p>
<p>Birth of <i>Demosthenes</i>. About the first month of the archon <i>Evander</i>, July B. C. 382 ; since he had completed his sixteenth year in the last month of <i>Polyzelus</i> June B. C. 366, was reckoned eighteen in the beginning of the year of <i>Timocrates</i> B. C. 364, twenty-seven in the archonship of <i>Callistratus</i> B. C. 355, and is called sixty at his death, in the fourth month of <i>Philocles</i> Oct. B. C. 322. See <i>Appendix c.</i> 20.</p>	
<p><i>Isocratis Πανηγυρικός</i>. During the siege of <i>Phlius</i> ; and before the <i>Olynthian</i> war was ended : and before the recovery of the <i>Cadmea</i>. <i>Panegyr.</i> c. 35. p. 67. a. This oration was therefore published before B. C. 379, and after the beginning of B. C. 380.</p>	<p>Death of <i>Philoxenus</i> : Mar. Par. No. 70... οὐ Φιλόξενος διθυραμβοποιὸς τελευτᾷ βιοῦς ἐτῆ ΙΔΠ, ἐτῆ ΗΔΠΙ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Πυθέου. <i>cf. a.</i> 398.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
106		<p>The death of <i>Agesipolis</i> happens κατὰ θέρου ἀκμήν. Xen. Hel. V. 3, 19. in the year of Pytheas. Diod. XV. 23. fourteen years after the death of <i>Lysander</i>, and nine before the battle of Leuctra. Ἀγησίπολις — βασιλεύσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα.—Κλεόμβροτος—ἔτη ἐννέα. Diod. XIV. 89. XV. 23. 55. <i>Polybiades</i> is sent to succeed <i>Agesipolis</i>: ἀντ' ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἐκπέμπουσιν. Xen. Hel. V. 3, 20.</p> <p><i>Evagoras</i> in Cyprus is pressed by the Persians, in the sixth year after the great sea fight, in which he was defeated: Isocrat. Paneg. c. 39. p. 69. e. κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν προδεδυστύχηκεν,—ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ δύναται περιγενέσθαι βασιλεὺς πολέμων, ἀλλ' ἤδη μὲν ἐξ ἑτῆ διατέτριφεν. See Appendix c. 12. Cyprian war.</p>
379.	100, 2. <i>Nicon</i> . Diod. XV. 24. Dionys. Lys. p. 479. Reisk.	<p><i>Polybiades</i> finishes the Olynthian war: Xen. Hel. V. 3, 26. In the year of Pytheas: πλείοσι μάχαις νικήσας συνέκλεισε τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους εἰς πολιορκίαν Diod. XV. 23. — παντάπασι κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους — ἠνάγκασε πέμψαι περὶ εἰρήνης Xen. Hel. V. 3, 26. Towards the end, therefore, of the year of Pytheas. Surrender of <i>Phlius</i> after a siege of twenty months:—ἐν ὅκτῳ μηνὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ. Hel. V. 3, 25.</p> <p>The <i>Cadmea</i> is recovered by the Theban exiles. Xen. Hel. V. 4, 1—9. In the winter:—ἦν νιφέτος Plutarch. Pelopid. c. 9.—μάλᾳ χειμῶνος ὄντος Xen. Hel. V. 4, 14. A little after the Phliasian war: Plutarch. Agesil. c. 24. ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν Φλιασίοις πεπολεμηκῶς (Ἀγησίλαος.) This enterprise is made the subject of a dialogue of Plutarch, entitled περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου. Plutarch. Mor. p. 575. A.—598. F. but which might be more fitly called περὶ τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων. the main action of the piece being the return of the Theban exiles.</p>
378.	100, 3. <i>Nausinicus</i> . Diod. XV. 25. Dionys. Lys. p. 479. Demosth. Androt. p. 606. Reisk. Neær. p. 1367. Harpoer. v. συμμορία.	<p><i>Cleombrotus</i> marches into Boeotia in the middle of winter: Xen. Hel. V. 4, 14. Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσιν, τότε πρῶτον ἡγούμενον, μάλᾳ χειμῶνος ὄντος. [the winter of the year of <i>Nicon</i>.] Attempt of <i>Sphodrias</i> upon the Piræus: V. 4, 20. compare 4, 16. Expedition of <i>Agesilaus</i> into Boeotia. V. 4, 35.</p> <p>Dodwell rightly observes the order of these transactions: Ann. Xen. p. 269. Medio tempore insidiatus est (<i>Sphodrias</i>) inter reditum <i>Cleombroti</i> et expeditionem quam hoc anno fecit <i>Agesilaus</i>.</p>
377.	100, 4. <i>Callias</i> . Diod. XV. 28. Mar. Par. No. 71. Vetus Marmor apud Corsin. cf. a. 376.	<p>Second expedition of <i>Agesilaus</i> into Boeotia: ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη. Xen. Hel. V. 4, 47. The Thebans, at the end of this campaign, had been μάλᾳ πιεζόμενοι σπάνει σίτου, διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Hel. V. 4, 56. Diodorus XV. 25. has dated the beginning of this war a year too low; ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου. And has contracted the two expeditions of <i>Agesilaus</i> into one. conf. XV. 28—32.</p>
376.	Ol. 101. <i>Charisander</i> . Oderici Marmor. Didascal. Vetus Marmor apud Corsin. Not. Græcor. p. c—ciii. Fast. Att.	<p>Third campaign: ὑποφαλινόντος πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος. Xen. Hel. V. 4, 58.—Ib. 4, 59. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάλιν φρουρὰν τε ἔφαινον τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. <i>Chabrias</i> τὴν περὶ Νάξου ναυμαχίαν ἐνέκα. Demosth. Aristocrat. p. 686.—in the year of the command of <i>Cleombrotus</i>. Xen. Hel. V. 4, 61.—in September: Plutarch. Camill.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Cephalus</i> the orator moves the decree at Athens for assisting the Theban exiles, after the recovery of the <i>Cadmea</i>: <i>Dinarch.</i> in <i>Demosth.</i> p. 95, 12. —Κεφάλου τούτου ψήφισμα γράψαντος, ὃς οὐ καταπλαγείς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμιν—ἐγραψεν ἐξιέναι βοηθήσοντας Ἀθηναίους τοῖς κατελιηφόσι τῶν φυγάδων Θήβας.</p>	
<p>Death of <i>Lysias</i>: <i>Dionys. Lys.</i> p. 479. <i>Reisk.</i> τελευτᾷ ὀγδοηκονταετῆς γενόμενος, ἐπὶ Νίκωνος, ἢ ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκου ἀρχontos. <i>Vit. X. or.</i> p. 836. A. ἐτελεύτησεν ὀγδοήκοντα τρία ἔτη βιούς ἢ, ὥς τινες, ἐξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἢ, ὥς τινες, ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα. <i>Nicon</i> is the eightieth archon from <i>Philocles</i>, exclusive of <i>Philocles</i>. <i>Lysias</i> seems to have died at the end of the year of <i>Nicon</i>, or beginning of <i>Nausinicus</i>, when he would just have passed his eightieth year.</p>	
<p><i>Demosthenes</i> left an orphan, in his seventh year: οὐμὸς πατὴρ κατέλιπεν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ἑτῶν ὄντα. <i>Demosth. Aphob. I.</i> p. 814. whence it is repeated by <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Demosthen.</i> c. 4. and by the author of <i>Vit. X. or.</i> p. 844. A. The father died in the</p>	<p><i>Anaxandrides</i>, the comic poet, flourished: <i>Mar. Par. No. 71.</i> ἀφ' οὗ Ἀναξανδρίδης ὁ κωμ Ἀθήνησι Καλλέον. The Marble probably recorded his first dramatic victory. The date is confirmed by <i>Suidas</i> v. Ἀναξανδρίδης.</p>

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	<p>tom. III. p. 303. τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Καλλέου, Χαρισάνδρου, Ἰπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδου. (the archons of the years B. C. 377—374.) <i>Chariander</i> apud Diod. XV. 36.</p>	<p>c. 19. τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον. Idem Phocion. c. 6. ἐνικῶν μεγάλους μυστηρίους, τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος [Sept. 9]. Therefore in the year of <i>Charisander</i>: and Diodorus is inaccurate in placing the action ἐπὶ Καλλίου. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 303. ascribes this victory to the year of Callias, with Diodorus. <i>Eusebio quoque</i> (he observes) <i>celebris illa victoria Olymp. 100. 4. contigisse dicitur</i>. But Eusebius is not to be trusted for so nice a point: and the joint authorities of Eusebius and Diodorus together are insufficient, when contradicted by the course of events as they are described by a contemporary. The battle at Naxos was fought in the year of the command of <i>Cleombrotus</i>: conf. Xenoph. Hel. V. 4, 58—62. and therefore could not have happened in September of the preceding year B. C. 377. or <i>Boëdromion</i> of the archon <i>Callias</i>. Dodwell Ann. Xen. p. 271. whose opinion Corsini rejects, had more justly appreciated the value of Diodorus and Eusebius upon this point.</p> <p><i>Phocion</i> was distinguished in this battle: Plutarch. Phocion. c. 6. νέος ὦν Χαβρία προσέμιξεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ στρατηγῷ, καὶ παρέλπετο—ὄθεν ὁ Χαβρίας ἡγάπα καὶ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πράξεις. καὶ τῆς περὶ Νάξου ναυμαχίας—δόξαν οὐ μικρὰν Φωκίῳ περιεποίησε· τοῦ γὰρ ἐυωνύμου κέρως ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. As he was eighty years of age at the time of the Lamian war B. C. 323 (cf. Plutarch. Phocion. c. 42), he was now about twenty-seven.</p> <p><i>Tenth</i> and last year of the war between <i>Evagoras</i> and <i>Artaxerxes</i>. For it lasted <i>ten</i> years; Isocrat. Evag. c. 23. p. 201. e. <i>Εὐαγόρα πολέμησας ἔτη δέκα</i>. and B. C. 380 was the <i>sixth</i> year. Diodorus XV. 9. agrees in the duration the war, ten years, but differs in the date. See Appendix c. 12. <i>Cyprian war</i>.</p>
375.	<p>101, 2. <i>Hippodamas</i>. Oderici Marm. Didasc. Vet. Marm. ap. Corsin. cf. a. 376. <i>Hippodamus</i> Diod. XV. 38.</p>	<p>The Lacedæmonians send <i>Cleombrotus</i>, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας, to oppose the Thebans in Phocis. Xen. Hel. VI. 1, 1. <i>Polydamas</i> of <i>Thessaly</i> comes to Sparta, σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. 1, 2.—while <i>Cleombrotus</i> is still in Phocis. conf. VI. 1, 13. (VI. 1, 5. Schneid.) On the arrival of the Lacedæmonian forces in Phocis, οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν, ἐφύλασσον τὰς ἐσβολάς. Hel. VI. 2, 1.</p>
374.	<p>101, 3. <i>Socratides</i>. Diod. XV. 41. Demosth. Timoth. p. 1186. 1197.</p>	<p>The Athenians, jealous of the Thebans, πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἐς Λακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο. Εὐθὺς δ' ἐκείθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες—εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε. Xen. Hel. VI. 2, 1—2.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>archonship of <i>Charisander</i> B. C. 376. ten years before the δοκιμασία of the son, which was in the archonship of <i>Cephisodorus</i> B. C. 366. See <i>Appendix</i> c. 20.</p> <p>Euseb. <i>Ol.</i> 101. 1 anno 1640 [commencing Oct. B. C. 377] <i>Isocrates sophista adolescebat.</i> Melius Hieron. <i>agnoscitur.</i></p>	<p>Ἀναξ. γεγονὼς—ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ πρώτῃ. Olymp. 101. 1 would be only one year later than the archonship of <i>Callias.</i> <i>conf. a.</i> 347.</p>
<p><i>Hermeias</i> of <i>Methymnē</i> ends at the year of <i>Charisander</i>: <i>Diod.</i> XV. 37. τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἑρμείας ὁ Μηθυμναῖος τὴν τῶν Σικελικῶν σύνταξιν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστρεψε, γράψας βίβλους δέκα, ὥς δέ τινες διαιροῦσι, δώδεκα. <i>Conf.</i> <i>Athen.</i> X. p. 438. c. Ἑρμείας ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἐν τρίτῃ Σικελικῶν.</p>	<p><i>Eubulus</i> exhibited comedy in Olymp. 101. <i>Suidas</i>: Εὐβουλος—Ἀθηναῖος, υἱὸς Εὐφράνορος, κωμικός, ἐδίδαξε δράματα ρθ'. ἦν δὲ κατὰ ρα' ὀλυμπιάδα, μεθόριος τῆς μέσης κωμῆδος καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς. <i>Eubulus</i> still continued to write comedy in the time of <i>Callimedon</i> ὁ Κάραβος, whom he ridiculed in the Ἀνασωζόμενοι. <i>Athen.</i> VIII. p. 340. d.</p> <p><i>Araros</i> first exhibited:—<i>Suid.</i> Ἀραρῶς, Ἀθηναῖος, υἱὸς Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ κωμικοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς κωμικός, διδάξας τὸ πρῶτον ὀλυμπιάδι ρα'. <i>Araros</i> had been introduced to the public by his father 13 years before. <i>conf. a.</i> 388.</p> <p>The exhibitions of <i>Eubulus</i>, <i>Araros</i>, and <i>Anaxandrides</i> [<i>cf. a.</i> 376], poets of the middle comedy, being referred by the grammarians to the 101st Olympiad, and those of <i>Antiphanes</i> being after the 98th [<i>cf. a.</i> 383], we may infer from hence the period at which the middle comedy was reckoned to commence.</p>
<p><i>Isocratis</i> Πλαταικός. The <i>Plataeans</i> had recourse to Athens, upon their expulsion by the <i>Thebans</i>, in the present year: <i>Xenoph.</i> <i>Hel.</i> VI.</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	Neær. p. 1356. Vetus Marmor ap. Corsin. cf. a. 376.	<p><i>Timotheus</i> returning from Coreyra, at the end of this year, τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. VI. 2. 2. which gave occasion to a renewal of the war between Athens and Lacedæmon: called, on that account, Demosth. Neær. p. 1357, τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον.</p> <p><i>Platea</i> had been already destroyed: Xen. Hel. VI. 3, 1. ἐκπεπτωκότας ὀρώντες ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας Πλαταιάς, καὶ καταπεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτούς. (τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.) Placed by Diodor. XV. 41. 46. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Σωκρατίδου. It might have happened in the course of the summer B. C. 374, in the very beginning of the year of Socratides. Pausanias IX, 1, 3. places this event in B. C. 373.—ἐγένετο ἡ ἄλωσις Πλαταιᾶς ἡ δευτέρα μάχης μὲν τρίτῃ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις ἔτει πρότερον, Ἀστείου δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος. But this is one year too low, and inconsistent with the narrative of Xenophon: unless the final destruction of the city was one year later than the expulsion of the inhabitants.</p> <p>Death of <i>Evagoras</i>: in the year of Socratides. Diod. XV. 47.</p>
373.	101, 4. <i>Asteius</i> . Diod. XV. 48. Mar. Par. No. 72. Pausan. IX. 1, 3. VII. 25, 2. (ubi Ἀστείου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ρα' ὀλυμπιάδος.) Demosth. Timoth. p. 1190. 1192. 1202. Neær. p. 1357. Ἀρισταῖος apud Aristot. Meteor. I. 6. p. 535. E.	<p><i>Timotheus</i> is appointed to oppose <i>Mnasippus</i> at Coreyra. Xen. Hel. VI. 2, 4.—11. But, before he sails, is superseded by <i>Iphicrates</i>: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι—παύσαντες αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας Ἰφικράτην ἀνθαιροῦνται. 2, 13. This is confirmed by Demosthenes in Timoth. p. 1186. 1187. who marks the date: μέλλων ἐκπλεῖν ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδου ἄρχοντος, μουνυχιῶνος μηνός,—[April B. C. 373]—ἀπεχειροτονήθη ὑφ' ὧν στρατηγός. When <i>Iphicrates</i> arrived at Coreyra, <i>Mnasippus</i> was already slain. Xen. Hel. VI. 2, 27—31.—having besieged Coreyra for more than two months. conf. 2, 16. <i>Callistratus</i> and <i>Chabrias</i> were the colleagues of <i>Iphicrates</i>: VI. 2, 39. This is the war spoken of, Demosth. Neær. p. 1357. by the name of τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον—ἦν δὲ ὁ χρόνος, ᾧ Ἀστεῖος ἦν ἄρχων Ἀθήνησιν. <i>Iphicrates</i>, therefore, arrived, and conducted the war, after midsummer B. C. 373.</p> <p>Trial of <i>Timotheus</i>, ἐν τῷ μαιμακτηριῶνι μηνὶ τῷ ἐπ' Ἀστείου ἄρχοντος [November B. C. 373]: Demosth. Timoth. p. 1190. See col. 3.</p>
372.	Ol. 102. <i>Alcisthenes</i> . Diod. XV. 50. Dionys. Lys. p. 479. Demosth. Neær. p. 1357. Timoth. p. 1193. 1201. 1202. 1203.	<p><i>Timotheus</i> goes to Asia, περὶ θαρρηλιῶνα μῆνα ἐπ' Ἀστείου ἄρχοντος [May B. C. 372]: Demosth. Timoth. p. 1192. <i>Iphicrates</i> still continues in the command of a fleet in the Ionian sea, till the period of the congress at Sparta, in the year of Alcisthenes. Compare Xenoph. Hel. VI. 2, 38—39. VI. 3, 3. VI. 4, 1.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>3, 1. Their cause is advocated in this oration. Wolfius ad orat. initium, annot. p. 697. remarks, <i>Platæarum excidium bello Peloponesiaco Thucydides lib. 3 exponit. Sed de hoc altero non memini me quicquam legisse.</i> and thinks (in argumento) that this piece was written by <i>Isocrates</i> merely <i>styli exercendi causa</i>. But, if Wolf had remembered the real history in Xenoph. Hel. VI. 3, 1. Diod. XV. 46. Pausan. IX. 1., he might have judged otherwise.</p> <p>Hieronymus apud Euseb. Chron. Ol. 101. 3. <i>Plato et Xenophon, necnon et alii Socratici clari habentur.</i> Placed by Eusebius himself at Ol. 101. 4 anno 1643. At that year, commencing Oct. B. C. 374, <i>Plato</i> is in his 55th or 56th year : conf. a. 347.</p>	
<p><i>Callistratus</i> the orator, and <i>Iphicrates</i> prosecute <i>Timotheus</i> in Mæmacterion of the archon <i>Asteius</i>. <i>Timotheus</i> is supported by <i>Jason of Pheræ</i>, and <i>Alcetas</i>; by whose influence he is acquitted : Demosth. Timoth. p. 1187. ἀπεχειροτονήθη μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν στρατηγός, διὰ τὸ μὴ περιπλεῦσαι Πελοπόννησον, ἐπὶ κρίσει δὲ παρεδέδοτο εἰς τὸν δῆμον, αἰτίας τῆς μεγίστης τυχῶν· ἐφειστήκει δ' αὐτῷ Καλλίστρατος καὶ Ἰφικράτης, τῷ τε πράττειν καὶ εἰπεῖν δυνάμενοι—αὐτὸν δὲ ἐξαιτουμένων μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ οἰκείων αὐτοῦ ἀπάντων, ἔτι δὲ Ἀλκέτου καὶ Ἰάσονος, συμμάχων ὄντων ὑμῖν, μόλις ἐπέσθητε ἀφεῖναι. The trial was in the year of <i>Asteius</i>: Ibid. p. 1190. ἀφικομένου γὰρ Ἀλκέτου καὶ Ἰάσονος ὥς τοῦτον ἐν τῷ μαιμακτηριῶνι μηνὶ τῷ ἐπ' Ἀστείου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τοῦτου.</p>	
<p>Among the most eminent orators of this period were <i>Leodamas</i>, <i>Callistratus</i>, <i>Aristophon</i> the <i>Aezenian</i>, <i>Cephalus</i> the <i>Colyttian</i>, <i>Thrasybulus</i> the <i>Colyttian</i> (cf. Demosth. Timocrat. p. 742. <i>Æschin.</i> Ctesiph. p. 73, 19), <i>Diophantus</i>. <i>Leodamas</i> is mentioned <i>Æschin.</i> Ctes. p. 73, 20. Demosth. Leptin. p. 501. (whence we learn that he was living in B. C. 355.) <i>Aristot.</i> Rhet. I. 7, 13.—Λεωδάμας κατηγορῶν Καλλιστράτου—καὶ Χαβρίου. II. 23, 25.—Λεωδάμας ἀπολογούμενος, κατηγορήσαντος Θρασυβούλου, ὅτι ἦν στηλῆτης γεγωνὸς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ἀλλ' ἐκκόψαι ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα “οὐκ ἐνδέχεσθαι,” ἔφη, “μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν πιστεύειν αὐτῷ τοὺς τριάκοντα, ἐγγεγραμμένης τῆς ἑξέθρας “πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.” From this incident it appears that <i>Leodamas</i> was already grown up, and capable of the duties of a citizen, in B. C. 404, which supposes him far advanced in years at the time</p>	<p><i>Astydamas</i> gains the prize in tragedy: Mar. Par. No. 72. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀστυδάμας Ἀθήνησιν ἐνίκησεν, ἔτη ΗΠΙΗΗ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀστέίου. [Feb. or March B. C. 372.] As the practice of the Marble is, to record the first victory of a poet, and as the elder <i>Astydamas</i> gained his first prize twenty-six years before (cf. a. 398), this must be understood of the younger <i>Astydamas</i>, son of the former. <i>Suidas</i> : Ἀστυδάμας ὁ νέος, υἱὸς τοῦ προτέρου, τραγικὸς καὶ αὐτός. καὶ . . .</p> <p>The younger <i>Astydamas</i> was the fifth in descent from the sister of the poet <i>Æschylus</i>. See <i>Introd.</i> p. xxxv. From the first exhibitions of <i>Æschylus</i> B. C. 499 to this first prize of the younger <i>Astydamas</i> B. C. 372 are 127 years, or nearly 32 years to a generation: a confirmation that the latter <i>Astydamas</i> is referred to by the Marble.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
371.	<p>102, 2. <i>Phrasiclides</i>. Diod. XV. 51. Demosth. Neær. p. 1357. Mar. Par. No. 73. Pausan. VIII. 27, 6. VI. 5, 2. <i>(ubi corrupte Φρασικαί- δου.)</i></p>	<p>Congress at Sparta. Thebes excluded from the treaty. Xen. Hel. VI. 3. in the year of <i>Alcisthenes</i>. Diod. XV. 50. Dionys. Lys. p. 479. <i>Leuctra</i> in the year of <i>Phrasiclides</i>: Φρασικλείδων μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ δευτέρας Pausan. VIII. 27, 6. ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἱσταμένον πέμπτῃ Plutarch. Camill. c. 19. Ages. c. 28. [July B. C. 371.] Mar. Par. No. 73. γένητο Θηβαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἣν ἐνίκων Θηβαῖοι, ἔτη ΗΠΙΗ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φρασικλείδων. There were twenty days between the treaty and the battle: Plutarch. Ages. c. 28. τῇ τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ σκιροφοριῶνος μηνὸς ἐποιήσαντο τὰς σπονδὰς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἡττήθησαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι διαγενομένων. The peace, therefore, was in the last month of <i>Alcisthenes</i>; whence, perhaps, in Demosth. Neær. p. 1357. it is dated ἐπὶ Φρασικλείδων ἄρχοντος. Dodwell inaccurately supposes the peace to have been concluded thirteen months before the battle. See <i>Appendix c. 11</i>. <i>Megalopolis</i> founded, in the year of the battle of <i>Leuctra</i>: Pausan. VIII. 27, 6. συνφύκησθαι ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις ἐνιαυτῷ τε τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ μηνί τε ὀλίγοις ὕστερον, ἢ τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις. Perhaps about January B. C. 370.</p>
370.	<p>102, 3. <i>Dyscinetus</i>. Diod. XV. 57. Pausan. IV. 27, 5. <i>Dysnicetus</i> Demosth. Steph. II. p. 1132. Reisk.</p>	<p><i>Agésilas</i> is sent into Arcadia: Xen. Hel. VI. 5, 10. φρουρὰν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Ἀγησίλαον δ' ἐκέλευεν ἡ πόλις ἡγεῖσθαι. After the restoration of <i>Mantineia</i>: VI. 5, 3—5.—and the foundation of <i>Megalopolis</i>. VI. 5, 6. 7. 11. The date of Pausanias therefore is verified by Xenophon. <i>Agésilas</i> was in the Mantinean territory in the winter: VI. 5, 20. καὶ γὰρ ἦν μέσος χειμῶν.—when the Thebans were expected: 5, 19. The winter, consequently, of the archon <i>Dyscinetus</i>: the winter of the first invasion of Laconia. <i>Jason of Pheræ</i> is slain, in the year of <i>Dyscinetus</i>: Diod. XV. 57. 60. a little before the <i>Pythian games</i>: ἐπιόντων Πυθίων Xen. Hel. VI. 4, 29. In the beginning, then, of the year of <i>Dyscinetus</i>; before the autumn. See <i>Appendix c. 1. Pythian games</i>.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>of the cause of Leptines, in B. C. 355. His accuser was the <i>Colyttian Thrasybulus</i>, in the opinion of Ruhnken. p. 143. but of this there are no distinct indications. The other orators are enumerated by Demosthenes de Cor. p. 301. γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος [the <i>Colyttian</i>, it should seem], ἕτεροι μυρίοι. Idem Fals. Leg. p. 436. πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ καιρῶν γεγόνασιν ἰσχυροὶ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, αὖθις Ἀριστοφῶν, Διόφαντος.</p>	
<p><i>Callistratus</i> and <i>Melanopus</i>, the orators, are present at the congress at Sparta: Xen. Hel. VI. 3, 3. Καλλίστρατος ὁ δημηγόρος παρῆν' ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἰφικράτει ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ, ἢ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν. οὕτως Ἀθήησιν τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης. <i>Melanopus</i> was one of the ambassadors. Hel. VI. 3, 2. He was the political opponent of <i>Callistratus</i>. conf. Plutarch. Demosth. c. 13. Aristot. Rhet. I. 14, 1. <i>Callistratus</i> and <i>Melanopus</i> are mentioned together in the <i>Πρωτεσιλαος</i> of Anaxandrides apud Athen. XV. p. 689. f.</p> <p>Ὁ περὶ τῆς Ἰφικράτους εἰκόνος λόγος πρὸς Ἀρμόδιον.—in the year of Phrasiclides. Falsely ascribed to <i>Lysias</i>, who died seven years before: Dionys. Lys. p. 479. μετὰ Ἀλκισθένην ἄρχοντα, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὤμοσαν, ἀποδοῦναι τὰ στρατεύματα Ἰφικράτης ἰδιώτης γίνεται· καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς εἰκόνος ἦν τότε, ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ πρότερον τῆς γραφῆς τετελευτηκότος Λυσίου. Aristot. Rhet. II. 23, 6. quotes this oration: and again, <i>ibid.</i> s. 8. Compare <i>Aristides</i> tom. II. p. 384, who mentions this oration—τὸν δὲ Ἰφικράτην σκόπει, ἄνδρα οὐ μεθόριον ῥήτορος καὶ στρατηγού· ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐφικνούμενον. ἄρ' οὖν διηλθές ποτ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπολογία·ν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς δωρεᾶς;—and gives some passages.</p>	
<p><i>Democritus</i> is now in his ninetieth year, at which age he died according to Diodorus XIV. 11. Δημόκριτος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐτελεύτησε βιώσας ἑνενήκοντα. although he erroneously dates the ninetieth year of <i>Democritus</i> at Olymp. 94. 1 B. C. 404. Placed also by Eusebius at Ol. 94. 2: Anno 1613 [commencing Oct. B. C. 404] <i>Democritus</i> obiit. For the death of <i>Democritus</i> conf. a. 357.</p>	

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	4. EVENTS.
369.	102, 4. <i>Lysistratus</i> . Diod. XV. 61. Plutarch. Mor. p. 839. D. Boeckh. Inser. Gr. in addendis p. 899. No. 85... υσιστράτου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ ος δεκάτης πρυτανείας, ἥ Ἀθηνιεύς ἐγραμμάτε... ροέδρων ἐπεψή. ἔε Εὐαγγελ.	<i>First invasion of Laconia.</i> The Thebans arrive at Mantinea, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει. Xen. Hel. VI. 5, 22. They enter Laconia, while it was still midwinter: Plutarch. Ages. c. 32. ἐρρύη πλείστος ἔαντοῦ καὶ μέγιστος τότε ὁ Εὐρώτας, χιόνων γενομένων. Idem Pelopid. c. 24. χειμῶνος μὲν ἦσαν αἱ περὶ τροπὰς ἀκμαί. They remained three months in Laconia: Plutarch. Agesil. c. 32. τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους ἐμμενηκότες. Diod. XV. 67. πάντα τὰ προειρημένα συντελέσαντες ἐν ἡμέραις ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε, ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. And it was still winter when they retired: Xen. Hel. VI. 5, 50. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι—ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας—τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνῆλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν ἦν. The whole duration of their stay in Peloponnesus was four months: Plutarch. Pelopid. c. 25. Apophthegm. p. 194. A. Polit. Præc. p. 817. F. The Messenians were restored during this first expedition: Diod. XV. 66. Pausanias IV. 27, 5. κατήλθον οἱ Μεσσηνιοί—Δυσκινήτῳ μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. That is, towards the end of the year of Dyscineus, in the beginning of B. C. 369. Confirmed by Isocrates Archidam. c. 24. p. 127. d. ἈΠΑΞ ἡττήθεντες, καὶ ΜΙΑΣ εἰσβολῆς γενομένης. and by Plutarch Pelopid. c. 24. Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστήσαντες—αὐτῆς τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ πλείστα—ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ—τὴν Μεσσηνίων χώραν νεμομένων Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποτερόμενοι, τοὺς παλαιούς Μεσσηνίους ἐκάλουν καὶ κατήγον.—and by the emphatic notice of Xenophon VII. 1, 27. who, in the next year, speaks of Messenia as then established. After the Thebans were withdrawn, the Athenians complete the treaty with Lacedæmon: Hel. VII. 1, 1—14. in B. C. 369. as Dodwell rightly fixes it. This treaty is mentioned by Callisthenes ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν apud Eustrat. ad Aristot. Eth. IV. 3, 23. quoted by Zell ad Aristot. l. c. and Schneider ad Xen. Hel. VI. 5, 33. <i>Polyphron of Pheræ slain:</i> ἄρξας ἓνα ἐνιαυτόν. Xen. Hel. VI. 4, 34. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Λυσιστράτου Diod. XV. 61. Diodorus, however, confounds Polydorus with Polyphron.— <i>Alexander of Pheræ παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.</i> Xenoph. Hel. VI. 4, 35. ἦρξεν ἔτη ἑνδεκα. Diod. XV. 61.
368.	Ol. 103. <i>Nausigenes</i> . Diod. XV. 71. Mar. Par. No. 75. <i>Oderici</i> Marm. Didasc.	The Thebans enter Peloponnesus: Xen. Hel. VII. 1, 15. just before ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια καταπλεῖ Λακεδαιμονίους. 1, 20. Μετὰ ταῦτα Θηβαῖοι μέιναντες οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἕκαστος οἴκαδε. 1, 22. In the spring: for the Syracusan succours went home τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος. Diod. XV. 70. And they had come, εἰς μῆνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰληφότες. Ibid. Embassy on the part of the king of Persia to negotiate a peace: Xen. Hel. VII. 1, 27. But, οὐ ξυνεχώρουν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Μεσσηνὴν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι. Xen. Ibid. This incidental allusion is the first notice that Xenophon ventures to take of that important transaction, the establishment of the independence of Messenia.
367.	103, 2. <i>Polyzelus</i> . Diod. XV. 75. Demosth. One-tor. I. p. 868. Dionys. Amm. p. 728.	Ἡ δευτέρα βοήθεια παρὰ Διονυσίου. Xen. Hel. VII. 1, 28. When their time of service was expired (—ὁ ἄρχων τῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἐξῆκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος 1, 28).— <i>Archidamus</i> gained the tearless victory: τὴν λεγομένην ἄδακρυν μάχην. Plutarch. Agesil. c. 33.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Eudoxus</i> flourished: Laërt. VIII. 90. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς (sc. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς. <i>fragmentum hoc omisit Heyn. Conf. Not. I.</i>) φησὶ τὸν Κνίδιον Εὐδοξον ἀκμάσαι κατὰ τὴν γ' καὶ ρ' Ὀλυμπιάδα· εὐρεῖν τε τὰ περὶ τὰς καμπύλας γραμμάς. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τρίτον ἄγων καὶ ν' ἔτος. He visited <i>Mausolus</i>: παρὰ Μαύσωλον ἀφικέσθαι Laert. VIII. 87. which agrees with this date.—and was recommended by <i>Agesilaus</i> to <i>Nectanebis</i>: συστατικὰς φέροντα παρ' Ἀγησιλάου πρὸς Νεκτάναβιν Ibid. which also is consistent with the 103d Olympiad.</p>	<p><i>Aphareus</i> began to exhibit tragedy: Vit. X. or. p. 839. D. ὁ δὲ Ἀφαρεὺς—ἐποίησε τραγῳδίας περὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ὧν ἀντιλέγονται δύο· ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ Λυσιστράτου διδάσκειν [Feb. or March B. C. 368], ἄχρι Σωσιγένους, ἐν ἔτεσιν εἰκοσιοκτὼ διδασκαλίας ἀστικὰς καθήκεν ἕξ, καὶ δις ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου καθείς, καὶ δι' ἐτέρων ἐτέρας δύο ληναϊκάς. <i>conf. u. 341.</i></p>
<p><i>Aristotle</i>, in his eighteenth year, or at the age of seventeen complete, came to Athens: Laërt. V. 9. Φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς,—παραβαλεῖν αὐτὸν Πλάτῳ, καὶ διατρίψαι παρ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἔτη,</p>	<p><i>Dionysius</i> gains the tragic prize with the <i>Λύτρα Ἑκτορος</i>. Diod. XV. 71. 74. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ναυσιγένους—Διονυσίου δεδιδαχότος Ἀθήνησι Ληναίοις τραγῳδίαν καὶ νικήσαντος. [Anthesierion, or Feb.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>described by Xenophon VII. 1, 29—32. Diodorus XV. 72. Embassy of <i>Pelopidas</i> to Persia: Xen. Hel. VII. 1, 33—37. After the victory of <i>Archidamus</i> (conf. 1, 35), and before the march of <i>Epaminondas</i> into Achaia, which was in consequence of its failure. VII. 1, 40. 41.</p> <p>Death of the elder <i>Dionysius</i>: Diod. XV. 73. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ναυσιγένους—ἐτελεύτησε, δυναστεύσας ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ. Mar. Par. No. 75. ἀφ' οὗ Διονύσιος Σικελιώτης ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Διονύσιος ἐτυράννευσεν καὶ Ἀλε . . ν . . . — λεύει ἔτη ΗΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Ναυσιγένους. He died after a dramatic victory at the <i>Lenæa</i>: Diod. XV. 74. consequently after Anthesterion, or the eighth month of Nausigenes [Feb. B. C. 367]. He was still living when the Syracusan auxiliaries were in Peloponnesus (ἡ δευτέρα βοήθεια Xen. Hel. VII. 1, 28): which also brings down his death to the end of the year of Nausigenes. When succours were sent a third time, in the next campaign B. C. 366, Xenophon Hel. VII. 4, 12. attests that <i>Dionysius</i> was dead: σχεδὸν περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον [the conclusion of the peace between Corinth and Thebes] τετελευτηκότος ἤδη τοῦ προτέρου Διονυσίου, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πέμπει βοήθειαν. The duration of his reign, 38 years, (in which Cicero agrees, conf. a. 406) is consistent with his accession in the middle of the year of <i>Callias</i>; between whom and Nausigenes are 37 archons.</p>
366.	103, 3. <i>Cephisodorus</i> . Diod. XV. 76. Demosth. Onetor. I. p. 868.	<p>Expedition of <i>Epaminondas</i> into Achaia: ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Πολυζήλου. Diod. XV. 75. After the return of the embassy from Persia: Xen. Hel. VII. 1, 41. αὐτὸς δ' Ἐπαμινώνδας, βουλευθεὶς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς προπαραγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, ἔγνωκε στρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν. Oropus ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων κατελήφθη. VII. 4, 1.—in the year of <i>Cephisodorus</i>: Diod. XV. 76. A defensive alliance is concluded between Athens and Arcadia: Xen. Hel. VII. 4, 2.—after the seizure of Oropus: Ibid. After this treaty (conf. 4, 6), Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes: VII. 4, 10.—which is spoken of by Diodorus XV. 76. as the peace made in the archonship of <i>Cephisodorus</i>, when ὁ Λακωνικὸς καὶ Βοιωτικὸς κληθεὶς πόλεμος κατελύθη, πλείω μέινας ἐτῶν πέντε, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν. Diodorus is accurate in the date of this peace, but has by mistake ascribed it to the intervention of <i>Artaxerxes</i>: for the rescript of <i>Artaxerxes</i>, procured by <i>Pelopidas</i>, had failed, as Xenophon had related VII. 1, 40. See Dodwell p. 284.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>ἑπτακαίδεκέτη συστάντα. Dionysius ad Ammæum p. 728. ἐπὶ Πολυζήλου ἄρχοντος, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ὀκτωκαίδεκατον ἔτος ἔχων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦλθε, καὶ συσταθεὶς Πλάτῳ χρόνον εἰκοσαετῇ διέτριψε σὺν αὐτῷ. Idem p. 733. συνῆν Πλάτῳ, καὶ διέτριψεν ἕως ἑτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. That is, till the death of Plato B. C. 347.</p> <p>Euseb. Ol. 103. 4 anno 1652 [from Oct. B. C. 365] <i>Aristoteles XVII annos natus Platonem audiebat.</i> Rightly placed by Hieronymus at Ol. 103. 2.</p>	<p>B. C. 367.] Tzetz. Chil. V. 178—181.</p> <p>οὗτος ὁ Διονύσιος πολλὰς μὲν τραγωδίας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἀναγνοὺς, δεύτερος, τρίτος ἦλθεν εἰς Λύτρα δὲ τοῦ Ἑκτορος καλούμενόν τι δράμα ἀναγνώσθην ἐνίκησε πάντας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις.</p> <p>He had already, therefore, gained the <i>second</i> and <i>third</i> places; which was no mean honour. The tragedies of Dionysius were read and quoted in after times. Thus Stobæus Florileg. 98, 30. Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου Ἀλκμήνης. 105, 2. Διονυσίου τυράννου ἐκ Λήδας. Florileg. 49, 9. he preserves a verse Διονυσίου τυράννου which is authenticated by Plutarch. Mor. p. 338. C. Eclog. I. 4, 19, he has two tragic lines Διονυσίου. Athen. IX. p. 401. f. Διονύσιος ὁ τύραννος ἐν τῷ Ἀδωνίδι. which Schweigh. (in Indice) without reason ascribes to <i>Dionysius junior</i>. Themistius, however, or. 9. p. 126. C. observes, ἐνέπλησε δραμάτων Σικελίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν σκίρην.</p> <p>A drama in which <i>Dionysius</i> satirized <i>Plato</i> is noticed by Tzetzes <i>ibid.</i> 182—185.</p> <p>ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Πλάτωνος δράματι γεγραμμένον, πλεον κομικωτέρῳ μὲν ἢ τραγωδίας ὄντι, δοκῶ τὸν στίχον ἔλεξεν —————</p> <p>“ αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἐμπαίζουσιν οἱ μωροὶ βροτῶν.”</p>
<p><i>Isocratis Ἀρχίδαμος.</i> Written at the juncture of the peace B. C. 366, to urge the Lacedæmonians ὑφίστασθαι οὐδέποτε, ἦν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον Μεσσήνην, ταύτης στέρηθῆναι. Xen. Hel. VII. 4, 9. Συνετάξατο Ἀρχιδάμῳ νέῳ μὲν ὄντι καὶ οὐπω βασιλεύοντι Dionys. Isocrat. p. 551. The oration itself attests that it was composed before the battle of Mantinea, and before the second invasion of Laconia: c. 24. p. 127. d. ἀπαξ ἡττηθέντες καὶ μιᾷς εἰσβολῆς γενομένης. (referring to <i>Leuctra</i>, and to the expedition in B. C. 369.) and it is affirmed that Agesilaus is still living: c. 3. p. 117. d. τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλεύοντος, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπίδοξος ὢν τυχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς. Nor is any thing discussed beyond the single question of the recovery of Messenia. Mr. Mitford, therefore, vol. VIII. p. 132. is not quite accurate, when he places this piece in B. C. 353, and considers it as an exposition by <i>king</i> Archidamus of future arrangements. He had already in vol. VI. p. 318. 319. placed it at the true period B. C. 366.</p> <p><i>Demosthenes ἐδοκίμασθη.</i> In the year of Cephisodorus: Demosth. Onet. I. p. 868. μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἄρχοντα [<i>Polyzelmus</i>] Κηφισόδωρος, Χίων ἐπὶ τούτων ἐνεκάλουν δοκιμασθεῖς. Ten years</p>	<p>117</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
365.	103, 4. <i>Chion</i> . Diod. XV. 77. Demosth. Onetor. I. p. 868. Oderici Marm. Didascal.	War of Arcadia and Elis. Μετὰ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι Λασιώνα. Xen. Hel. VII. 4, 12.—ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Χίωνος Diod. XV. 77.
364.	Ol. 104. <i>Timocrates</i> . Diod. XV. 78. Demosth. Onetor. I. p. 868. Dionys. Amm. p. 724. Plutarch. Mor. p. 844. C. 845. E. Schol. Æschin. p. 755. Reisk.	<p>Second campaign of the war of Arcadia and Elis: Xen. Hel. VII. 4, 19. οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀρκάδες ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατείαν ἐς τὴν Ἡλιν. <i>Archidamus</i> invades Arcadia: 4, 20. The Arcadians, ἐπιόντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους, παρεσκεύαζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὀλύμπια σὺν τοῖς Πισάταις VII. 4, 28. —ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Τιμοκράτους Ὀλυμπιάς δὲ ὑπὸ Πισάτων καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἤχθη τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν Diod. XV. 78. Hence this Olympiad was omitted in the Elean register: Pausan. VI. 4, 2. τὴν τετάρτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν οὐκ ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, διότι μὴ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ Πισαῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἔθεσαν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. conf. Pausan. VI. 22. 2.—Battle of Olympia, at the time of the games: Xen. Hel. VII. 4, 29—32.</p> <p>Pausan. V. 9, 5. ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος φυλαί τε Ἡλείους δώδεκα καὶ εἰς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης ἐγένετο Ἑλλανοδίκης. πεισθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων πολέμῳ μοῖραν τε ἀπέβαλον τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν δῆμων ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἀποτμηθείσῃ χώρᾳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐς ὀκτώ τε ἀριθμὸν φυλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης συνεστάλησαν Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς, καὶ Ἑλλανοδίκαι σφίσιν ἴσοι ταῖς φυλαῖς ἡρέθησαν.</p>
363.	104, 2. <i>Chariclides</i> . Diod. XV. 82. Plutarch. Mor. p. 845. E. Demosth. Midian. p. 572.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

after the death of his father. See *Appendix c.* 20.

Ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τοὺς τοὺς χρόνους [the year of Cephisodorus] ἄνδρες ἄξιοι μνήμης, Ἰσοκράτης τε ὁ ῥήτωρ—καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀναξίμενης ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Πλάτων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ τελευταῖοι [cf. Laërt. VIII. 46], Ξενοφῶν τε, ἐσχατόγηρως ὢν Ἀρίστυπός τε καὶ Ἀντισθένης· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σφήττιος ὁ Σωκρατικός. Diod. XV. 76. That *Antisthenes* survived the battle of Leuctra we know from Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 30.

Isæi περὶ τοῦ Φιλοκλήμονος κλήρου. Fifty-two years after the expedition to Sicily: *Is.* p. 57, 33. τῇ μὲν γὰρ στρατιᾷ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Σικελίαν, ἥδη ἔστι δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, ἀπὸ Ἀριμνήστου ἀρχοντος. Between *Arimnestus* and *Timocrates* are fifty-one archons. *Isæus*, the master of Demosthenes, flourished after the Peloponnesian war, and lived till the reign of *Philip*: *Dionys.* *Isæo* p. 586. Ἀθηναῖος ἦν τὸ γένος, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι γράφουσι, Χαλκιδεύς. [Δημήτριος αὐτὸν Χαλκιδεά φησὶν εἶναι. *Suid.*] ἤκμασε δὲ μετὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρομαι· καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου δυναστείας παρεξέτεινε [μετὰ τὸν Π. π.—καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φ. ἀρχῆς παρέτεινε *Vit.* X. or. p. 839. E. μετὰ τὸν Π. π. καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φ. διήρκεσεν ἀρχῆς *Phot.* *Bibl.* cod. 263. male κατὰ τὸν Π. πόλεμον *Anon. Vit. Isæi*]. γενέσεως δὲ καὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀκριβῆς χρόνον εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω· οὐδὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἷός τις ἦν.—οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράφας Ἑρμιππος—ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν, ἔξω δυοῖν τούτων, ὅτι διήκουσε μὲν Ἰσοκράτους, καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους, συνεγένετο δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων.

Demosthenis κατὰ Ἀφόβου.—ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους. [Aug. or Sept. B. C. 364.] *Demosth.* *Onet.* I. p. 868.—ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους ἀρχοντος *Vit.* X. or. p. 844. C. At eighteen years of age: ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν *Liban. Vit. Demosth.* p. 3. He had completed his 18th year in the first month of *Timocrates*. See *Appendix c.* 20.

Philistus τὰ περὶ Διονύσιον τὸν νεώτερον ὡς ἐκατέστροφεν [at the year of *Charicles*]: διελθὼν ἔτη πέντε ἐν βίβλοις δυσὶν. *Diod.* XV. 89. Began, therefore, at the archon *Nausigenes*. The remaining seven years of the reign of *Dionysius*

4. POETS.

Oderici *Marmorea* *Didascalia* fragm. 2. Ἐπὶ Χίωνος [Feb. or March B. C. 364] μαί Διονύσου Γοναί... *Lego* Διονύσου Γοναίς. ita inscribitur *POLYZELI* fabula, cujus meminit *Suidas*. *Oderic.* p. lxxxii. *Polyzelus* is thus described by *Suidas*: Πολύζηλος, κωμικὸς, δρᾶματα αὐτοῦ, Νίπτρα, Δημοτυνδάρεως [cf. *Poll.* X. 76. *Phot.* et *Suid.* v. τῶν τριῶν κακῶν ἐν. *Erotian.* p. 130. ubi legendum cum *Eustachio* οἶνον αὐτίτην—ὡς καὶ Πολύζηλος ἐν Δημοτυνδάρει], Μουσῶν γοναί [cf. *Athen.* IX. 370. f. *Zenob.* *Adag.* VI. 50. p. 168. *Poll.* VI. 168], Διονύσου γοναί [cf. *Poll.* X. 109], Ἀφροδίτης γοναί. But, in the *Δημοτυνδάρεως*, he ridiculed *Hyperbolus*: *Schol. Lucian.* *Timon.* tom. I. p. 100. *Bipont.* Ὑπερβόλῳ.) ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔθος τοῦ ὁστρακισμοῦ κατελύθη, ὡς Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ Νόμων λέγει. Πολύζηλος δὲ ἐν Δημοτυνδάρει Φρύγα αὐτὸν εἶναι εἰς τὸ βάρβαρον σκώπτων φησὶ. Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν Ὠραῖς ὡς παρελθόντος νέου τῷ βήματι μέμνηται καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Σφηξὶ καὶ Εὐπολὶς Πόλεσι· Πλάτων δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ Λυδὸν αὐτὸν φησὶν εἶναι. From the poets with whom *Polyzelus* is here named, and from his mention of *Hyperbolus*, it is probable that he flourished in those times, and belonged to the old comedy. If this be true, the *Διονύσου Γοναί* recorded in the *Marble* under the year of *Chion* would belong to some later poet, and not to *Polyzelus*.

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
362.	104, 3. <i>Molon</i> . Diod. XV. 90. Demosth. Polycl. p. 1207. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 665.	<p>Fourth expedition of <i>Epaminondas</i> into Peloponnesus. Xen. Hel. VII. 5, 4. Sparta is assaulted. 5, 9—13. Battle of <i>Mantineia</i>: VII. 5, 20—25. In the year of <i>Chariclides</i>: Plutarch. Mor. p. 845. E. Diod. XV. 82.—In <i>Scirophorion</i>: Plutarch. Mor. p. 350. Α. τὴν δὲ δωδεκάτην τοῦ Σκιροφοριῶνος ἱερωτέραν ἐποίησεν ὁ Μαντινιακὸς ἀγών. Whence we obtain June B. C. 362 for the date of the battle. Xenophon, however, mentions that the harvest was at hand: VII. 5, 14. σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης. But in the climate of Greece the harvest was early: "The corn in the plain of Athens, which is cut in May, is "very high at the beginning of March." Hobhouse's Travels p. 355. Ephorus appears to have described this battle in his 25th book: Laërt. II. 54. ὁ δὲ Γρύλλος [the son of <i>Xenophon</i>] τεταγμένος κατὰ τοὺς ἱππέας (ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη περὶ Μαντίνειαν) ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς φησιν Ἐφορος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ· Κηφισοδώρου μὲν ἱππαρχοῦντος Ἠγησίλεω δὲ στρατηγοῦντος.</p> <p>The transactions of Athens immediately afterwards are described by Demosthenes in Polycl. p. 1207. Reisk. ἐβδόμῃ φθίνοντος μεταγεινῶνος μηνός, ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἀρχοντος [Sept. B. C. 362], ἐκκλησίας γενομένης, καὶ εἰσαγγελθέντων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων, ἐψηφίσασθε τὰς ναῦς καθέλκειν τοὺς τριηράρχους—Τήνος μὲν καταληφθεῖσα ὑπ' Ἀλέξανδρου ἐξηνδραποδίσθη [<i>Alexander of Pheræ</i>], Μιλτοκύθης δ' ἀφειστήκει ἀπὸ Κότντος, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπετόμφει περὶ συμμαχίας.—ὧν ἀκούοντες ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἐψηφίσασθε βοηθεῖν ἑκασταχοῦ· καὶ ἐνίκησε τὸ Ἀριστοφῶντος ψήφισμα. This expedition was unsuccessful, and was followed by prosecutions of the trierarchs: Demosth. Coron. Naval. p. 1230. ὅτε τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἐνίκηθητε, τότε τῶν τριηράρχων τοὺς μεμισθωκότας τὰς τριηραρχίας—παρεδώκατε εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον,—καὶ κατηγορεῖ μὲν Ἀριστοφῶν, ἐδικάζετε δ' ὑμεῖς. The prosecutions were carried on in the year of <i>Nicophemus</i> B. C. 365. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 665. speaking of an oration πρὸς Μελήσανδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς τριηραρχίας, remarks,—ὁ μὲν λέγων ὡς ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἀρχοντος γεγεννημένου τοῦ ἀδικήματος ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον. φησὶ δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει εἰσιέναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐπὶ Νικοφῆμον ἀρχοντος. He seems to describe a cause connected with these proceedings.</p>
361.	104, 4. <i>Nicophemus</i> . Diod. XV. 95. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 638. 648. 665. Demosth. Steph. II. p. 1132. Macartat. p. 1059. Æschin. Timarch. p. 15, 28. Dod-	<p>A general peace; in which the Messenians are included. The Lacedæmonians, not consenting to this, μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρχον ἔκσπονδοι. Diod. XV. 89. Polybius IV. 33, 8. distinctly confirms Diodorus in these particulars: ἐκώλουν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετέχειν τῶν σπονδῶν Μεσσηνίου· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον διέσπενσαν Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ πάντες οἱ κοινωνοῦντες Ἀρκάδων τῆς αὐτῶν συμμαχίας, ὥστε Μεσσηνίου μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων προσδεχθῆναι, καὶ μετασχεῖν τῶν ὅρκων καὶ διαλύσειν,</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>were described by <i>Athanas</i>: Diod. XV. 94. τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἀθάνας [sic] ὁ Συρακούσιος τῶν περὶ Δίωνα πράξεων ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχάμενος [at the year of Molon B. C. 362] ἔγραψε μὲν βίβλους τρισκαίδεκα προσανέλαβε δὲ τὸν ἄγραφον χρόνον ἑτῶν ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Φιλοστοῦ συντάξεως ἐν μιᾷ βίβλῳ, καὶ διελθὼν τὰς πράξεις ἐν κεφαλαίοις συνεχῆ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐποίησεν. <i>Athanas</i> is quoted for the affairs of <i>Timoleon</i> by <i>Plutarch</i> <i>Timol.</i> c. 23. 37.</p>	
<p><i>Xenophon</i> τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σύνταξιν κατέστρεφεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπαμινώνδου τελευτήν. <i>Anaximenes</i>—τὴν πρώτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀνέγραψεν, ἀρχάμενος ἀπὸ Θεογονίας,—κατέστρεφε δ' εἰς τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην.—ἐν βίβλοις δώδεκα. Diod. XV. 89.</p> <p><i>Æschines</i> the orator (æt. 27) is present at Mantinea: <i>Fals. Leg.</i> p. 50, 39. τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην συνεμαχέσασθαι οὐκ αἰσχροῶς, οὐδ' ἀναξίως τῆς πόλεως.</p> <p><i>Aristophon</i> has a leading influence at Athens: see col. 2. He conducted the prosecutions against the trierarchs: <i>Demosth. Coron. Naval.</i> p. 1232. The <i>Azenian</i> seems to be spoken of. For he flourished from B. C. 403 to B. C. 355. cf. a. 355. He sustained in the course of his public life seventy-five impeachments: <i>Æschin. Ctes.</i> p. 81, 39. Ἀριστοφῶν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς—γραφὰς παρανόμων ἀπέφυγεν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε. He cultivated the Theban alliance: <i>Æschin. Ctes.</i> p. 73, 23. Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ Ἀζηνιεύς, πλείστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάξειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν. Whence we may conjecture that the <i>Azenian</i> is meant in <i>Demosth.</i> <i>Cor.</i> p. 281. εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα, καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον, πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πράξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν. Although, as the <i>Azenian</i> and the <i>Colyitian</i> were partly contemporary, we cannot in all cases determine which of the two is intended, when <i>Aristophon</i> is named; for example, in <i>Demosth.</i> <i>Fals. Leg.</i> p. 434. <i>Timocrat.</i> p. 703. <i>Eubulid.</i> p. 1308. it is doubtful which <i>Aristophon</i> is referred to by the orator.</p>	
<p>Birth of <i>Dinarchus</i> the orator; according to the conjecture of <i>Dionysius Dinarch.</i> p. 638. τίθεμεν δὴ αὐτὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔχοντα ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς κατεληλυθέναι· ὥς καὶ αὐτός φησι, γέροντα αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν.—ὑποκειμένων δὴ τούτων ὁλοσχερεῖ λογισμῷ, (τὸ γὰρ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχομεν,) εἴη ἂν κατὰ Νικόφημον ἄρχοντα γεγονώς. The seventieth</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
	<p>well Ann. Thucyd. p. 44. neglecting the text of Æschines to follow the corrupted Scholiast, refers this archon in Æschines to B. C. 482.</p>	<p>Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ μόνους ἐκσπόνδους γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Mr. Mitford, vol. VI. p. 375. who quotes Diodorus and Plutarch for the general peace, and quotes them with some distrust, omits this valuable and material testimony. Xenophon, in the last sentence of his history, speaks the language of a partisan of Lacedæmon. It was not strictly true that οὔτε χώρα, οὔτε πόλει, οὐτ' ἀρχῇ, οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλεονέχοντες ἐφάνησαν, ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι, ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἐτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. The Theban confederacy gained their great object, by establishing an effectual check to the power of Lacedæmon, and by securing the independence of Messenia. Plutarch, then, Agesil. c. 35. consistently with Polybius, implies that a general peace, of which the Messenians enjoyed the benefit, followed the battle of Mantinea.</p>
360.	<p>Ol. 105. <i>Callimedes</i>. Diod. XVI. 2. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. <i>Callidemides</i> Laërt. II. 56. <i>forte legendum Καλλιμήδους</i> apud Schol. Æschin. p. 755. Reisk.</p>	<p><i>Timotheus</i> repulsed at Amphipolis in the year of <i>Callimedes</i>: Schol. Æschin. p. 755. Τιμόθεος ἐπιστρατεύσας ἡττήθη ἐπὶ ΚΑΛΑΜΙΩΝΟΣ [leg. ΚΑΛΛΙΜΗΔΟΥΣ] ἀρχοντος. Demosthenes Aristocr. p. 669. 670. in his review of the acts of <i>Charidemus</i> adverts to this expedition:—Τιμόθεον ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Χερρόνησον ἐξεπέμψατε στρατηγόν—τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν Ἀμφίπολιν οὗτος [<i>Charidemus</i>] αἰτιώτατός ἐστιν. The course of events enumerated by the orator concurs with this date. The Olynthians were at this time enemies of Athens; and held Amphipolis:—ἐχουσιν Ἀμφίπολιν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον p. 669. Afterwards,—μετὰ ταῦτα—<i>Cotys</i> was assassinated: p. 674—<i>Chabrias</i> was sent, and then ten ambassadors, to arrange the affairs of Thrace: p. 677.—ἐκπεπλευκότων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων, συμβαίνει τοῖς χρόνοις—ὥστ' ἐβοηθοῦμεν εἰς Εὐβοίαν p. 678. The expedition to Eubœa was in B. C. 358. And the intermediate transactions, between the repulse at Amphipolis and the Eubœan expedition, might well have happened in the course of two years.</p> <p>Corsini Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 348, after various experiments, seems to acquiesce at last in the opinion that <i>Calamion</i> is a corruption of <i>Callimedes</i>.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>archon from Nicophemus is <i>Philippus</i> B. C. 292.</p> <p><i>Callistratus</i> is banished, in the beginning of the year of Nicophemus. In the fifth month of Nicophemus [November B. C. 361] he is spoken of as an exile. <i>Apollodorus</i>, the trierarch,—<i>ἤδη τέταρτον μῆνα ἐπιτριραρχῶν</i> Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1216.—was required <i>ἀγειν ἄνδρα φυγάδα, οὗ Ἀθηναῖοι θάνατον δις κατεψηφίσαντο, Καλλίστρατον ἐκ Μεθώ-νης εἰς Θάσον ὡς Τιμόμαχον τὸν κηδεστήν.</i> Id. p. 1221. confer Zenobium Adag. IV. 34. p. 89. <i>Apollodorus</i> served in the whole a year and five months; of which the five months belonged to his successor: Demosth. in Polycl. p. 1209. <i>ἐν πέντε μηνὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.</i> p. 1206. <i>περὶ τε διαδοχῆς νεώς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐπιτριραρχήματος πέντε μηνῶν καὶ ἑξ ἡμερῶν ἀνηλωμένον.</i> His proper period of service was a year; he had undertaken for his own six months, and the six months of his colleague;—<i>συντριράρχου.</i> For all the time beyond that period he claimed a compensation from his successor;—<i>διαδόχου.</i> p. 1219. <i>ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ τὸν τε ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ χρόνον [sc. τοὺς ἑξ μῆνας ibid.] καὶ τοῦ συντριράρχου λελειτούργηκώς</i> [the law requiring τοὺς ἑξ μῆνας ἑκάτερον πλείν p. 1227] <i>ἐπιτριράρχησα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.</i> He had now therefore served sixteen months; and his naval service had commenced in <i>Metagitnion</i> of the archon <i>Molon</i>: Ibid. p. 1207. Whence we collect that <i>Callistratus</i> was at Methonē in <i>Mæmacterion</i> of the archon <i>Nicophemus</i>.</p>	
<p><i>Theopompus</i> commenced his history from the year of <i>Callimedes</i>: Diod. XVI. 3. <i>Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν περὶ Φιλίππου ἱστοριῶν ἐντεῦθεν ποιησάμενος γέγραφε βίβλους ὀκτὼ πρὸς ταῖς πεντήκοντα.</i></p> <p>(<i>Isæi περὶ τοῦ Ἀγνίου κλήρου.</i> After the archonship of <i>Nicophemus</i>: for the cause originated in a suit which was prosecuted in that year. <i>Philomachē</i> gained the estate of <i>Hagnias</i>, in an action, in the year of <i>Nicophemus</i>: Demosth. Macart. p. 1059. <i>ἐνίκησε Φιλομάχη ἐπὶ Νικοφίμου ἀρχοντος.</i> Compare <i>Isæus</i> p. 84, 18—21. <i>Theopompus</i> sues <i>Philomachē</i>, and gains his cause: <i>Isæus</i> p. 85, 27. Demosth. Macartat. p. 1052. 1060. Out of this cause grew a third action, in which <i>Theopompus</i> is defended against another claimant, by <i>Isæus</i>, in this oration <i>περὶ τοῦ Ἀγνίου κλήρου.</i> At a subsequent period, the son of <i>Philomachē</i> while a minor became the client of <i>Demosthenes</i>; who composed for him the oration <i>πρὸς Μακάρατον</i>, in which he contends for the inheritance against the son of the client of <i>Isæus</i>. So that the master and the pupil advocate opposite interests upon this question, although with some interval of time. The oration of <i>Isæus</i> was written some time, perhaps some years, after the archonship of <i>Nicophemus</i>. cf. p. 84, 25. which confirms the fact that <i>Isæus</i> continued to flourish in the reign of <i>Philip</i>.)</p>	<p>123</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
359.	105, 2. <i>Eucharistus</i> . Diod. XVI. 4. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648.	Accession of <i>Philip</i> æt. 23, ἐπὶ Καλλιμέδους Diod. XVI. 2. ἄρχοντας Καλλιδημίδου, (sic) ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων ἤρξε Laërt. II. 56. whence <i>Theopompus</i> began his history at the year of Callimedes: Diod. XVI. 3. The accession of <i>Philip</i> seems to have been about in the seventh month of Callimedes; the beginning of B. C. 359. and his first campaign in the spring and summer of that year. See <i>Appendix c. 4. Kings of Macedonia</i> . In his first campaign he defeats <i>Argæus</i> at Methonē: ἐπὶ Καλλιμήδους Diod. XVI. 3. [before midsummer B. C. 359]—declares Amphipolis a free city: ἀφῆκεν αὐτὴν αὐτόνομον Diod. XVI. 3.—Polyæn. IV. 2, 17. Ἀμφίπολιν ἀπαιτούμενος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖς πολεμῶν, οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέραν. And makes peace with the Athenians: ἐπὶ Εὐχαρίστου Diod. XVI. 4. [after midsummer B. C. 359.] Demosthenes Aristocrat. p. 660. Reisk. Φίλιππος—Ἀργαῖον κατάγοντας λαβὼν τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰς πολιτῶν, ἀφῆκε μὲν αὐτοὺς, ἀπέδωκε δὲ πάντα ὅσα ἀπώλεσαν αὐτοῖς· πέμψας δὲ γράμματα ἐπηγγείλατο ἔτοιμος εἶναι συμμαχίαν ποιῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν φιλίαν ἀνανεοῦσθαι. Being delivered from this enemy—ἀπολυθεὶς τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου—he attacks and defeats the Pæonians, and gains a great victory over the Illyrians. Diod. XVI. 4. <i>Alexander</i> of <i>Pheræ</i> seems to have been slain in the end of the year of Callimedes. His reign of eleven years (Diod. XV. 61) commenced in the year of Lysistratus [autumn B. C. 369]. That date for the commencement of his reign is confirmed by Xenoph. Hel. VI. 4, 34. He might therefore reign ten years complete, or eleven years current. He was succeeded by <i>Tisiphonus</i> , who governed when Xenophon was recording the death of <i>Alexander</i> : Hel. VI. 4, 37. ἄχρις οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγγράφετο, Τισίφονος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε.—and seems to have filled the interval to the archonship of Agathocles, when <i>Lycophron</i> is mentioned by Diodorus XVI. 14. See <i>Appendix c. 15</i> .
358.	105, 3. <i>Cephisodotus</i> . Diod. XVI. 6. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. Reisk. <i>Cephisodorus</i> Mar. Par. No. 76. <i>Cephisodorus</i> Dionys. Isæo p. 593. et mox <i>Cephisodotus</i> Id. p. 597.	<i>Amphipolis</i> taken by <i>Philip</i> , ἐπὶ Κηφισοδότου, after his victory over the Illyrians. Diod. XVI. 8.—Polyænus IV. 2, 17. ὁπότε τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν κρατήσας μείζω δύναμιν ἐκτίσαστο, τηνικαῦτα πάλιν Ἀμφίπολιν κατέσχευ. An Athenian expedition into Eubœa, ἐπὶ Κηφισοδότου Diod. XVI. 7, is undertaken by the advice of <i>Timotheus</i> ; Demosth. Cherson. p. 108.—at the time when <i>Amphipolis</i> is pressed by <i>Philip</i> . Demosth. Olynth. I. p. 11. Demosthenes in B. C. 355 alludes to this expedition: Androtion, p. 597. ἴσθ' ὅτι πρῶτην Εὐβοεῦσιν ἡμερῶν ΤΡΙΩΝ ἐβοηθήσατε. And Æschines in B. C. 330. Ctesiph. p. 65, 42, with a slight variation: ἐν ΠΕΝΤΕ ἡμέραις ἐβοηθήσατε αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. <i>Timotheus</i> died about four or five years after. cf. a. 354.
357.	105, 4. <i>Agathocles</i> . Diod. XVI. 9. Demosth.	The Social war began; ἐπ' ἄρχοντας Κηφισοδότου Diod. XVI. 6, 7.—Dionys. Lysia p. 480. οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος πίπτει κατὰ Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

The death of *Xenophon* was placed in this year by Stesiclides: Laërt. II. 56. κατέστρεψε, καθά φησι Στησικλείδης — ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ρε' ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Καλλιδημίδου. As *Xenophon* Hel. VI. 4, 36. mentions the death of *Alexander* of *Pheræ*, and as that event is placed by *Diodorus* XVI. 14. three years later, ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους, it has been inferred that *Xenophon* lived longer than the date assigned by Stesiclides. (See Wess. ad Diod. XV. 76.) But the date of *Diodorus* for the death of *Alexander* is inconsistent with his own account in another passage: and is supported by no other testimony; for the Parian Marble, quoted by Corsini to this purpose, is merely supplied by conjecture from *Diodorus*. See Appendix c. 15. The age, however, of *Xenophon* at his death makes it probable that he lived to a later date. According to *Lucian* Macrob. c. 21. ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνευήκοντα ἐβίωσεν ἔτη. Laërtius II. 56. τέθνηκεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ (ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης) ἥδη δηλαδὴ γηραὺς ἰκανῶς. But he, who was forty-two at the most in B. C. 401 (cf. an.), could not have been past ninety in B. C. 359. either he died at an earlier age, or he lived to a later period. Stesiclides and *Lucian* cannot be reconciled.

Demosthenes is named at this date by *Eusebius*: Ol. 105. 2 anno 1657 [from Oct. B. C. 360] *Demosthenes* rhetor cognoscebatur.

(*Isæi* ὑπὲρ Εὐμαθοῦς. [ἡ ὑπὲρ Εὐμαθοῦς εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαίρεσις Harpoer. v. ἀγει. ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. ἐπεσκήφατο. Conf. Vales. ad Harpoer. p. 6.] After the archonship of *Cephisodotus*: *Dionys. Isæo* p. 593. τριηραρχοῦντός μου ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἀρχοντος, καὶ λόγου ἀπαγγελθέντος πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέλους ὡς ἄρα τετελεσθηκὼς εἶην ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.—Reisk. ad loc. Forte apud Eubœam inter Themisonem et Athenienses commissa Ol. 103. 3 [B. C. 366] quo Cephisodorus archon fuit. But we cannot collect from *Diod. XV. 76.* compared with *Xen. Hel. VII. 4, 1.* *Demosth. Cor. p. 259.* *Ulpian. ad loc. Æschin. p. 50, 15. 65, 39.* that any battle at all was fought on that occasion. According to *Ulpian p. 153.* Par. ὡς ἐμελλον πολεμεῖν, ἔδοξε δίκη μᾶλλον κρίνεσθαι. It is, therefore, more probable that the sea-fight mentioned in this oration was that in which *Chabrias* fell: the first action of the Social war, at the end of the year of *Cephisodotus*. cf. a. 357, 2. This cause, then, might have fallen within the year of *Agathocles*, or *Elpines*, or perhaps later.)

Death of *Democritus* æt. 104. *Lucian* Macrob. c. 18. ἐτῶν γεγωνὼς τεσσαρῶν καὶ ἑκατὸν—ἐτελεύτα. Phlegon Longæv.

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Death of *Timotheus*. Mar. Par. No. 77. ἀφ' οὗ Τιμόθεος βιώσας ἔτη ιδ'ιΔΔΔΔ

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2 EVENTS.
	<p>Euerg. p. 1152. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. Lysia p. 480. Pausan. X. 2, 2. Mar. Par. No. 77. Oederici Marm. Didasc.</p>	<p>Ἑλπινίκην ἄρχοντας. The first campaign, therefore, is towards the end of the year of Cephisodotus: before midsummer B. C. 357. Siege of Chios by Chares and Chabrias: death of Chabrias. Diod. XVI. 7.</p> <p>The Phocians seized Delphi, Ἀγαθοκλέους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει πέμπτῃς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν Pausan. X. 2, 2. —Diodorus XVI. 14. —ἐντεῦθεν [sc. ἀπὸ ἄρχοντος Ἀγαθοκλέους] ἀπὸ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ Φιλομήλου.</p> <p>Dion sails from Zacynthus after an eclipse: ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη Plutarch. Dion. c. 24. [Aug. 9. B. C. 357] ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀγαθοκλέους Diod. XVI. 9.—He lands in Sicily about September B. C. 357.</p>
356.	<p>Ol. 106. <i>Elpines</i>. Diod. XVI. 15. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. <i>Elpines</i> Dionys. Lysia p. 480.</p>	<p>Birth of <i>Alexander</i>: Euseb. Ol. 106. 1 anno 1660 [commencing Oct. B. C. 357] <i>Alexander Philippo et Olympiade nascitur</i>.—ἰσταμένον μηνὸς ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἔκτη Plutarch. Alex. c. 3. At the time of the Olympic games: Plutarch. Ibid. [July B. C. 356.] The news reached Philip, ἀρτι Ποτίδαιαν ἤρηκότι. Plutarch. Ibid. The birth of <i>Alexander</i> was distinguished by another event: Cic. Div. I. 23. <i>Qua nocte templum Ephesiæ Dianæ deflagravit, eadem constat ex Olympiade natum esse Alexandrum</i>. cf. Plutarch. Alex. c. 3.</p> <p>Second campaign of the Social war. <i>Dionysius</i> expelled from Syracuse. After the defeat of <i>Philistus</i> ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἑλπίων Diod. XVI. 15. 16. <i>Dionysius</i> ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας. XVI. 17. According to Plutarch Dion. c. 37. after the death of <i>Philistus</i>, <i>Dionysius</i>, πνεῦμα τηρήσας ἐπίφορον, ἐξέπλευσε. Then followed the elections of magistrates, θέρους μεσοῦντος. Id. c. 38. Therefore <i>Dionysius</i> ἐξέπλευσεν in</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

c. 2. ἔτη ἑκατὸν τέσσαρα. His death is referred by Chron. Pasch. p. 169. A. to the 5th year of Ochus: ρε' ὀλυμπιάς. [anno secundo] Δημόκριτος τελευτᾷ ζήσας ἔτη ρ'. In Chron. Pasch. then the death of Democritus and the fifth year of Ochus are both placed at Ol. 105. 2. The testimonies of Apollodorus for his birth (cf. a. 460) and Lucian and Phlegon for the duration of his life, will place his death at Ol. 105. 4. at the second or third year of Ochus, whose reign is antedated four years by the Paschal Chronicle: See Appendix c. 18. According to Laërt. IX. 43. he lived 109 years: ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἔτη βιούς. and 90 according to Diodorus. cf. a. 370.

Death of Hippocrates æt. 104. Auctor vitæ. ἐτελεύτα παρὰ Λαρισσαίοις, ὅτε καὶ Δημόκριτος φέρεται τελευτήσας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεμήκοντα ἐτῶν, οἱ δὲ, πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα φασίν· ἄλλοι, ρδ'. τινὲς, ρθ'. Suidas.—κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἐνιαυτῶν γεγονῶς δ' καὶ ρ'. καὶ τέθαιπται ἐν Λαρίσσει τῆς Θετταλίας. Tzetzes Chil. VII. 973. makes him 104. The death of Hippocrates at the same age, and at the same time with Democritus, is another argument for the birth of Democritus in Olymp. 80. where the birth of Hippocrates is placed by the author of his life. The variations are similar in both cases; the age of each being stated at 90, 104, or 109 years. Democritus and Hippocrates are contemporary in Plin. H. N. XXX. 1. Eadem ætate (medicinam) Hippocrate (magicam) Democrito illustrantibus circa Peloponnesiacum Græciæ bellum, quod gestum est a CCC^o urbis nostræ anno [in reality U. C. Varr. 323].

Demophilus ὁ Ἐφόρου—τὸν παραλειφθέντα πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὀνομασθέντα δὲ ἱερὸν, συντεταγμένον ἐνευθεν ἤρκεται [from the year of Agathocles], ἀπὸ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ Φιλομήλου.—Callisthenes τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορίαν γέγραφεν ἐν βίβλοις δέκα, καὶ κατέστρεφεν εἰς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ.—Dyillus ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἤρκεται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροσυλήσεως, καὶ γέγραφε βίβλους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ. Diod. XVI. 14. [under the year of Agathocles.]

Philistus is defeated and slain by the Syracusans. Plutarch. Dion. c. 35. Diod. XVI. 16. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἐλπίνου Id. XVI. 15. In the beginning of the year of Elpines, or the summer of B. C. 356. Philistus had acted in public affairs fifty years before, cf. a. 406. and was therefore advanced in age: ὄντος ἤδη γέροντος Plutarch. Dion. c. 35. He had been an eyewitness, ὁρατῆς, of the Athenian defeat at Syracuse. Plutarch. Nicia c. 19. in B. C. 415, fifty-nine years before his death. Mitford vol. VII. p. 221. quoting Plutarch, describes Philistus as now in his eightieth year. But this is not to be found in Plutarch.

Isocratis περὶ Εἰρήνης. published before the peace with the Confederates; which he recommends: c. 6. p. 162. b. —and while the peace was under deliberation: p. 159. b.

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ἐτελεύτησεν. — ἔτη ΙΔΙΔΔΔΙΙΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγαθοκλέ. . . According to Suidas, he lived 97 years: Τιμόθεος Θερασάνδρον Μιλήσιος· ὃς—τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν ἐπὶ τὸ μαλακώτερον μετήγαγεν [cf. Pausan. III. 12, 8. Pherecrat. apud Plutarch. Music. p. 1141. F], ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐτῶν ἐνεμήκοντα ἑπτὰ. Steph. Byz. v. Μίλητος. Τιμόθεος κιθαρωδὸς, ὃς ἐποίησε νόμων κιθαρωδικῶν βίβλους ὀκτωκαίδεκα, εἰς ἐπῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων τὸν ἀριθμὸν, καὶ πρὸνῳμα αὐλῶν χίλια. θνήσκει δ' ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. According to the Parian marble Timotheus was born B. C. 446. His ἀκμὴ is dated at B. C. 398. conf. an. But he made his innovations in music at an earlier period, because Pherecrates alludes to them, and because they were made in the lifetime of Euripides: conf. Plutarch. An seni &c. p. 795. D. consequently before B. C. 406. For the Lacedæmonian decree against Timotheus, see Casaubon ad Athen. VII. p. 352. a. On Timotheus, see Alex. Ætol. apud Macrob. Sat. V. 22.

The licence of comedy is adverted to by Isocrates de Pac. c. 5. p. 161. d. οὐκ ἔστι παρρησία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν [in the public assembly] τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις—ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμωδοδιδασκάλοις.

Alexis the comic poet flourished at this time: his comedies, entitled the Μεροπὶς, Ἀγκυλίῳν, Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, Παράσιτος, in which he mentioned Plato, (Laërt. III. 27. 28.) were probably exhibited as early as the 104th Olympiad. The Παράσιτος, in which he glances at Araros (as a rival poet) — ψυχρότερον Ἀραρότος Athen. III. 123. f.—would

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>the very beginning of the year of Elpines, about ten months after the landing of <i>Dion</i>. He had reigned twelve years: Diod. XV. 73. Plutarch <i>Dion</i>. c. 28. computed forty-eight years—<i>ἔτη ὀκτὼ καὶ τετραράκοντα</i>—from the first usurpation of the elder <i>Dionysius</i>; and, in another passage (<i>Timol.</i> c. 13), reckoned ten years for the reign of the younger; confirming and illustrating the period of Theopompus apud Diod. XVI. 71. <i>ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διήλθε χρόνον ἑτῶν πεντήκοντα, καὶ κατέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἐκπτώσιν Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου</i>. These numbers give $38 + 12 = 50$ years for the two reigns in Diodorus, consistently with the actual amount: while the 48 years of Plutarch are $38 + 10$. Both computations are reckoned to the first expulsion by <i>Dion</i>; and they do not extend to the final expulsion by <i>Timoleon</i>. See <i>Appendix</i> c. 10.</p>
355.	<p>106, 2. <i>Callistratus</i> Diod. XVI. 23. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. 668. ad Ammæum p. 724. Mar. Par. No. 78. <i>Callistratus</i> ORATOR archon fuit Ol. 106. 2. <i>nec erat quare dubitaret Fabricius</i>. Ruhn. Hist. Crit. or. Gr. p. 141. Reisk. But there was some reason to doubt; because Callistratus the orator was now probably either in exile, or put to death by the Athenians. Cf. <i>ann.</i> 361, 3. 356, 3.</p>	<p>Third campaign of the Social war. <i>Chares</i>, <i>Timotheus</i>, and <i>Iphicrates</i>, are sent with a fleet, <i>ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἐλπίνου</i>. Diod. XVI. 15. 21. A fourth commander, <i>Menestheus</i>, not named by Diodorus, but mentioned by Isocrates, Dionysius, and Nepos, was joined with <i>Timotheus</i>. Nepos <i>Timoth.</i> c. 3. <i>Hic [Timoth.] quum esset magnò natu, et magistratus gerere desiisset, bello Athenienses undique premi sunt cæpti.—Fit Menestheus prætor; filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei; et ut ad bellum proficiscatur decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur duo usu sapientiaque præstantes, pater et socer</i>. Peace is concluded with the Confederates: Diod. XVI. 22. <i>ὁ μὲν οὖν συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, διαμείνας ἔτη τρία</i>. Ibid. He had before (XVI. 7) specified the same duration, in his account of the beginning of the war, in the year of Cephisodotus: <i>οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Χίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κώων, ἔτι δὲ Βυζαντίων, ἀποστάντων, ἐνέπεσον ἐς πόλεμον τὸν ὀνομασθέντα συμμαχικὸν, ὃς διέμεινεν ἔτη τρία</i>. Confirmed by Dionysius. cf. <i>a.</i> 357. The peace must have been concluded about midsummer B. C. 355. Barthélemy <i>Anachars.</i> tom. II. p. 430. and Du Fresnoy <i>Tablettes</i> tom. I. p. 351. both inaccurately make the duration four years. <i>Mausolus</i> of Caria assisted the allies against Athens in this war: Demosth. <i>Rhod.</i> p. 191. confirming Diod. XVI. 7.</p> <p>The peace concluded with the Confederates was promoted by the orator <i>Eubulus</i>. Ulpian. ad Demosth. p. 26. s. 38, 39. ed. Paris. <i>τοῦ δὲ τοιαύτην γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην αἴτιος Εὐβουλος</i>.</p>

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162. d. 164. b. therefore in the year of Elpines: perhaps in the beginning of B. C. 355. *Cersobleptes* and *Philip* were now objects of jealousy: p. 163. d. μὴ οἴεσθε μήτε Κερσοβλέπτην ὑπὲρ Χερρόνησον μήτε Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως πολεμήσειν, κ. τ. λ. *Callistratus* the orator seems to be still an exile, and seated in the Chersonese: p. 164. a. ὅπου —*Καλλίστρατος*—φυγὰς ὧν, οἰκίσαι πόλιν οἷός τε γέγονε. He had been about five years in exile. cf. a. 361. Upon his returning to Athens, he was put to death: *Lycurg.* *Leoer.* p. 159, 27. *Καλλίστρατον*, οὗ θάνατον ἡ πόλις κατέγνω, ἀφικόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν—καταφυγόντα καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθανόντα.

Isocrates vel *Aphareus* περὶ ἀντιδόσεως πρὸς *Μεγακλείδην*. *Vit.* X. or. p. 839. C. δύο ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ συνέστησαν αὐτῷ ἀγῶνες· πρότερος μὲν εἰς ἀντίδοσιν προκαλεσαμένου αὐτὸν *Μεγακλείδου*, πρὸς δὲ οὐκ ἀπήντησε διὰ νόσον, τὸν δὲ νῖδον πέμψας Ἀφαρέα ἐνίκησε. *Dionys.* *Isocr.* p. 576. Ἀφαρέως ὁ πρόγονός τε καὶ εἰσποίητος Ἰσοκράτει γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ πρὸς *Μεγακλείδην* περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως λόγῳ διορίζεται, κ. τ. λ. In the last campaign of the Social war: *Dionys.* *Dinarch.* p. 667. ὑπὲρ ἀντιδόσεως, *Μεγακλείδῃ*. “εἰ μὲν ἔδει, ὦ ἄνδρες”—ὁ μὲν λέγων ἐστὶν Ἀφαρέως.—εἴρηται ἔτι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ *Τιμοθέου* ζῶντος, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς μετὰ *Μενεσθέως* στρατηγίας, ἐφ’ ἣ τὰς εὐθύνas ὑποσχὼν ἐάλω.

Aristophon the *Azenian* and *Chares* prosecute *Iphicrates* for his failure in the last campaign of the Social war: *Diod.* XVI. 15. 21. ἐπ’ ἀρχοντος Ἑλπίνου—ὁ μὲν *Χάρης* διέβαλε τοὺς συνάρχοντας—οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι κρίσιν τῷ Ἰφικράτει καὶ *Τιμοθέῳ* προθέντες ἐζημίωσαν αὐτοὺς πολλοῖς ταλάντοις. If *Diodorus* meant to refer these prosecutions to the year of *Elpines*, (in whose year the transactions occurred, out of which the prosecutions arose,) he has placed the trial of *Timotheus*, at least, too early by almost two years. *conf.* a. 354, 2. In placing the trial of *Iphicrates* here, he is perhaps supported by *Dionys.* *Lys.* p. 480. ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν Ἰφικράτης ἡγώνισται, καὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ὑπέσχηκε τῆς στρατηγίας.—οὗτος δὲ ὁ πόλεμος πίπτει κατὰ Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ Ἑλπινίκην ἀρχοντας. A relic of the defence of *Iphicrates* against his two opponents is preserved by *Aristot.* *Rhet.* II. 23, 7.—Ἰφικράτης πρὸς Ἀριστοφῶντα—“Σὺ μὲν, Ἀριστοφῶν ὦν, οὐ προδοίης;” κ. τ. λ. Compare *Aristid.* tom. II. p. 385. quoting the same expression. Again, *Aristot.* *Rhet.* III. 10, 7.—Ἰφικράτης εἶπεν “Ἡ γὰρ ὁδός μοι τῶν λόγων διὰ μέσων τῶν Χάρητι πεπραγμένων

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be written while *Araros* was yet living. In the *Ἀγῶνις* he ridicules *Misgolas*: *Athen.* VIII. p. 339. c. ὦ μήτερ, ἱκετεύω σε, μὴ πείσειέ μοι τὸν *Μισγόλαν*, οὐ γὰρ καθαρθός εἰμι ἐγώ. And *Misgolas* is described to us by *Æschines* *Timarch.* p. 6—8. in the year B. C. 345. *Μισγόλας* ἔστι τις—*Κολυττεύς*—ἀεὶ τινὰς ἔχειν εἰσθῶς περὶ αὐτὸν καθαρθοῦς ἢ καθαριστάς.—τυγχάνει μὲν γὰρ ἡλικιώτης ὧν ἐμὸς καὶ συνέφηβος, καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῖν τουτὶ πέμπτου καὶ τετταρακοστὸν ἔτος. whence we learn the age of *Misgolas*. And we may conclude that these comedies, in which *Plato* and *Misgolas* are named, were among the earlier pieces of *Alexis*. He continued to write comedy in B. C. 306, forty-one years after the death of *Plato*. cf. a. 306.

B.C.	I. ARCHONS.	4. EVENTS.
354.	106, 3. <i>Diotimus</i> . Diod. XVI. 28. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. 668. Amm. p. 724. Inscr. Gr. apud Boeckh. conf. a. 353. 4.	Trial and condemnation of <i>Timotheus</i> , in the archonship of <i>Diotimus</i> . Nepos <i>Timoth.</i> c. 3. <i>Timotheus et Iphicrates—in crimen vocabantur; accusantur prodicionis. Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus aestimatur centum talentis. Ille, odio ingratae civitatis coactus, Chalcidem se contulit.</i> Dionys. Dinarch. p. 667.— <i>ἔτι Τιμοθέου ζῶντος, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν τῆς μετὰ Μενεσθέως στρατηγίας, ἐφ' ἣ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑποσχὼν ἐάλω. Τιμόθεος δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέσχηκεν ἐπὶ Διοτίμου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον· ὅτε καὶ*</i> . Wesseling ad Diod. XVI. 21. has restored <i>Μενεσθέως</i> in <i>Dionysius</i> , on the authority of <i>Nepos</i> c. 3. an authority overlooked by <i>Vales.</i> ad <i>Harpoer.</i> p. 137. The emendation is confirmed, and this whole transaction illustrated, by the following passage in <i>Isocrates</i> , which was not yet published in the time of <i>Wesseling</i> . <i>Isocr.</i> περὶ ἀντιδ. p. 75. <i>Orell.</i> (ἡ πόλις) περὶ προδοσίας ἔκρινε, καὶ πάλιν διδόντος εὐθύνας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰς μὲν πράξεις Ἰφικράτους ἀναδεχομένου, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων λόγον Μενεσθέως, τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσε, Τιμόθεον δὲ τοσούτοις ἐζημίωσε χρήμασιν, ὅσοις οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν προγεγενημένων. <i>Dinarch.</i> p. 110, 27. Τιμόθεον—ἐκατὸν ταλάντων τιμήσαντες, ὅτι χρήματ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοφῶν ἔφη παρὰ Χίων εἰληφέναι καὶ Ῥοδίων. <i>Aristophon</i> is named by <i>Plutarch</i> de <i>Exil.</i> p. 605. F. Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ κατηγορήσας—Τιμόθεος ὁ μεταστὰς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος. A particle of the defence of <i>Timotheus</i> is preserved <i>Stob. Florileg.</i> 13, 38. Τιμό-

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>“ἐστὶ.” <i>Iphicrates</i> escaped. See Mitford vol VII. p. 460. 461.</p> <p><i>Demosthenes</i> δημοσίου λόγου ἤρξατο γράφειν ἐπὶ Καλλίστρατον ἀρχοντος.—καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτος ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος. Dionys. Amm. p. 724. <i>Androtion</i> had been more than thirty years in public life. Demosth. p. 613. But this is only to be taken generally, since the orator repeats the same number two years afterwards [B. C. 353] in addressing <i>Timocrates</i>: p. 754.—<i>Demosth.</i> πρὸς Λεπτίνην. Dionys. Ibid. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἕτερος ἐπὶ Καλλίστρατον ἀρχοντος ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν. In this oration p. 506. mention is made of the success of <i>Dion's</i> enterprise, which was not completed till the year of the preceding archon <i>Elpines</i>. <i>Leucon</i>, ὁ ἀρχων Βοσπόρου, is still living: p. 466. and <i>Leucon</i> died B. C. 353. <i>Pydna</i> and <i>Potidæa</i> were now in the hands of <i>Philip</i>: p. 475. <i>Demosthenes</i> was at this time <i>twenty-seven</i> years of age: Gell. XV. 28. He completed his twenty-seventh year in the first month of <i>Callistratus</i>. See <i>Appendix</i> c. 20.</p> <p><i>Aristophon</i> the <i>Azenian</i> assisted <i>Leptines</i>: Demosth. p. 501. ἤρηνται δὲ τῷ νόμῳ σύνδικοι—Λεωδάμας Ἀχαρνὲς καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀζηνιεύς. He was still living in the year of <i>Diotimus</i>: conf. a. 354, 2. This, then, is the <i>Aristophon</i>, in whose old age <i>Demosthenes</i> came forward: Vit. X. or. p. 844. D. Ἀριστοφῶντος ἤδη τὴν προστασίαν διὰ γῆρας καταλιπόντος.—and not the <i>Colyttian</i> <i>Aristophon</i>, as <i>Ruhnkenius</i> supposes. conf. a. 340. The orator <i>Leodamas</i> was already grown up in the time of the <i>Thirty</i>, fifty years before the present cause [conf. a. 372]; and consequently, like <i>Aristophon</i>, was now of advanced age.</p>	
<p><i>Demosth.</i> περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν. Dionys. ad Amm. p. 724. ἐπὶ Διοτίμῳ τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον, ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πρώτην εἶπε δημηγορίαν, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες “Περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν.” ἐν ᾗ παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ λύειν τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα γενομένην εἰρήνην.</p>	

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>θεος ὁ Κόνωνος πρὸς Ἀριστοφῶντα τὸν Ἀζηνιέα πάντων ἄριστα ἔχοντα λόγον εἶπεν—^εΩι ἱκανὸν οὐδὲν, τούτῳ γε αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν. Hence we learn that the prosecutor was <i>Aristophon</i> the <i>Azenian</i>: who was therefore still living in the year of <i>Diotimus</i>, almost fifty years after the archonship of <i>Euclides</i>. <i>conf. a.</i> 403. of which Mr. Boeckh was not aware, <i>Inser. Ant. p. I. p. 130. b.</i> treating of the <i>Azenian</i> after <i>Ruhnkenius</i>. We now learn from <i>Isocrates</i> <i>περὶ ἀντιδόσ.</i> p. 66. <i>Orell.</i> that <i>Timotheus</i> was dead when that oration was published. <i>conf. a.</i> 353, 3. Consequently his death must have happened immediately almost after his retirement to <i>Chalcis</i>, and in the year of <i>Diotimus</i>. And the <i>lacuna</i> in <i>Dionysius</i> p. 568 may be probably supplied thus: Τιμόθεος τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέσχεκεν ἐπὶ Διοτίμῳ· ὅτε καὶ ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΕ. <i>Laërt. V. 10.</i> has a similar expression: τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει—ἐτελεύτησεν, ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένης κατέστρεψε.</p>
353.	<p>106, 4. <i>Eudemus</i>. <i>Diod. XVI. 32.</i> <i>Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648.</i> ἐπὶ Θουδήμῳ <i>Oderici Marm. Didascal. Dionys. Amm. p. 725.</i></p>	<p>Death of <i>Dion</i>: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διοτίμου <i>Diod. XVI. 28. 31.</i>—<i>quartum post annum quam ex Peloponneso redierat</i> <i>Nepos Dion. c. 10.</i> Therefore at the close of the year of <i>Diotimus</i>. The character of <i>Dion</i>, who, according to <i>Strabo VI. p. 255.</i> ἐτάραξεν ἅπαντας πρὸς ἅπαντας, who removed his rival by assassination (<i>Plutarch. Dion. c. 53. Nepos Dion. c. 6.</i>), who delivered the <i>Syracusans</i> from a tyrant, not in order to give them liberty, but in order to become the tyrant himself (compare <i>Plutarch. c. 53.</i> with <i>Nepos c. 6. 7.</i>), is well understood and truly drawn by <i>Mr. Mitford vol. VII. p. 233—238.</i></p> <p><i>Philip</i> seized upon <i>Pagasæ</i>, and began to besiege <i>Methonē</i>. <i>Diod. XVI. 31.</i>—in the year of <i>Diotimus</i>: from which point of time <i>Demosthenes</i> seems to date the hostile projects of <i>Philip</i> against Greece. <i>conf. a.</i> 341.</p>

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<p><i>Isocratis</i> περί ἀντιδόσεως πρὸς Λυσίμαχον. Vit. X. or. p. 839. C. Δύο συνέστησαν αὐτῷ ἀγῶνες—[cf. a. 355] δεύτερος, Λυσίμαχον αὐτὸν προκαλεσαμένου περί τριηραρχίας εἰς ἀντιδοσιν. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ τὴν τριηραρχίαν ὑπέστη. The oration was composed after sentence had been given against him, and after he had borne the office imposed upon him: see c. 2. 3. p. 311. When he had completed his eighty-second year: c. 5. p. 312. a. ἔγραφον τὸν λόγον τοῦτον οὐκ ἀκμάζων, ἀλλ' ἔτη γεγρονὺς δύο καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. He was eighty-two complete in the beginning of the year of Diotimus. <i>conf. a.</i> 436. And yet in this oration he mentions the death of <i>Timotheus</i>, who was tried and fined in the year of that archon: p. 66. Orell. = p. 444. ed. Oxon. ἐμνήσθη [<i>Lysimachus</i>] τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεον μοι φιλίας γεγενημένης, καὶ οὐκ ἡσχύνθη περί ἀνδρὸς τετελευτηκότος, κ. τ. λ. We may therefore thus arrange the circumstances: <i>Timotheus</i> was tried in the beginning of the year of Diotimus: he died a few months after at Chalcis, in the same year [cf. a. 354, 2]: <i>Isocrates</i> composed this oration immediately after the death of <i>Timotheus</i>, at the close of the archonship of Diotimus, when he was actually in his eighty-third year. <i>Isocrates</i> in this oration quotes the Πανηγυρικός. c. 26. p. 322. a. περί εἰρήνης. c. 24. p. 341. Νικοκλῆς. c. 26. p. 343. c. κατὰ σοφιστῶν. p. 95. Orellii.</p> <p>(<i>Isocratis</i> Ἀρεσπαγυτικός. Soon after the peace with the Confederates: <i>conf. c.</i> 1. p. 140. and yet, probably, not published before the oration περί ἀντιδόσεως, in which he would be likely to have quoted it.)</p> <p><i>Demosthenis</i> κατὰ Τιμοκράτους. — ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν. Dionys. Amm. p. 725. ἐπὶ Θουδήμου (Εὐδήμου) τοῦ μετὰ Διότιμον ἄρξαντος, τὸν τε κατὰ Τιμοκράτους λόγον ἔγραψε—καὶ τὸν περί τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν βοήθειας δημηγορικόν. As the war, which gave occasion to this latter oration, was carried on in the year of the next archon, the summer of B. C. 352, the oration may have been delivered late in the year of Eudemus, towards the beginning of B. C. 352.</p>	<p>Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 321. p. 353. στίδι, αχος s πεμ. Ἀνασῶζο ἰφάνης ... ὠνήμος ἐνίκα. ἐπὶ Διότιμον Σιμίλος σία, ὑπε. Ἀριστόμαχος. Διόδωρος δην. Νεκρῷ, ὑπε. Ἀριστόμαχος. Διόδωρος τρι. Μαινομένῳ, . πε. Κεφίσιος ης τε Ποιητῇ ης. <i>Præcedens annus haud dubie fuit Callistrati Ol.</i> 106. 2. <i>In utroque anno quin poëtæ cum fabulis et actoribus primarum enumerati erant, et poëtæ quidem nomen primo loco ponitur. Sed post quintum commemoratur victor: igitur numeri 1, 2; 3, 4, 5 non ad victoriam referuntur sed ad commissionis ordinem. Idem p. 354. Secundo anno primo loco poëta Simylus inscriptus est: hujus versus servavit Stobæus serm.</i> περί τεχνῶν [60, 4]. <i>Additur histrio idem qui mox Diodori. Diodorus videtur Sinopensis esse,—ejus fragmentum haud exiguum servavit Athenæus. ætas ex hoc titulo noscitur. Hujus histriones sunt Aristomachus et Cephisius fabulæ Νεκρὸς, Μαινόμενος, quas simul commisit. Quartus locus datur comico cujus nomen obscuratum est. Mr. Boeckh supplies in the preceding year the name of Antiphanes: . . . στίδι credo Ἀλκήστιδι quæ est Antiphanis. Et is ipse inferri potest. — Quinta fabula memoratur Ἀνασῶζόμενοι, et ejus actor manifestò Antiphanes: et hunc constat Ἀνασῶζόμενος docuisse. Itaque non dubitavi v. 3 poëtæ Antiphanis nomen restituere cum sæpe poëtæ in suis fabulis primas egerunt. This conjecture, however, is uncertain.</i></p>

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4. POETS.

This record not does resemble those of the old Comedy, where three poets were named and three victories: *conf. a.* 425. 414. 405. but agrees with that given at B. C. 388, where five poets are named and only one prize. Mr. Boeckh considers the numbers to refer merely to the order of the exhibition, and not to the order of merit. But this is rendered doubtful by Isæus *Dicæog. hæc.* p. 54, 28. οὗτος γὰρ τῇ μὲν φυλῇ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας τέταρτος ἐγένετο, τραγωδοῖς δὲ καὶ πυρρίχισταῖς ὕστατος· ταύτας δὲ μόνας ἀναγκασθεὶς λειτουργίας λειτουργῆσαι ἀπὸ τοσαύτης προσόδου οὕτω καλῶς ἐχορήγησεν. The term *ὑστατος* will express the fifth in the age of *Isæus*, contemporary with *Diodorus* and with the middle Comedy. *καλῶς* is used ironically for *κακῶς*, which is the reading of MS. A. apud Bekker; and the whole argument of *Isæus* implies that the fourth and fifth places were inferior in merit.

Demosth. κατὰ Φιλίππου πρῶτος. *Dionys. Amm. p.* 725. μετὰ Θούδημον (Εὐδήμον) ἦν Ἀριστόδημος ἄρχων. ἐφ' οὗ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἤρξατο. In this oration the attempt at Thermopylæ is noticed: p. 44. ὥσπερ—τὰ τελευταῖα πρῶην εἰς Πύλας (ἠρμήσατε). The fact was therefore recent, and might have happened in the beginning of the year of Aristodemus. *Diodorus* is thus incidentally confirmed by *Demosthenes*.—*Demosth. κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους.* *Dionys. Ibid. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους ἔγραψε λόγον Εὐθυκλεί.* After the death of *Onomarchus*, since the orator p. 661 mentions *Phajllus* as the leading potentate:—*Φάϋλλος ὁ Φωκεὺς ἢ τις ἄλλος δυνάστης.* consistently with the date assigned by *Dionysius*. If the oration κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους followed the first *Philippic*, as *Dionysius* seems to intimate, it may be placed towards the end of the year of Aristodemus, in the beginning of B. C. 351.

Cydias the orator dissuaded the division of the lands of Samos: *Aristot. Rhet. II. 6, 24. ὥσπερ Κυδίας περὶ τῆς Σάμου κληρουχίας ἐδημηγόρησεν· ἡξίου γὰρ ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περιεστάναι κύκλῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς ὁρῶντας καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκουσόμενους ἂν ψηφίσονται.* *Conf. Ruhn. Hist. Crit. or. Gr. p.* 153. *Reisk.*

Theodectes of Phaselis the tragic poet—*Θεοδέκτης ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ τραγωδιοποιὸς*—contended with *Isocrates*, *Theopompus*, and *Naucrates*, for the prize of oratory, given by *Artemisia* in honour of her husband. *Suid. Ἴσοκρ. Ἀπολλων. Gell. X. 18.—Suidas: Θεοδέκτης Ἀριστάνδρον Φασηλίτης ἐκ Λυκίας, ῥήτωρ, τραπεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τραγωδίας, μαθητὴς Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους· οὗτος, καὶ ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος Ναυκράτης καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης [see Appendix c. 14], καὶ Θεόπομπος, ἐπὶ τῆς γ' ὀλυμπιάδος [B. C. 368] εἶπον ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ Μανσῶλῳ, Ἀρτεμισίας προτρεψαμένης.* As *Mausolus* died in B. C. 352, and *Artemisia* in B. C. 350, the numbers of *Suidas* are wrong, and may be corrected to ρζ' ὀλυμπιάδος [B. C. 352].

Theodectes composed 50 dramas: *Steph. Byz. v. Φασηλῖς.* *Θεοδέκτης ἦν γένος Φασηλίτης, υἱὸς Ἀριστάνδρου, κάλλιε διαφέρων, ὃς ἐποίησε τραγωδία ν'.* *Suid. δράματα ἐδίδαξε ν'.*—and in 13 poetical contests obtained 8 prizes; apparently tragic prizes: *Epitaph. apud Steph. Byz. l. c.*

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		<p>were expelled by <i>Perdiccas</i> after the death of <i>Alexander</i>: Laërt. X. 1. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνης καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκπεσόντων ὑπὸ Περδίκκου. Diod. XVIII. 18. ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας ἀποκαταστήσας τοῖς Σαμίους τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ χώραν κατήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. The erroneous dates of Diodorus, who makes the period of their possession <i>forty-three</i> years (which fixes the colony to B. C. 366), and of Schol. Æschin. p. 731. Reisk. who places the colony at the year of <i>Nicomachus</i> B. C. 361, have been examined and corrected by Wess. ad Diod. XVIII. 18. with whom Corsini agrees: Fast. Att. tom. IV. p. 27.</p>
351.	<p>107, 2. <i>Thessalus</i>. Diod. XVI. 40. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. 656. Amm. p. 726. corrupte Θέλλον apud Dionys. Dinarch. p. 655. forte pro Θουμήδου ap. Dionys. Din. p. 665 legendum Θεσσαλου.</p>	
350.	<p>107, 3. <i>Apollodorus</i>. Diod. XVI. 46. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. 656. Oderici Marm. Didasc.</p>	<p>Expedition of <i>Phocion</i> into Eubœa, and battle of <i>Tamynæ</i>: (at which Æschines the orator was present; cf. Æschin. p. 50, 40. 66, 5—15.) This expedition was a little before the cause πρὸς Βοιωτῶν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, and at the time of the <i>Lenæan Dionysia</i>. Demosth. in Bœot. p. 999. φέρε, εἰ δὲ δίκην ἀστρατείας φεύγοι, χορεύοι δὲ, ὅταν στρατεύεσθαι δέη; καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε εἰς Ταμύνας παρήλθον οἱ ἄλλοι, ἐνθάδε τοὺς χόας ἄγων ἀπελείφθη, καὶ τοῖς Διονυσίοις καταμείνας ἐχώρευεν. ἀπελθόντων δ' ἐξ Εὐβοίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, λειποταξίου προσεκλήθη.—ταῦτα δὲ—σεσημασμένων ἤδη συνέβη τῶν ἐχίνων. [ἐχίνος, οὗ αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐμβληθεῖσαι κατεσημαίνοντο Pollux VIII. 17.] Harpocrat. v. χόες. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἐορτὴ τις παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ἀγομένη Ἀνθεστηριῶνος δωδεκάτῃ. These incidental circumstances fix the expedition of <i>Phocion</i> to the <i>Dionysia</i> ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ, in the month <i>Anthesterion</i>: and, as the cause πρὸς Βοιωτῶν was κατὰ Θέσσαλον ἢ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἄρχοντα (see col. 3), these were the <i>Dionysia</i> of the archon <i>Thessalus</i>, or <i>Anthesterion</i> of B. C. 350. The Athenians had been invited by <i>Plutarch</i> of <i>Eretria</i> to oppose <i>Philip</i>. But <i>Plutarch</i> deceived or betrayed them, and was vanquished by <i>Phocion</i>. conf. <i>Plutarch</i>. <i>Phocion</i>. c. 12. 13. Demosth. <i>Midian</i>. p. 550. 567. 579. <i>Ulpian</i>. p. 374, 372. ed. Paris.</p> <p>Demosthenes in another oration attests that the affair of <i>Tamynæ</i> happened at the season of the <i>Dionysia</i>. see col. 4.</p>

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	<p>—ἱεραῖς τρισὶ καὶ δέχ' ἀμίλλαις ὀκτὼ ἀκηρασίους ἀμφεθέμεν στεφάνους.</p> <p>For the emendation of this epitaph see Jacobs Anthol. Gr. tom. XII. p. 176.</p> <p>Erinna flourished: Euseb. in ed. Ven. Ol. 107. 1 anno 1664 [commencing Oct. B. C. 353] <i>Erinna femina poëtria cognoscebatur.</i> Conf. F. H. I. p. 227 B. C. 595, 3.</p>
<p><i>Demosth.</i> περὶ Ῥοδίων ἐλευθερίας. Dionys. Amm. p. 726. ἐπὶ Θεσσάλου τοῦ μετ' Ἀριστόδημον, τὴν περὶ Ῥοδίων ἀπήγγειλε δημηγορίαν. ἐν ᾗ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταλύσαι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν αὐτῶν. <i>Mausolus</i> is mentioned by Demosthenes p. 198 as now dead: οὐδὲ Μαύσωλον ζῶντα, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου. And <i>Mausolus</i> died in the year of Eudemus. Diod. XVI. 36. But <i>Artemisia</i> was still living (see the oration p. 193); who only survived her husband two years. Diod. XVI. 36. 45. These coincidences confirm the date of Dionysius.</p>	
<p><i>Demosth.</i> πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 656. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθένους περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος λόγος—κατὰ Θεσσαλον ἢ Ἀπολλόδορον ἄρχοντα τετέλεσται. At no long interval after the month <i>Anthesterion</i>. See col. 2. Therefore, at the end of the year of Thessalus, or the beginning of the year of Apollodorus, which explains the doubt of Dionysius. Idem Dinarch. p. 665. Πρὸς Βοιωτὸν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος.—εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ Δημοσθένους ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ Δεινάρχῳ προσάπτουντες ἐλέγχονται, τῷ χρόνῳ γ' οὖν ἐπιδεικνύειν ἂν ψευδόμενοι. μέμνηται γὰρ ὡς νεωστὶ τῆς εἰς Πύλας ἐξόδου γεγενημένης* ἢ δ' εἰς* Ἀθηναίων ἐξόδος ἐπὶ Θουμῆδον ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τρισκαίδέκατον ἔτος Δεινάρχου ἔχοντος. This passage is corrupt for various reasons: 1st. The oration is referred by Dionysius himself to the 11th or 12th year of <i>Dinarchus</i>; consequently the 13th year of <i>Dinarchus</i> could not be mentioned. 2dly. <i>Eudemus</i>, for so <i>Θουμήδον</i> is corrected by some, was not connumerary with the 13th year of <i>Dinarchus</i>; whence Reiske proposes δέκατον ἔτος. which, nevertheless, is not consistent with <i>Eudemus</i>. But, in the third place, no mention occurs of the expedition to the <i>Pylæ</i>; and Πύλαι is not once named in the whole oration. The passage, then, may be corrected thus: μέμνηται ὡς νεωστὶ τῆς εἰς ΤΑΜΥΝΑΣ ἐξόδου γεγενημένης* [sc. p. 999. Reisk.] ἢ δ' εἰς Ταμύνας Ἀθηναίων ἐξόδος ἐπὶ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΥ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ ἔτος Δ. ἔχ. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 138 and tom. IV. p. 30 has seen that Dionysius l. c. intended to speak of <i>Tamynæ</i>. He has not been so successful in his other criticisms upon that passage: since he places the expedition to <i>Tamynæ</i>, and the oration πρὸς Βοιωτὸν,</p>	<p><i>Demosthenes</i> χορηγὸς at the <i>Dionysia</i> of the archon Thessalus. When the offence of <i>Midias</i> was committed, <i>Phocion</i> was at <i>Tamynæ</i>: <i>Demosth.</i> p. 567. ἐπειδὴ πολιορκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ταμύναις στρατιώτας ἐξηγγέλλετο, καὶ πάντας ἐξίέναι τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἱππέας, ὧν εἰς Μειδίας ἦν, προεβούλευσεν ἡ βουλή, τηνικαῦτα—ἐπέδωκε.—καὶ λόγων γιγνομένων τῆς τῶν ἱππέων βοηθείας ἦδη δεῖν, οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἣν ἐπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ—αὐτὸς μένων ἐνθάδε ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις διεπράττετο ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς νυνὶ κρίνεται. He elsewhere intimates that an expedition was then pending: p. 519. (Μειδίας) τοὺς χορευτὰς ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας ἠνώχλησεν. Ulpian. ad loc. ἔθος ἦν τοὺς τῷ Διονύσῳ χορεύοντας μὴ στρατεύεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ὁ τοίνυν Μειδίας ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτοὺς ἐξίέναι—ἱππαρχος ὢν.—again p. 577. ἅπερ ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὅτ' ἦν ἡ προβολή (the judicial process, immediately following the Dionysian festival, in which <i>Midias</i> was condemned) ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἐρεῖ, ὡς ὅσοι, δέον ἐξίέναι, κατέμενον, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ φρούρια ἦσαν ἔρημα λελοιπότες, ἐξεκλησίασαν, καὶ χορευταὶ, καὶ ξένοι—ἦσαν, οἱ κατεχέροτόνησαν αὐτοῦ. The expedition of <i>Phocion</i> is fixed to the <i>Lenæan Dionysia</i> of the archon <i>Thes-</i></p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
136	349. 107, 4. <i>Callimachus</i> . Diod. XVI. 52. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. Amm. p. 726. 734. Athen. V. p. 217. b. Plutarch. Mor. p. 845. D.	<p>The Olynthian war: in the year of Callimachus: Dionys. Amm. p. 734. ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου γέγονεν ἄρχοντος, ὡς δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν ἑκτῇ βίβλῳ τῆς Ἀθίδος. Vit. X. or. p. 845. D. Καλλιμάχον, ἐφ' οὗ παρ' Ὀλυνθίων ἦκε πρεσβεία περὶ τῆς βοηθείας. In the year of Callimachus three embassies were sent from Olynthus to Athens: upon the first embassy the Athenians sent a force under <i>Chares</i> composed of mercenaries: then, after ὀλίγα τὰ μεταξὺ γενόμενα, the people of Chalcidicē being pressed by the war, and sending an embassy to Athens, <i>Charidemus</i> is ordered there; and in conjunction with the Olynthians ravages Pallenē and Bottiæa. Again, another embassy being sent for new succours, the Athenians send another force composed of citizens: τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπλιντας δισχιλίους καὶ ἵππεῖς τριακοσίους—στρατηγὸν δὲ Χάρητα τοῦ στόλου παντός. Philochor. apud Dionys. p. 735 Diodorus XVI. 52. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Καλλιμάχου—Φίλιππος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς Χαλκιδικὰς πόλεις.</p>
		<p>The Olynthian war, therefore, began after midsummer B. C. 349. and the transactions detailed by Philochorus and Diodorus happened partly in the latter part of B. C. 349, and partly in the beginning of B. C. 348. The first expedition, under <i>Chares</i>, seems to have been concluded in <i>Boëdromion</i> [October B. C. 349]: Ulpian, ad Demosth. p. 26, 42. ed. Par. φασὶν, ὅτε ἔπεμψε τὴν λεῖαν ὁ Χάρης, βοηδρόμια ἦν.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

in the year of *Theophilus* Ol. 108 B. C. 34^s. contrary to the express testimony of Dionysius himself in a preceding sentence. Mr. Wolf prolegom. ad Leptin. p. ex. note has been misled by Corsini upon this occasion: *Licet nec hujus orationis* [πρὸς Βοιωτὸν] *annum exploratum habeamus, tamen probabile est eum incidere in Ol. 108. vide Dionys. p. 665. bene correctum a Corsino.* But Dionysius at p. 665 is to be corrected by Dionysius himself at p. 656. whom Corsini had overlooked.

Demosth. ὁ παραγραφικὸς ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος. This cause was twenty years after the death of *Pasio* the banker: p. 952. *παρεληλυθότων ἔτων πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν.* And *Pasio* died ἐπὶ *Δυσνικήτου* ἀρχοντος [B. C. 370] *Demosth. in Steph. II. p. 1132.* This oration, therefore, could not have been composed before the year of *Apollodorus*. And yet mention is made p. 960 of *Callippus*: οὐχὶ *Τιμομάχου* κατηγόρει; οὐχὶ *Καλλίππου*, τοῦ νῦν ὄντος ἐν *Σικελίᾳ*; *Callippus* occupied *Rhegium* in the archonship of *Thessalus* [B. C. 351]: *Diod. XVI. 45.* and was slain soon after: *Plutarch. Dion. c. 58. Ῥήγιον κατέσχευ.* ἐκεῖ δὲ λυπρῶς πράττων—ἀνῆρέθη. Whence the oration ὑπὲρ *Φορμίωνος* could not have been later than the archonship of *Apollodorus*; since *Callippus* was still living.

Demosthenes is named here by *Euseb. Chron. in ed. Ven. Ol. 107. 3. anno 1666* commencing Oct. B. C. 351.

Demosthenis Ὀλυνθιακοί. *Dionys. Amm. p. 726. ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου τοῦ τρίτου μετὰ Θέσσαλον ἄρξαντος, τρεῖς διέθετο δημογορικοὺς, παρακαλῶν Ἀθηναίους βοήθειαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Φιλίππου.* According to *Ulpian p. 10, 1. ed. Par.* each oration was followed by one of the three expeditions: *ιστέον ὅτι φησὶ καὶ ὁ Φιλόχορος, ὅτι τρεῖς βοήθειαι ἐπέμφθησαν καθ' ἕκαστον λόγον μῆς πεμπομένης.* They were all pronounced before the third armament was sent, which was μὴ *ξενική*, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων. a measure urged in all the three orations.

Eubulus was of the party opposed to *Demosthenes*: *Ulpian. Prolegom. Olynthiac. Idem ad p. 7, 27. 24, 30. 31. 25, 37. 26, 38. ed. Paris.*

4. PORTS.

salus by the testimonies quoted in col. 2. 3. which would seem to determine the *χορηγία* of *Demosthenes* to the *Lenæa* [*Anthesterion* or February B. C. 350]. But other considerations make it probable that *Demosthenes* was *χορηγὸς* at the *Dionysia magna* [see *Append. c. 20. Demosthenes*]. And this was very possible: for the operations in *Eubœa* were of some duration; and, although they began in *Anthesterion*, might well extend into the following month, and *Phocion* might be engaged at *Tamynæ* during both the festivals of *Bacchus*. At the time of these transactions *Demosthenes* calls himself thirty-two years of age:—*δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γέγονα* p. 564. He completed his 32d year in the first month of the archon *Apollodorus. conf. a. 382.* and might be truly described as 32 (current) at the *Dionysia* of the archon *Thessalus*. For the oration against *Midias*, see the year B. C. 348.

There are still three annual festivals of *Bacchus*, at which dramatic pieces were presented: *Demosth. Midian. p. 517. ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ἢ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ, καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ πομπῇ, καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπή, καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος, καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ, καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί.* And they are named in the order in which they occurred. 1. τὰ ἐν Πειραιεῖ. (at which *Euripides* had exhibited: *Ælian. V. H. II. 13. Πειραιοὶ ἀγωνιζόμενον τοῦ Εὐριπίδου.*) The *Διονύσια* ἐν Πειραιεῖ are mentioned in an inscription apud *Boeckh. p. I. No. 101. p. 139.* otherwise τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς. mentioned by *Æschines Timarch. p. 22, 26. ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονυσίοις κωμῳδῶν ὄντων ἐν Κολυττῷ.* or τὰ κατὰ δῆμους. *Photius cod. 264. ἐν τοῖς κατὰ δῆμους Διονυσίοις.* in *Posideon*: *Hesych. v. Διονύσια. Theophrast. Char. 3. 2. τὰ Ἀθήναια.* otherwise τὰ ἐν Ἀμύναις. in *Anthesterion*: *Thucyd. II. 15. 3. τὰ ἐν Ἀστέι.* otherwise *Διονύσια* τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς. *Ælian. V. H. II. 13.*

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
348.	<p>Ol. 108. <i>Theophilus</i>. Diod. XVI. 53. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. 654. Amm. p. 728. 736. Pausan. X. 3, 1. Laërt. V. 9. Athen. V. p. 217. b. Demosth. Pantænet. p. 968.</p>	<p>Olynthian war continued. <i>Philip</i>, in the year of <i>Theophilus</i>, [after midsummer B. C. 348] νικήσας τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους δυνσὶ μάχαις συνέκλεισεν εἰς πολιορκίαν.—τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον—προδοθεῖσαν τὴν Ὀλυνθον εἴλε. Diod. XVI. 53. He had shut up the Olynthians within their walls before the war had lasted a year: Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 426. πρὶν μὲν ἐξελεῖν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ πολέμου, τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀπολωλέκεσαν τὰς ἐν τῇ Χαλκιδικῇ. While <i>Philip</i> was engaged before Olynthus, the Olympic games happened: Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 29, 35. Φρύνων δ' Ῥαμνούσιος ἔάλω ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς. Pausan. V. 9, 5. ὁ γδοή δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπανήλθον αὐθις ἐς ἀνδρῶν δέκα ἀριθμόν· καὶ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου διαμεμένηκεν ἐς ἡμᾶς. The Eleans, who were twelve tribes in Ol. 103, and in Ol. 104 were reduced to eight (conf. a. 364), are now augmented to ten.</p>
347.	<p>108, 2. <i>Themistocles</i>. Diod. XVI. 56. Dionys. Dinarch. pag. 648. 654. Amm. p. 736. Æschin. Ctes. p. 62, 30.</p>	<p>Olynthus taken by <i>Philip</i>, in the year of <i>Theophilus</i>: Diod. XVI. 53.—Dionys. Amm. p. 736. Θεόφιλος ἀρχων, καθ' ὃν ἐκράτησε τῆς Ὀλυνθίων πόλεως Φίλιππος. At some interval after the Olympic games: for many intermediate transactions are mentioned by Æschines Fals. Leg. p. 29, 35—30, 9. and not long before the first embassy of the ten Athenians: τὴν προτέραν πρεσβείαν τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 392. And that embassy (which made all possible haste; Demosth. p. 392) returned early in B. C. 346, a little before the <i>Dionysia</i>, at which <i>Antipater</i> and <i>Parmenio</i> were present. Æschin.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

4. POETS.

Demosth. κατὰ Μειδίου. *Dionys. Amm.* p. 726. κατὰ τοῦτον γέγραπται τὸν ἄρχοντα [*Callimachum*] καὶ ὁ κατὰ Μειδίου λόγος, ὃν συνετάξατο μετὰ τὴν καταχειροτονίαν ἣν ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ κατεχειροτόνησε. This date supposes a space of two years between the *προβολή* (for which see *Demosth.* p. 517. 577. 583) and the publication of this oration. And intermediate transactions are mentioned, which prove that some space intervened. *Midias* had instigated a charge against *Demosthenes*, *λειποταξίου*. p. 547. 548. (*λειποτακτεῖν* δὲ ἔδοξεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ *Εὐβοίαν*. *Ulpian* p. 350, 202.) and another charge of being concerned in the murder of one *Nicodemus*. p. 554. These two prosecutions were subsequent to the transactions of the *Dionysia* *Ulpian*. p. 347, 184. ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ἐν τοῖς *Διονυσίοις*. *Demosth.* pag. 553. 554. ἂν ἐπέλω τὴν ὑμετέραν καταχειροτονίαν, λέλοιπα τὴν τάξιν, φόνον κοινωνῶ, κ. τ. λ. Notice is taken in the oration p. 578 of what was done after the last expedition to *Olynthus*: after the surrender of that city, according to *Ulpian* p. 373, 367, which would bring down the date to the year of *Theophilus*. But the words of *Demosthenes* only imply that the third expedition, under *Chares*, is referred to: which fixes the date to the latter end of the year of *Callimachus*, consistently with *Dionysius*.

Eubulus assisted *Midias*; and possessed great influence: of which *Demosthenes* is evidently afraid. *conf.* p. 580. 581. *Ulpian*. p. 375, 379. πρὸς τὸν *Εὐβουλον* ἀποτείνεται: προέταξε δὲ τοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων—ὅτι πολὺν προέχει.—καὶ μάλλον ἐδεδοίκει τοῦτον ἢ σύμπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους.

Death of *Plato*, in the archonship of *Theophilus*: *Apolodorus* apud *Laërt.* V. 9. τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ *Θεοφίλου*. *Athen.* V. p. 217. b. μετῆλλαξεν ἐπὶ *Θεοφίλου* τοῦ μετὰ *Καλλίμαχον*. *Hermippus* apud *Laërt.* III. 2. τελευτᾷ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, βιοὺς ἔτος ἐν πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα. on his birthday: *Seneca* *Epist.* 58. natali suo decessit, annum unum atque octogesimum implevit sine ulla deductione. whence we may suspect that τελευτᾷ δ', ὡς φησιν *Ἑρμῖππος*, EN ΓΑ-

Demosth. *Coron.* p. 253. (at which *Xenocrates* was annually present: *Plutarch.* de exil. p. 603. B. *Ξενοκράτης* καθ' ἑκαστον ἔτος εἰς ἄστυ κατῆει *Διονυσίων* καινοῖς τραγωδοῖς.) in *Elaphebolion*: *Æschin.* *Ctes.* p. 63. See, for the two last festivals, *Ruhnck.* *Auct.* *Emend.* ad *Hesych.* t. I. p. 1000.—At this period the expense of tragic exhibitions was less than that of the χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν. *Demosth.* *Midian.* p. 565. τραγωδοῖς κεχορηγικέ ποτε οὗτος, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι.

Heracles the comic poet flourished: since he mentioned in a comedy the feast which was given by *Chares* to the people of Athens: *Athen.* XII. p. 532. e. *Χάρητι*—τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα. ἀφ' ὧν ἔδειπνισεν Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, θύσας τὰ ἐπιπνίκια τῆς γενομένης μάχης πρὸς τοὺς *Φιλίππου* ξένους. ὧν ἡγεῖτο μὲν Ἀδαῖος, Ἀλεκτρυνὼν ἐπικαλούμενος. περὶ οὗ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ τῶν κωμωδιῶν ποιητῆς μέμνηται οὕτως

Ἀλεκτρυνόνα τὸν τοῦ *Φιλίππου* παραλαβὼν ἄωρὶ κοκκύζοντα καὶ πλανώμενον κατέκοψεν· οὗ γὰρ εἶχεν οὐδέπω λόφον. κατὰ κατακόψας, μάλα συγχρὸς ἐδείπνισε *Χάρης* Ἀθηναῖος τόθ'· ὡς γενναῖος ἦν.

The facts referred to happened in the *Olynthian* war, in B. C. 348.

Adæus, or *Alectryon*, was also mentioned by *Antiphanes*: *Zenob.* *Adag.* VI. 34. p. 163. Ἀλεκτρυνὼν ἐγένετο *Φιλίππου* στρατηγὸς, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥς φασί, *Χάρης* ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ κωμικὸς, καὶ Ἀντιφάνης.

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Anaxandrides the comic poet exhibits, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι *Φιλίππου* τοῦ *Μακεδό- νος*. [at the *Olympia* at *Dium* in B. C. 347. see col. 2.] *Suidas* v. Ἀναξανδρίδης.—γεγονὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι *Φιλίππου* τοῦ *Μακεδό- νος*, Ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ πρώτῃ. *Eudocia* p. 60 has ἀγῶσι Φ. τοῦ Μ. without specifying the *Olympiad*. As the *Parian* *Marble* attests that *Anax-*

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Fals. Leg. p. 34—36. Ctes. p. 64. Arg. Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 336. Olynthus, then, surrendered towards the end of the year of Theophilus, in spring B. C. 347.</p> <p>After the capture <i>Philip</i> celebrates the <i>Olympia</i> at Dium: Diod. XVI. 55. μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ὀλύνθου Ὀλύμπια ποιήσας. Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 401. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶλεν Ὀλυνθον Φίλιππος, Ὀλύμπια ἐποίει. These games would be celebrated, either at the close of the year of Theophilus, or the beginning of the year of Themistocles: in the spring or summer B. C. 347. They were celebrated in Olymp. 111. 2 by <i>Alexander</i>, in the year of Euænetus, when he was preparing to pass into Asia: Diod. XVII. 16. θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς συνετέλεσεν ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ σκηνηκοὺς ἀγῶνας Διὶ καὶ Μούσαις, οὓς Ἀρχέλαος πρῶτος κατέδειξε. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐννέα συνετέλεσεν. Arrian. I. 11. τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελάου ἐτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν Αἰγαίᾳ διέθηκε τὰ Ὀλύμπια.—ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ, κ. τ. λ. The games of <i>Philip</i> after the Olynthian war were similar: Diod. XVI. 55. μεγαλοπρεπεῖς θυσίας συνετέλεσε, πανήγυριν δὲ μεγάλην συστήσάμενος, καὶ λαμπροὺς ἀγῶνας ποιήσας, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις παρελάμβανει. Alluded to by Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. I. 35. εἰ δὲ θύοι Φίλιππος Ὀλύμπια, πόλεις ἡρηκῶς. and by Dio Orat. II. p. 73. Reisk. ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Πιερίας ἔθνον ταῖς Μούσαις, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐτίθεσαν, ὃν φασιν ἀρχαῖον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς. See also Ulpian. ad Demosth. p. 242. ed. Paris. Steph. Byz. v. Δίον.</p> <p>The year of Theophilus, and the eleventh month of the year, Thargelion (conf. Laërt. III. 40.¹ Athen. V. p. 217. b. Senec. Epist. 58), or May B. C. 347, was Φιλίππου βασιλεύοντος ἔτος τρισκαίδεκατον. Laërt. III. 40. whence we ascend to his accession, in the beginning of B. C. 359.</p>
140	<p>346. 108, 3. <i>Archias</i>. Diod. XVI. 59. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. 655. Amm. p. 737. Harpocrat. v. διαψήφισις. See 345, 4.</p>	<p>First embassy περὶ εἰρήνης. which returned before the <i>Dionysia magna</i>. [March B. C. 346.] Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 30, 27—36, 3. Peace between <i>Philip</i> and the Athenians, ἀρχοντος Θεμιστοκλέους Dionys. Amm. p. 740.—ἐλαφιβολιῶνος ἐνάτη ἐπὶ δέκα Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 359. [March B. C. 346.] The ambassadors return from the second embassy, τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ σκιροφοριῶνος μηνός [June] Demosth. Ibid.—καὶ παρὴν ἐν Πύλαις ὁ Φίλιππος ἦδη. Ibid. Another deputation from Athens to <i>Philip</i>, the 23d Scirophorion: ταύτη ἐγγίνονθ' αἱ σπονδαί. Ibid. And Phocis was occupied by <i>Philip</i> a few days after; ὕστερον ἡμέραις πέντε ἢ ἕξ, ἀπολώλεσαν οἱ Φωκεῖς Demosth. p. 379.—about the 27th Scirophorion: Idem p. 360. The towns, therefore, were dismantled in July or August: Demosth. p. 366. τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας—τέτταρας μῆνας ὅλους ἐσώζοντο οἱ Φωκεῖς τοὺς ὕστερον.—and the Phocian war ended ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀρχίου Diod. XVI. 59. at the time of the <i>Pythia</i>: Demosth. p. 380. After a duration of ten years: Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 45, 24. τὸν δεκαετῆ πόλεμον.</p>

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ΜΟΙΣ δειπνῶν, Laërt. III. 2. was a corruption in the text of Hermippus, or perhaps an error of Laërtius in reporting it, for ΕΝ ΓΕΝΕΘΑΙΟΙΣ δειπνῶν. That Laërtius himself wrote γάμοις appears from his own epigram III. 45. The age of Plato is stated at 81 years by Cic. Senect. c. 5. Lucian. Macrob. c. 21. Censorin. c. 15. Hieron. ad Nepotian. p. 12. This computation supposes his birth in the year of Aminias B. C. 428. Other calculations dated his birth in the year of Apollodorus B. C. 429, and made him 82 at his death in May B. C. 347. *conf. a. 429.* Val. Max. VIII. 7, 3. ext. has the ambiguous expression *altero et octogesimo anno.*

Aristotle upon the death of Plato went to Atarnæ: Laërt. V. 9. φησὶν Ἀπολλόδορος—Πλάτωνος τελευτήσαντος—πρὸς Ἑρμείαν ἀπᾶραι (Ἀριστοτέλην) καὶ μεῖναι ἔτη τρία. Dionys. Amm. p. 728. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος ἀπῆρε πρὸς Ἑρμείαν τὸν Ἀταρνέως τύραννον, καὶ τριετὴ χρόνον παρ' αὐτῷ τρήσας ἐπ' Εὐβούλου ἄρχοντος εἰς Μυτιλήην ἐχωρίσθη.—Spreusippus succeeded Plato: Laërt. IV. 1. διεδέξατο αὐτὸν Σπεύσιππος,—ὃς ἦν υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Ποτῶνης· καὶ ἐσχολάρχησεν ἔτη ὀκτώ, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος.

(Demosth. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν ὑπὲρ προικός. Two or three years after the oration περὶ ὀνόματος. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 666. Πρὸς Μαντίθεον περὶ προικός. οὗτος ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ, καὶ πολλὰ ἔχει κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα, ἃ εἶη ἀν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥήτορος.—οὐ πολλοὶς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἠγωνίσταται τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁ κατήγορος, ἀλλὰ δύο ἢ τρισίν.—Demosth. πρὸς Πανταλέον παραγραφικός. After B. C. 347, because the facts, which gave rise to the suit, happened ἐλαφροβολίωνος μηνὸς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος p. 968. This oration, and that against Nausimachus and Xenopithes, begin with the same sentence: and at the close of each oration is the same argument, expressed with little variation. Compare p. 983. 990. 991. Reisk.)

Isocratis Φίλιππος. After the conclusion of the peace: c. 3. p. 83. e. ἐφθηγε ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην.—And before the Phocian war was ended: c. 21. p. 93. c. ἐν σοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι, κ. τ. λ. c. 31. p. 97. a. ἐὰν τὰ περὶ Φωκίας διοικήσῃς.—Consequently this piece was published between Elaphebolion [March] and July or August B. C. 346.

(Demosth. πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἔφεσις. Soon after the archonship of Archias. Harpocr. v. διαφήσεις. ἰδίως λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἐξετάσεων.—Αἰσχίνης κατὰ Τιμάρχον. [p. 11, 21. γεγόνاسι διαψηφίσεις ἐν τοῖς δήμοις, καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ψήφον δέδωκε περὶ τοῦ σώματος.] ἐντελέστατα δὲ διέλκεται περὶ τῶν διαψηφίσεων, ὡς γεγόνασιν ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου ἄρχοντος, Ἀνδροτίων ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι, καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν ἑκτῇ τῆς Ἀτθίδος. And this oration was composed not long after: Demosth. p. 1299. συμβαίνει δέ μοι—τὸν καιρὸν, καὶ τὸ παρῶν εὑνθαι τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὰς ἀποψηφίσεις, φοβεῖσθαι. Reiske ad

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andrides exhibited at Athens about the 101st Olympiad, (namely Olymp. 100. 4. *conf. a. 376.*) two distinct particulars seem confounded in the present text of Suidas. If we transpose the words thus—γεγονὼς ὀλυμπιάδι ρά', (καὶ) ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνα—we have a reference to his first exhibitions at Athens, recorded by the Marble, and to the ἀγῶνες Φιλίππου, or these very games at Dium, in B. C. 347. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. IV. pag. 2. quoting Suidas without suspicion, imagines that the exhibitions in Olymp. 101 were games at Dium. But they could not be the games of Philip, who began to reign 16 years after; nor of Archelaus, who was then dead: and the 101st Olymp. was a period of great confusion in the affairs of Macedonia, when it is unlikely that such games were celebrated. The transposition of the words of Suidas removes the difficulty; and supposes Anaxandrides to have written comedy thirty years: which is probable, because Anaxandrides lived to old age, γῆρας. See the narrative of Chamæleon apud Athen. IX. p. 374. a.

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>In Otes. p. 74, 37. δεκαετὴς γεγυνώς. Diod. XVI. 59. διαμείνας ἔτη δέκα. Diodorus has three variations in speaking of this war: 1st. XVI. 14. ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους [B. C. 357] ἐγένετο ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος ἔτη ἑνδεκα.—2nd. XVI. 23. ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου, [B. C. 355] ὁ πόλεμος συνέστη καὶ διέμεινεν ἔτη ἑννέα. 3d. ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου XVI. 59. where he reckons it <i>ten</i> years. These variations are consistent with the termination of the war. There were eleven years from <i>Agathocles</i> to <i>Archias</i>, and nine from <i>Callistratus</i> to <i>Archias</i>. But the year of <i>Agathocles</i> was the true date for the seizure of the temple, because three historians all agree in the year of that archon. <i>conf. a. 357, 3.</i> And, as the war ended in the very first month of <i>Archias</i>, the actual duration was ten years, as all authorities make it to be. <i>Pausanias</i> X. 3, 1. was led into an opposite error, and placed the end of the war one year too high: δεκάτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτει μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατάληψιν ἐπέθηκεν ὁ Φίλιππος πέρασ τῷ πολέμῳ, Θεοφίλου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος ὀγδόης δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ἔτει πρώτῳ.</p>
345.	<p>108, 4. <i>Eubulus</i>. Diod. XVI. 66. <i>Laërt.</i> V. 9. <i>Dionys.</i> <i>Dinarch.</i> p. 655. 667. <i>Amm.</i> p. 728. 737. <i>corrupte</i> Εὐδωρος apud <i>Dionys.</i> p. 648.</p>	

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Æschin. l. c. rightly conjectures that Æschin. in Timarch. and Demosth. in Eubulid. refer to the same διαψήφισις, which fixes this oration near the date of the prosecution of Timarchus. It may be collected from p. 1311 that the client of Demosthenes was born a short time before the death of Thrasylbulus: and was therefore now about 45 years of age. Petitus L. A. p. 211 and Siebelis (or rather Lenzius) ad Philoch. fragm. p. 61 understand Harpoer. of a former Archias, who was archon B. C. 419. Petitus remarks: *Instituta est primum hæc διαψήφισις*—Ol. 90. 2. But this process existed long before the date of the first Archias, in the time of Pericles: Plutarch. Pericl. c. 37. in B. C. 445. Philoch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716. (conf. Siebel. p. 61.) It must have fallen into comparative disuse in B. C. 419 (during the relaxation of the law concerning the birth of citizens; for which see Petit. L. Att. p. 214), and would revive in consequence of the law of Aristophon in B. C. 403. [cf. a. 403.] Moreover the reference of Harpocratio to Æschin. Timarch. shews that he had in view the present Archias: and this is confirmed by the series of the books in Philochorus; who mentions in lib. V. the year of Nausinicus [B. C. 378]: Harpoer. v. συμμορία. in lib. VI. Callimachus [B. C. 349]: Dionys. p. 734. and Theophrastus [B. C. 340]: Dionys. p. 741. between whom Archias would occur also in lib. VI.)

Demosth. περὶ εἰρήνης. Dionys. Amm. p. 737. μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀρχίας· ἐφ' οὗ παραινέει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ κωλύειν Φίλιππον τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας μετέχειν, μηδ' ἀφορμὴν δίδόναι πολέμου, νεωστὶ πεποιημένους τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην.

Æschinis κατὰ Τιμάρχου. After the embassy in June B. C. 346, and before the cause παραπρεσβείας, in August or Sept. B. C. 343. Quo anno acta fuerit, nullibi diserte proditur: certe post Ol. 108. 2 quo tempore Athenienses legatos denuo miserunt, et ante Ol. 109. 2; quo Demosthenes adversarium insimulavit. Taylor. Præfat. Æschines was at this time in his 45th year: p. 7, 38. ἔστιν ἡμῖν τὸντὶ πέμπτον καὶ τετταρακοστὸν ἔτος. The prosecution was successful, although accounts differ concerning the fate of Timarchus. Conf. Arg. Orationis. Vit. X. or. p. 841. A. Ulpian. ad Demosth. p. 195. 4. Suid. Τιμάρχ. Demosthenes Fals. Leg. p. 341 only says—τὸν μὲν ἀνήρηκε.—

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Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 231. p. 354.
 Εἰρ ὑπε ὑπο ἐπὶ ...
 Ἀγα ὑπὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρχι Ἡρα
 Θηση ὑπο τυροὶ
 ὑπε . Λυσικρατ ... Καλλίστρατος Ἀμφι-
 λόχῳ, Ἰξίῳ ὑπε . Καλλιππι ... ο
 Καλλιππι Videtur Archias fuisse Ol.
 108. 3, remotior enim Archippus. His-
 trionis mentio facta erat: ὑπε . Λυσικρα-
 τος. ὑπε . Καλλιππίδης — Ex fabularum
 nominibus supersunt fortasse, Ἀγα[μέμ-
 νονι], Ἡρα[κλεῖ], Θησε[ῖ], Τυροῖ vel
 [Σα]τύροι[s]. Ἀμφιλόχῳ, Ἰξίω[νι]. Hæc
 duo nomina docent tetralogiam hoc loco
 nominatam esse: unde constat in hac
 columnæ tragædias esse recensitas. These
 particulars are skilfully elicited by the
 editor. Archippus B. C. 321 and 318
 are too far removed from Diotimus B. C.
 354, in whose year a comic exhibition
 is recorded in another part of the same
 Marble. This, then, is an exhibition of

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
142	<p>344. Ol. 109. <i>Lyciscus</i>. Diod. XVI. 69. Dionys. Di-narch. pag. 648. 655. Amm. p. 737. Demosth. Theocrin. p. 1330.</p>	<p><i>Timoleon</i> ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ Κορίνθου ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐβούλου. Diod. XVI. 66. He gains Syracuse ἐπὶ Λυκίσκου. Id. XVI. 69.</p>
343.	<p>109, 2. <i>Pythodotus</i>. Diod. XVI. 70. Dionys. Di-narch. p. 648. 666. Amm. p. 728. 737. Laërt. V. 10. <i>Pythodorus</i> apud Demosth. Olympiod. pag. 1174.</p>	<p><i>Timoleon</i> completes the conquest of Syracuse ἐπὶ Λυκίσκου. Diod. XVI. 69. and sends <i>Dionysius</i> to Corinth ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου ἄρχοντος. XVI. 70. [After midsummer B. C. 343.] <i>Dionysius</i> was thus finally expelled, having reigned originally ἔτη δέκα, δώδεκα δὲ ἄλλα μετὰ τὴν Δίωνος στρατείαν ἐν πολέμοις διαφορηθείς. Plutarch. Timol. c. 13. He had recovered Syracuse in the tenth year after his first expulsion: ἀνέλαβε τὰ πράγματα ἔτει δεκάτῳ Plutarch. Timol. c. 1. therefore, in B. C. 347. and the twelve years are computed to the first setting forth of <i>Timoleon</i>, ἐπὶ Εὐβούλου, twenty-two years after the death of the elder <i>Dionysius</i>. The actual space, from the death of <i>Dionysius</i> in spring B. C. 367 to the year of <i>Pythodotus</i> August B. C. 343, is twenty-four years and upwards.</p> <p>An Athenian expedition is sent into Acarnania, in the year of <i>Pythodotus</i>: Demosth. Olympiod. p. 1173. 1174. ἐπελσθητε ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν.—ὁ ἄρχων Πυθόδωρος. [sic.]—to counteract <i>Philip</i>, who was in Acarnania before his Sey-thian expedition: Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 120. ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλή-λυθε καὶ Λευκάδα. p. 118. ἦκεν ἐπὶ Ἀμβρακίαν. Halonnes. p. 84. ἐπὶ Ἀμβρακίαν στρατεύεται. Philipp. IV. p. 133.—τὴν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ὁδόν. <i>Demosthenes</i> is sent with other ambassadors in the year of <i>Pythodotus</i>—(πέρυσιν, that is, the year before the archonship of <i>Sosi-genes</i>: Philipp. III. p. 129)—and counteracts <i>Philip</i> in Ambracia and Peloponnesus. He enumerates p. 129. as his colleagues in this mission <i>Polyeuctus</i>—Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκείνοσσι, <i>Hegesippus</i>, <i>Clitomachus</i>, <i>Lycurgus</i>.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p><i>Aristotle</i> after three years' stay at Atarnæ (cf. a. 347) went to Mytilenæ; in the year of Eubulus: Apollodor. apud Laërt. V. 9. εἰς Μυτιλήνην ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐβούλου, τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Dionys. Amm. p. 728. ἐπ' Εὐβούλου ἄρχοντος εἰς Μυτιλήνην ἐχωρίσθη.</p> <p><i>Demosth.</i> κατὰ Φιλίππου δεύτερος. Dionys. Amm. p. 737. Λυκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας· ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος· “Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γέγωνται”——</p>	<p>tragedies at one of the Dionysian festivals of the year of <i>Archias</i>; and establishes that at this period tragic <i>tetralogiae</i> were still in use.</p>
<p><i>Demosth.</i> περὶ Ἀλουνήσου. Dionys. Amm. p. 737. Πυθόδοτος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὀγδόην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις.—καὶ τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου συνετάξατο λόγον, ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου τῆς δευτέρας πρεσβείας, τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους. According to Libanius in arg. <i>Hegesippus</i> was the author of the oration on <i>Halonnesus</i>:—καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδέας τῶν λόγων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων· κατὰ Καλλίππου γὰρ τοῦ Παιανιέως φησὶν ὁ τὸν λόγον γεγραφῶς ἀπενηνοχέαι γραφὴν παρανόμων. [p. 87.] φαίνεται δὲ Ἠγήσιππος τὴν κατὰ Καλλίππου γραφὴν ἐνστησάμενος.—δύναται δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πεποιήσθαι συμβουλὴν (περὶ τῆς Ἀλουνήσου) καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Ἠγήσιππος· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως. The expedition of <i>Philip</i> into Acarnania—ἐπὶ δ' Ἀμβρακίαν στρατεύεται p. 84.—is noticed in this oration: confirming the date of Dionysius.</p>	<p><i>Antiphanes</i> still exhibits comedy: <i>Athen.</i> VI. p. 223. e. Δημοσθένης—Φιλίππου Ἀθηναίοις Ἀλόννησον διδόντος, συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν εἰ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσιν. ὅπερ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Νεοττίδι παιδιὰν θέμενος ἐρεσχελεῖ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.</p> <p>ὁ δεσπότης δὲ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπέλαβεν, ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. ἡγάπησεν ἂν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.</p> <p>Compare <i>Plutarch. vit. Demosth.</i> c. 9. <i>Demosthenes</i> might be ridiculed by the poet for his argument in the extant oration p. 78. or (if that is of <i>Hegesippus</i>) in some other upon the same question.</p>
<p><i>Demosth. et Æschin.</i> περὶ παραπρεσβείας. In the year of <i>Pythodotus</i>. Dionys. p. 737. three years after the embassy: <i>Argum.</i> <i>Demosth.</i> p. 338. Reisk. μετὰ τρία ἔτη τῆς γραφῆς εἰσῆλθεν ἔχων τὴν κατηγορίαν.—μετὰ τρία ἔτη εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης κατηγορήσων Αἰσχίνου. Three years from the second embassy were completed in the last month of <i>Lyciscus</i>, or June B. C. 343. <i>Æschines</i> was assisted by the influence of <i>Eubulus</i>: <i>Ulpian. ad Demosth.</i> p. 261. ed. Par. Εὐβουλον τὸν διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα τὴν πολιτείαν.—whom <i>Demosthenes</i> addresses in the oration p. 434. Reisk. confer <i>Ulpianum ad Demosth.</i> p. 243. <i>Photium</i> cod. 61. p. 61.</p> <p>Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος ἐν τῇ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστορίᾳ κατέταξε τρεῖς βίβλους περιεχούσας Σικελικὰς πράξεις· ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τυραννίδος διήλθε χρόνον ἑτῶν πεντήκοντα, καὶ κατέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἑκπτωσιν Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου· εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ βίβλοι τρεῖς, ἀπὸ τῆς μᾶ' ἄχρι τῆς μγ'. <i>Diod.</i> XVI. 71. under the year of <i>Pythodotus</i>.</p>	<p><i>Demosthenes</i> was ridiculed for that expression by <i>Alexis</i> in the <i>Στρατιώτης</i> and the <i>Ἀδελφοί</i>, by <i>Anaxilas</i> in the <i>Εὐανδρεία</i>, by <i>Timocles</i> in the <i>Ἡρώες</i>. <i>Athen.</i> VI. p. 223. e.—224. b. Whence we may collect the time of those comedies.</p> <p><i>Antiphanes</i> in the <i>Neottis</i> had also noticed <i>Sinopē</i>: <i>Athen.</i> XIII. p. 586. a. whom he mentioned in the <i>Ἀρκὰς</i>, the <i>Ἀκέστρια</i>, the <i>Κηπουρὸς</i>, <i>Athen.</i> XIII. p. 586. a. and in the <i>Ἀλιενομένη</i>, <i>Athen.</i> VIII. p. 338. e.—339. b. where she is named with <i>Callimedon</i> and <i>Misgolas</i>. <i>Callimedon</i> is noticed again in the <i>Γόργυθος</i>. <i>Athen.</i> VIII. p. 340. c. From the times of <i>Callimedon</i>, <i>Misgolas</i>, and <i>Sinopē</i>, these comedies may be referred to the later period of</p>

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	<p>342. 109, 3. <i>Sosigenes</i>. Diod. XVI. 72. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. Amm. p. 737. Laert. X. 14. Plutarch. Mor. p. 839. D. Inscriptio Gruter. apud Corsin. Fast. Att. tom. IV. p. 76.</p>	<p><i>Philip</i>, ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου ἄρχοντος,—ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θράκην. Diod. XVI. 70. 71. He passed ten months in Thrace, and wintered there: Demosth. Cherson. p. 98. δέκα μῆνας ἀπογενομένου τὰνθρώπου, καὶ νόσφ καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ πολέμοις ἀποληφθέντος. Since <i>Philip</i> was in Acarnania in the year of Pythodotus (<i>conf. a. 343</i>), and since he commenced his Thracian expedition in the year of the same archon, in which expedition he consumed ten months, including a winter, (the winter of the archon <i>Sosigenes</i>: <i>cf. a. 341, 3.</i>) he must have commenced this Scythian war towards the end of the year of Pythodotus, or spring B. C. 342.</p> <p><i>Diopithes</i> the Athenian general (the father of <i>Menander</i>: Ulpian. ad Demosth. p. 54, 3. ed. Par.) is stationed at the Hellespont: Dionys. Dinarch. p. 666. Διοπίθους ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλησποντον, τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ, διατρίβοντος.—ἔστι δὲ ὁ χρόνος κατὰ Πυθοδότου ἄρχοντα, ὡς δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος. He was still on the same station in the year of <i>Sosigenes</i>, when he was defended by Demosthenes in the oration περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρόνησφ. <i>cf. a. 341, 3.</i></p>
341.	<p>109, 4. <i>Nicomachus</i>. Diod. XVI. 74. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 648. 657. 667. Amm. p. 738.</p>	<p><i>Philip</i> is still in Thrace, where he wintered: ἐχέμαζε Demosth. Cherson. p. 101. στρατείας, ἣν ἐνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονὶ ἐν Θράκῃ ποιεῖται Id. p. 90.—waiting for the Etesian winds: περιμένοντας τοὺς ἐτησίαις. Id. p. 93. which were in July: Ulpian. p. 35, 41. ed. Par. ἐτησίοι οἱ ἀνεμοί, οἱ κατ' ἔτος πνέοντες· πνέουσι δὲ ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. Vit. Pythag. apud Phot. cod. 249. p. 1321. οἱ ἐτησίοι πνέουσι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀκμαιοτάτου θέρους. Aristot. Problem. p. 940. a. οἱ ἐτησίοι—θέρους πνέουσιν. Euthymenes apud Senecam N. Q. IV. 2. Nilus fluit major quamdiu Etesiae tempus observant. But the Nile rose at Midsummer: <i>conf. a. 321</i>. Demosth. Cherson. p. 94. λογίζεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους. explained by Ulpian p. 56, 21 to mean τοῦ θέρους. <i>Philip</i> had seized some Thracian towns, ἀρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὕτω Διοπίθους στρατηγοῦντος. Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 114. <i>conf. Phil. IV. p. 133</i>. Consequently, soon after B. C. 346. He had now been nearly thirteen years engaged in views against the Greeks: Demosth. Phil. III. p. 117. Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν, οἷς ἐπιπολάζει, ἠδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας. These thirteen years not completed ascend to the archonship of Diotimus and the seventh year of the reign of <i>Philip</i>; and seem to point to the cam-</p>

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Aristotle comes to the court of Philip: Apollodor. apud Laërt. V. 10. ἐπὶ Πυθοδότῳ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Φιλίππον, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, Ἀλεξάνδρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη ἤδη γεγονότος. Dionys. Amm. p. 728. πρὸς Φιλίππον ᾤχετο κατὰ Πυθοδότον ἄρχοντα, καὶ διέτριψε χρόνον ὀκταετῇ παρ' αὐτῷ καθηγούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρου. The eight years are to be computed, not to the death of Philip, but to the archonship of Euænetus, when Aristotle left Macedonia and settled at Athens.

Isocrates æt. 94 began to compose the Panathenæic oration: c. 1. p. 233. b. τοῖς ἔτεσι τοῖς ἐνεήκοντα καὶ τέτταρσι, ἀγὼ τυγχάνω γεγυνώς. Kruger supplies μικρὸν πρὸ τῶν Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων s. 8. *Isocrates* p. 236. c. mentions the Panathenæa. But they had preceded the composition of the piece: μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἡχθέσθην κ. τ. λ. *Isocrates* was 94 complete in the beginning of the year of Sosigenes: the Panathenæa occurred in *Hecatombæon* of the same archon. The oration was begun probably a short time afterwards. The composition was interrupted for three years: c. 104. p. 289. a. ἤδη τῶν ἡμισέων γεγραμμένων ἐπιγενομένου μοι νοσήματος—τούτῳ διατελῶ τρίτ' ἔτη μαχόμενος.

(*Demosth. κατὰ Ὀλυμπιοδώρου βλάβης.* After *Olympiodorus* had returned from military service in Acarnania: conf. p. 1174.—*Ibid.* διέγραψεν ὁ ἄρχων Πυθοδῶρος κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν τουτουὶ Ὀλυμπιοδώρου ἀμφισβήτησιν. This cause, therefore, was after the archonship of *Pythodotus*.)

Birth of Epicurus: Laërt. X. 14. ἐγεννήθη, φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ Σωσιγένης ἄρχοντος, μηνὸς γαμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμῃ· ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς Πλάτωνος τελευτῆς ἑπτά. [January B. C. 341.]

Demosth. περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρόνῃσφ. Dionys. Amm. p. 737. Σωσιγένης, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐνάτην διετέλεσε κατὰ Φιλίππον δημηγορίαν, περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρόνῃσφ στρατιωτῶν. In the eleventh month of Philip's absence in Thrace, where he waited for the Etesian winds: *Demosth.* p. 90—93. therefore towards the close of the year of Sosigenes, in spring B. C. 341. Philip had now sent succours to Cardia against *Diopithes*: p. 104. καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε βοήθειαν.—p. 105. τὴν Καρδιαν πόλιν ἔχει καὶ ὁμολογεῖ. And was preparing to attack Byzantium: p. 106. νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παριόντος. The orator p. 97 mentions, as of leading influence at this time, *Diopithes*, *Chares*, *Aristophon*: who was therefore *Aristophon the Colyttian*.—*Demosth. κατὰ Φιλίππον τρίτος.* Dionys. p. 738. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν δεκάτην, ἐν ᾗ

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Antiphanes. He was at this time about sixty-one years of age, and had exhibited comedy about forty years. cf. ann. 404. 383.

Birth of Menander: in the year of *Sosigenes*. Inscriptio apud Corsin. F. A. tom. IV. p. 76. *Suidas*: Μένανδρος—*Διοπίθους* καὶ Ἑγησιστράτης—κωμικὸς τῆς νέας κωμῳδίας—γέγραφε κωμῳδίας ῥή', καὶ ἐπιστόλας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ λόγους ἑτέρους πλείους καταλογάδην. He was the nephew of *Alexis*; *Suid.* Ἀλεξίς, who instructed him: *Proleg. Aristoph.* p. xxx. Μένανδρος *Διοπίθους* υἱός, Ἀθηναῖος, λαμπρὸς καὶ βίῳ καὶ γένει, συνδιατρίψας δὲ τὰ πολλὰ Ἀλέξει, ὑπὸ τούτου δοκεῖ παιδεύθηναι. His father *Diopithes* commanded the Athenian forces on the Hellespont in B. C. 342, 341. Conf. an. 342, 2. 341, 3. *Menander* is said to have died æt. 52. cf. a. 291. But, as his death is placed in Ol. 122. 1. in the 32d year of *Ptolemy Soter*, and in the archonship of *Philippus*; which are equivalent to B. C. 294; and as between *Sosigenes* and that year there are only forty-nine archons, *Menander* could only have lived fifty-one years, even if his birth be dated from the first month of *Sosigenes*.

Aphareus exhibits tragedy till this year: *Vit. X. or.* p. 839. D. ἀχρι Σωσιγένης [Feb. or March B. C. 341]. In twenty-eight years he produced 37 or 35 tragedies. cf. a. 368.

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		<p>paign of B. C. 353, when he seized upon Pagasæ. cf. a. 353.</p> <p>In Demosth. Philipp. III. p. 113 <i>Philip</i> is spoken of as <i>late</i> in Thessaly : καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρῶτῃν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβόν. thus confirming Diodorus XVI. 69.</p>
340.	<p>Ol. 110. <i>Theophrastus</i>. Diod. XVI. 77. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Amm. p. 738. 740. 741. Æschin. Ctes. p. 69, 39. Boeckh. Inscr. Ant. No. 530 p. 484. ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἀρχοντος ὅρος χωρίου τιμῆς ἐνοφειλομένης Φανοστράτῳ Παιαν. . . XX. (sc. δισχιλίων δραχμῶν.)</p>	<p><i>Philip</i> τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναπλεύσας Περίνθῳ προσέβαλεν, ἀποτυχὼν δὲ ἐντεῦθεν Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει, in the archonship of <i>Theophrastus</i>. Philochor. apud Dionys. p. 741. He was engaged in the siege of Selymbria at the end of <i>Boëdromion</i>: Demosth. Coron. p. 249—251. During this siege, according to Ulpian p. 88, l. ed. Par. he wrote the letter to the Athenian people, which was answered by Demosthenes in the oration πρὸς τὴν Φιλίππου ἐπιστολήν. Σηλυμβρίαν ἐπολιόρκει Φίλιππος—καὶ γέγραφεν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιστολήν αἰτιώμενος ὅτι βοηθεῖεν Σηλυμβριανοῖς οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις ταῖς συνθήκαις. A letter of <i>Philip</i> to this effect is extant in Demosth. Coron. p. 251. which was written in answer to an Athenian embassy, appointed on the last day of <i>Boëdromion</i>. Demosth. p. 250. But that letter of <i>Philip</i>, which produced the oration of <i>Demosthenes</i>, makes no mention of Selymbria, although the date ascribed to it by Ulpian is verified by other circumstances.</p> <p>Demosthenes in Philipp. IV. p. 140 (spoken in B. C. 341) had urged more fully than in the two preceding orations (de Cherson. et Philipp. III) the alliance of Persia: and recommended an embassy; which was sent: Philippi Epistola p. 160. πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλκατε. And Persian succours were obtained: conf. Diod. XVI. 75. The name of their commander is preserved by Pausanias I. 29, 7. Ἀπολλόδωρος, ξένων ἡγεμῶν,—διεφύλαξε Περωνθίοις τὴν πόλιν. And the fact is mentioned by <i>Alexander</i> apud Arrian. Exp. II. 14, 9. Περωνθίοις ἐβοηθήσατε—καὶ εἰς Θράκην δύναμιν ἐπεμψεν Ὀχρος.</p> <p>Diodorus places these sieges a year too high: XVI. 74—76. ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Νικομάχου—Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τὴν Πέρινθον ἐστράτευσεν.—τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας πολυχρονίου γενομένης—τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παραλαβὼν προσέπεισε τῷ Βυζαντίῳ. <i>Philip</i> might have approached Perinthus towards the end of the year of <i>Nicomachus</i>: but we know from Philochorus that he was engaged in these sieges in the year of <i>Theophrastus</i>.</p>

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<p>πειράται διδάσκειν ὅτι λύει τὴν εἰρήνην Φίλιππος. After the oration on the Chersonese: therefore towards midsummer B. C. 341. Philip was still in Thrace: Demosth. p. 115. νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα.—and was approaching Byzantium: p. 120. νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου πορεύεται.—Demosth. κατὰ Φιλίππου τέταρτος. Dionys. Amm. p. 738. Νικόμαχος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην δημηγορίαν διελέλυθε περὶ τοῦ λελυκέναι τὴν εἰρήνην Φιλίππου.—ἥς ἐστὶν ἀρχή· “Καὶ σπουδαῖα νομίζων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ ὧν βουλευέσθε”—In the beginning of the year of Nicomachus: for the same state of things is mentioned as in the preceding oration. Philip was still only approaching Byzantium: p. 149. νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου παριόντος. Aristodemus is mentioned p. 150 as a leader of the opposite party. cf. Æschin. p. 30. Demosth. p. 232. 344.</p>	
<p>Isocrates completes the Panathenaic Oration: c. 104. p. 289. b. c. ἐδέοντό μου καὶ συνεβούλευον μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμιτελῆ, ἀλλὰ—προσέχειν τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸν νοῦν.—ἐπέσθην, γεγυνώς ἔτη τρία μόνον ἀπολείποντα τῶν ἑκατόν. cf. a. 342.</p> <p>Ephorus τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνθάδε [at the year of Nicomachus] κατέστροφεν εἰς τὴν Περίνθου πολιορκίαν—ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑρακλειδῶν καθόδου. χρόνον δὲ περιέλαβε σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ βίβλους γέγραφε τριάκοντα. Diod. XVI. 76. The siege of Perinthus was carried on in the year of the next archon, Theophrastus: Philochorus apud Dionys. p. 741. Θεόφραστος Ἀλαιοῦς ἐπὶ τούτου Φίλιππος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναπλεύσας Περίνθῳ προσέβαλεν. If Philochorus be accurate, which there is no reason to doubt, the history of Ephorus included the year of Nicomachus, and closed at the commencement of the siege: of which therefore no account would be given by Ephorus. Diodorus, then, derived his narrative of that siege, not from Ephorus, as Marx ad Ephori fragm. p. 260 supposes, but rather from Diyllus, or some other historian.</p>	<p>Epigenes the comic poet flourished in the time of Pixodarus prince of Caria; whom he mentions in the Μνημάτων apud Athen. XI. p. 472. f. and who began to reign in B. C. 340. See Appendix c. 14. This poet was contemporary with Antiphanes, because one drama was ascribed to Epigenes or Antiphanes: Athen. IX. p. 409. d. Ἐπιγένης ἢ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀργυρίου ἀφανισμῷ.</p>
<p>Among the leading orators at this juncture are Eubulus, Aristophon the Colyttian,—Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεύς Demosth. p. 250.—Hegesippus, Philocrates, Cephisophon. Demosth. Cor. p. 248—250. Aristophon the Colyttian, then, is a different person from that Aristophon, in whose old age, ἤδη διὰ γῆρας τὴν προστασίαν καταλιπόντος Vit. X. or. p. 344. D. Demosthenes began to act in public life, fifteen years before; (cf. a. 355.) who was therefore Aristophon the Azenian: contrary to the opinion of Ruhnken. tom. VIII. p. 130. Reisk. The designation Κολυττεύς occurs only in a single passage of Demosthenes; p. 250. which Reiske (ad locum) supposes to be mutilated; and he pronounces the Colyttian Aristophon to be no other than the Azenian. His argument is ingenious, but is refuted by the consideration of dates. The Azenian was engaged in public affairs in B. C. 408, sixty-three years before this period: cf. annum: and, in the opinion of Ruhnkenius, was an</p>	

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
339.	110, 2. <i>Lysimachides</i> . Diod. XVI. 82. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Amm. p. 742. Laërt. IV. 14.	<p>The siege of Byzantium still continues: Diod. XVI. 77. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Θεοφράστου, Φιλίππον Βυζάντιον πολιορκούντος, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἔκριναν τὸν Φίλιππον λευκέναι τὴν εἰρήνην. Philochorus apud Dionys. p. 741. Θεόφραστος—ἐπὶ τούτου (Ἀθηναῖοι)—ἐχειροτόνησαν τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης σταθεῖσαν, ναῦς δὲ πληροῦν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. The peace, concluded in March B. C. 346, ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους, διέμεινεν ἑπταετὴ χρόνον ἄχρι Νικομάχου. ἐπὶ δὲ Θεοφράστου τοῦ μετὰ Νικόμαχον (αἱ συνθήκαι) ἐλύθησαν. Dionys. p. 740. It included the whole year of Nicomachus, and five or six months, at the least, of Theophrastus. It still continued when Philip addressed the Athenians in a letter apud Demosth. Coron. p. 251. Some weeks, probably, after the 30th Boëdromion: since the decree which produced that letter was dated Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέῃ. Demosth. p. 250. The peace therefore lasted seven complete years; till the beginning of B. C. 339. Philip raises the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium about the end of the year of Theophrastus.</p> <p>Timoleon defeats the Carthaginians at the river Crimesus: ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος Diod. XVI. 77—80. ἱσταμένον θέρους ὥρα, λήγοντι μηνὶ θαρρηλιῶνι Plutarch. Timol. c. 27. [June B. C. 339.]</p>
338.	110, 9. <i>Chæronidas</i> . Æschin. Ctes. p. 57, 35. Demosth. Cor. p. 243. 253. Plutarch. Vit. Demosth. c. 24. <i>Chæronidas</i> Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Isocr. p. 537. Plutarch. Mor. p. 837. E. <i>Chæronidas</i> Diod. XVI. 84. Plutarch. Mor. p. 842. F.	<p>Philip is chosen general of the Amphictyons, ἑαρινῆς πύλας, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ. Demosth. Coron. p. 278. 279. [February]—Id. p. 278. μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς (ὁ Φίλιππος) δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρράϊαν, ἐβρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς τὴν Ἑλλάειαν καταλαμβάνει. In the year of <i>Lysimachides</i>: Philochor. apud Dionys. p. 742. Λυσισμαχίδης Ἀχαρνεύς ἐπὶ τούτου—Φιλίππου καταλαβόντος Ἑλλάειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον.—And in the month <i>Sciophorion</i>: Demosth. Cor. p. 288. Decree of <i>Demosthenes</i> for negotiating an alliance with Thebes, σκιροφοριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα. Demosth. Ibid. [June B. C. 338.]—<i>Chæronea</i>: ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος. Dionys. Isocr. p. 537. Diod. XVI. 84. on the 7th of <i>Metagitnion</i>: Plutarch. Camill. c. 19. τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς ἑβδόμῃ—ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἠτύχησαν. <i>Archidamus</i> was slain in Italy on the same day: Id. Ibid. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἐν τῷ μεταγεινιῶνι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ μετ' Ἀρχιδάμου διαβάντες εἰς Ἑλλάειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων διεφθάρησαν. Diod. XVI. 88. καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἡ περὶ τὴν</p>

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<p>ambassador in B. C. 411 (Thucyd. VIII. 86), <i>seventy-one</i> years before. Whence it is manifest that he could not be the same person as that <i>Aristophon</i> who was engaged in the present transactions in B. C. 340.</p>	
<p><i>Demosth.</i> πρὸς τὴν Φιλίππου ἐπιστόλῃν. <i>Dionys. Amm.</i> p. 738. Θεόφραστος ἀρχὼν ἐφ' οὗ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους γενναίως ὑπομείναι τὸν πόλεμον ὡς κατηγγελκότος αὐτὸν ἤδη Φιλίππου. καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη τελευταία τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν. <i>After</i> the Persian succours had been sent to relieve Perinthus: <i>Demosth.</i> p. 153. οἱ σατράπαι—ἐναγχος μὲν ξένους μισθοφόρους εἰσπέμψαντες ἐκώλυσαν ἐκπολιορκηθῆναι Πέρινθον. And just before the Athenians sent a force to relieve the towns; which was done in consequence of this oration: <i>Dionys.</i> p. 741. Δημοσθένους παρακάλεσαντος αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ψηφίσματα γράψαντος, χειροτόνησαν τὴν στήλην καθελείν, κ. τ. λ. Spoken, therefore, in the beginning of B. C. 339.</p> <p>Διῦλλος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῆς δευτέρας συντάξεως ἀρχὴν πεποιήται τῆς Ἐφόρου ἱστορίας τὴν τελευταίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς πράξεις συνέλπει—μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου τελευτῆς. <i>Diod. XVI.</i> 76. His history began with the year of Theophrastus, and would include the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium.</p> <p><i>Xenocrates</i> succeeded <i>Speusippus</i>: <i>Laërt.</i> IV. 14. ἀφηγήσατο τῆς σχολῆς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη, ἐπὶ Λυσιστραχίδου ἀρχαμένου κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. The eight years of <i>Speusippus</i>, computed from the death of Plato, were completed in the eleventh month of <i>Theophrastus</i>; May or June B. C. 339. <i>cf. a.</i> 347. Placed by <i>Eusebius Chron.</i> ed. Ven. at Ol. 110. 3 anno 1678 [from Oct. B. C. 339].</p> <p><i>Anaxarchus</i> the companion of <i>Alexander</i> flourished: <i>Laërt.</i> IX. 58. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνῆν, καὶ ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Confer <i>Plutarch. Alexand.</i> c. 52. <i>Arrian. Exp.</i> IV. 10.</p>	149
<p>Death of <i>Isocrates</i>: <i>Dionys.</i> p. 537. ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον ἐπὶ Χαιρωνίδου ἀρχοντος, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὕστερον τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης, δυοῖν δέοντα βεβιωκὼς ἑκατὸν ἔτη. <i>Vit. X.</i> or. p. 837. Ε. ἐτελεύτα ἐπὶ Χαιρωνίδου ἀρχοντος, ἀπαγγελθέντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν πυθόμενος, ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου τετράσιν ἡμέραις. <i>conf. Pausan.</i> I. 18, 8. He had completed his 98th year; and had finished the <i>Panathenæic</i> oration <i>two</i> years, and commenced it <i>five</i> years before: <i>Ibid.</i> ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐνεήκοντα ἔτη βίου, ἢ, ὥς τινες, ἑκατόν. πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἢ, ὥς τινες, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τῆς τελευτῆς, συγγράψας τὸν Παναθηναϊκόν. <i>Cic. Senectut.</i> c. 5. <i>Eum librum, qui Panathenæicus inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea.</i> Cicero and the biographer agree: the one speaking of complete, the other, of current years. <i>Lucian. Macrob.</i> c. 23. Ἰσοκράτης ἐνεήκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἐτῶν γεγονὼς τὸν ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΝ ἔγραφε</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>Χαιρώνειαν ἐγένετο μάχη. See <i>Appendix c.</i> 16 for the arrangement which has been here adopted, in opposition to Wesseling and Taylor, who place the election of <i>Philip</i> as Amphictyonic general in the archonship of <i>Theophrastus</i>; and to Mr. Mitford, who supposes a space of <i>fourteen months</i> between the occupation of Elatea and the battle of Chæronea.</p>
337.	110,4. <i>Phrynichus</i> . Diod. XVI. 89. Dionys. Dinar. p. 649.	<p>Death of <i>Timoleon</i>: ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φρυνίχου. Diod. XVI. 89. He had composed the affairs of Sicily ἐν οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ. Plutarch. Timol. c. 37. <i>Phrynichus</i> is the eighth archon, both inclusive, from <i>Lyciscus</i>, in whose year <i>Timoleon</i> gained Syracuse. cf. a. 344.</p>

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λόγον [an error for ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΚΟΝ], περὶ ἔτη δὲ ἐνὸς ἀποδόντα ἑκατὸν γεγονώς, ὡς ἦσθετο Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Φιλίππου —νεκικημένους—ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον. Quintilian. Inst. III. 1, 14. *octavum et nonagesimum implevit annum.* Hieronymus ad Nepotian. p. 12. *Isocrates 99 annos in docendi scribendique labore complevit.* Valer. Max. VIII. 7, 9. ext. repeats in substance the account of Cicero. Censorinus c. 15 states the age of Isocrates as about 100 years. Philostrat. Vit. Sophist. I. 17. ἀπέθανεν Ἀθήνησιν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη. —μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Χαιρώνειαν ἐτελεύτα.

Lycurgi κατὰ Λυσικλέους. Vit. X. or. p. 843. D. εἶπε περὶ ἱερῶν πολλάκις, γραψάμενος—Λυσικλέα τὸν στρατηγόν. Quoted by Harpocr. v. ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ. Λεμβάδεια. [l. Λεβάδεια cum Vales.] Diod. XVI. 88. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν Λυσικλέους μὲν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, Λυκούργου μὲν τοῦ ῥήτορος κατηγορήσαντος· οὗτος γὰρ τῶν τότε ῥητόρων μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα, καὶ δώδεκα μὲν ἔτη τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως διοικήσας ἐπαινουμένως, κ. τ. λ. Vit. X. or. p. 841. B. et Psephisma ad calcem p. 852. B. ταμίας ἐπὶ τρεῖς πενταετηρίδας. I had followed Wess. ad Diod. l. c. in interpreting "15 years." But this account and that of Diodorus will agree, if we understand πενταετηρίς to mean a term of four years complete, and the fifth year current. Thus an *Olympiad* is πενταετηρίς: Pindar. Ol. III. 38. X. 70. and a *Pythiad* πενταετηρίς: Schol. Pindar. Pyth. p. 485. ed. Heyn. On the acts of *Lycurgus* conf. Pausan. I. 29, 16.

(*Lycurgi κατὰ Αἰτολύκου.* After the battle of Chæronea and before the prosecution of *Leocrates* B. C. 330. Harpocr. Αἰτολ. Λυκούργου λόγος ἐστὶ κατ' Αἰτολύκου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου. οὗτος δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους ὑπεκτιθέμενος ἐν τοῖς Χαιρωνικοῖς ἔάλω· καὶ κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ οἱ δικάσταί, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς δημοῖ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λεωκράτους. Conf. *Lycurg.* Leoer. p. 154, 30. This oration is also mentioned Suid. Λυκούργος. Harpocr. ἡρία. Vit. X. or. p. 843. D. E. corrected by Vales. p. 103. ad Harpocr.)

Lycurgus was older than *Demosthenes*: Liban. Arg. Aristogiton. τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἡλικίας χρόνον εἰς τὴν πρωτολογίαν ἔλαβε Λυκούργος. According to Taylor Vit. *Lycurg.* his father was put to death by the Thirty; in which case, *Lycurgus* would be born before B. C. 404, would be at the least 67 in the present year; 74 when he prosecuted *Leocrates*; and about 80 at his death. But the words of the biographer are ambiguous: Vit. X. or. p. 841. B. Λυκούργος πατὴρ ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυκούργου ὃν οἱ τριάκοντα ἀπέκτειναν. [νῖδος μὲν ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυκούργου ὃν ἡ τῶν τριάκοντα τυραννὶς ἀνέειλε Phot. Cod. 268. p. 1484.] —and may imply that the grandfather was put to death by the Thirty. *Lycurgus* the grandfather of the orator is the person whom the comic poet has in view: Av. 1296. That allusion had been improperly understood by Kuster

Lycurgus, the orator, restored the credit of comic exhibitions at the *Lenæan* festival: Vit. X. or. p. 841. F. εἰσήνεγκε νόμους, τὸν περὶ τῶν κωμῶδων ἀγῶνα τοῖς Χύτροις [the third day of the *Lenæa*] ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφάμιλλον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα εἰς ἄστυ καταλέγεσθαι, πρότερον οὐκ ἐξόν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκλελοιπότα. Comedy had begun to decline soon after the archonship of *Callias* B. C. 406: Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 406. (ἐπὶ Καλλίου) ἴσως ἦν τις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ληναϊκὸν ἀγῶνα συστολή, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τινι καὶ καθάπαξ περιεῖλε *Κωησίας* τὰς χορηγίας· ἐξ οὗ καὶ *Στράττις* ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν δράματι [sc. *Στράττις* ἐν *Κωησίᾳ*: Schol. Av. 1568. Plut. 550. Harpocr. v. *Κωησίας* Athen. XII. p. 551. d. Pollux IV. 169. X. 169. 189. Erotian. lex. p. 216 *Στράττιν* ἐν *κωηγοῖς* l. ἐν *Κωησίᾳ*] ἔφη σκηνὴ μὲν τοῦ χοροκτόνου *Κωησίου*. For the time of *Strattis* conf. a. 394; for the changes in dramatic exhibitions conf. a. 406, 388.

Lycurgus also enacted honours for the three great tragic poets: Vit. X. or. p. 841. χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματεῖα παραναγινώσκειν. This law was attacked by *Philinus*, whose oration πρὸς Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου εἰκόνας is quoted by Harpocrat. conf. Vales. ad Harpocr. p. 116. The expression εἰς ἄστυ καταλέγεσθαι is best explained by Vales. l. c. εἰς ἄστυ [that is, εἰς *Διονύσια* τὰ ἐν ἄστει] καθιέναι τὸ δρᾶμα. The actual date of these laws cannot be known: they were probably enacted

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336.	Ol. 111. <i>Pythodemus</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Id. p. 638. Arrian. I. 1. <i>Pythodorus</i> Diod. XVI. 91.	<i>Philip</i> is slain, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Πυθοδήμου Arrian. Exp. I. 1. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθηγησι Πυθοδώρου—ὀλυμπιάς δ' ἤχθη πρώτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα Diod. XVI. 91. Eratosthenes apud Clem. Strom. I. p. 336. having fixed the battle of Leuctra to Olymp. 102. 2. proceeds—μεθ' ἣν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἔτη τριακονταπέντε. equivalent to Olymp. 111. 1 for the death of Philip. The death of <i>Philip</i> and accession of <i>Alexander</i> were in the beginning of the year of <i>Pythodemus</i> : in Hecatombeæon, when Alexander was twenty years of age: Plutarch. Alex. c. 11. παρέλαβε μὲν οὖν ἔτη γεγονὸς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν. Arrian. I. 1. εἶναι δὲ τότε ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρον. But he had completed his twentieth year at the Olympic games. cf. a. 356. His accession preceded the spring of this archon, because in the spring he led an expedition into Thrace.
335.	111, 2. <i>Euænetus</i> . Diod. XVII. 2. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Amm. p. 728. Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 336. D. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. See col. 4.	<i>Alexander</i> ἅμα τῷ ἡρι [the spring of the archon <i>Pythodemus</i>] ἦλαν- νεν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς. Arrian. Exped. I. 1. (conf. Strab. VII. p. 301. 302.) While he is engaged in this war,—ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Arrian. I. 7. p. 18. ed. Blancard.—Thebes revolts. <i>Alexander</i> , Θεβαίους ἀφυστάται πυθόμενος, εὐθὺς ἦγε διὰ Πυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν. Plutarch. Alex. c. 11.—and entered Boeotia after twelve days march. Arrian. I. 7. p. 19. Thebes destroyed: Plutarch. Alex. c. 11. Arrian. I. 7. 8. p. 20—24. at the time of the <i>Mysteries</i> : Arrian. p. 28. Ἀθηναῖοι, μυστηρίων τῶν μεγάλων ἀγομένων—τὰ μὲν μυστήρια ἐκπλαγέντες ἐξέλιπον. Plutarch. Alex. c. 14. (Ἀθηναῖοι) τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων ἑορτὴν ἐν χεροῖν ἔχοντες ὑπὸ πένθους ἀφῆκαν. Consequently in <i>Boëdromion</i> of the archon <i>Euænetus</i> . [October B. C. 335.] <i>Alexander</i> , ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος, ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν. Arrian. I. 11. p. 30.
334.	111, 3. <i>Ctesicles</i> . Diod. XVII. 17. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Plutarch. Mor. p. 844. A. ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἀρχοντος Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. p. I. No. 157. p. 250.	<i>Alexander</i> passes the Hellespont: ἅμα τῷ ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐξελαύνει ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου Arrian. I. 11. p. 30.—ἐπὶ Εὐαινέτου ἀρχοντος Clem. Strom. I. p. 336. D. [spring B. C. 334.]— <i>Granicus</i> , in the month Thargelion: Plutarch. Camill. c. 19. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγούς θαργηλιῶνος ἐνίκησε. He had conquered Caria before the winter. After the capture of Halicarnassus, ἐκπέμπει τοὺς νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότας διαχειμάσσοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. Arrian. I. 24. p. 68. Zosimus I. 4, 1. inaccurately, Ἀλέξανδρος παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν—τρίτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐστέλλετο. But as he succeeded in the year of <i>Pythodemus</i> , and entered Asia in the year of <i>Euænetus</i> , two years were not completed, when he crossed the Hellespont.

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<p>ad locum, Vales. ad Ammian. XXII. 9, 9. Petit. Leg. Att. p. 106. and Wesseling ad loc. (after Vit. X. or. p. 843. D.) of the orator Lyeurgus ; who, even by Taylor's computation, was not yet born.</p>	<p>between B. C. 350 and B. C. 330.</p>
<p><i>Dinarchus</i> æt. 26 began to compose orations : <i>Dionys. Dinarch.</i> p. 638. ἀρξασθαι λέγοντες αὐτὸν λόγους συγγράφειν ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου ἢ ἕκτου πρὸς τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτους, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτομεν. ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένη τότε ἀκμαζόντων. ἕκτος δὲ καὶ εἰκοστός ἐστιν ἀπὸ Νικοφῆμου Πυθόδημος. Vit. X. or. p. 850. B. C. ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔτι νέος καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπῆει τὴν Ἀσίαν, κατοικήσας αὐτόθι, ἀκροατῆς μὲν ἐγένετο Θεοφράστου—ὠμίλησε δὲ καὶ Δημοτρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ. μάλιστα δὲ ἐπολιτεύσατο μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτήν, τῶν μὲν ἀνηρημένων ῥητόρων, τῶν δὲ πεφευγόντων. In these last particulars the author follows Dionysius : who has, however, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τ. conf. a. 321. Photius p. 1484 has, with the biographer, Ἀντιπάτρου.</p>	<p>(<i>Amphis</i> seems to have exhibited the <i>Koupris</i> as late as the 111th Olympiad, since in that comedy he mentioned the wealth of <i>Phryne</i> : <i>Athen.</i> XIII. p. 591. d. ἐπλούτει σφόδρα ἡ Φρύνη, καὶ ὑπὸ ἰσχυεῖτο τειχιεῖν τὰς Θήβας, ἐὰν ἐπιγράψωσι Θηβαῖοι, “ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν κατέσκαψεν, ἀνέστησε δὲ Φρύνη ἡ ἑταῖρα.” εἶρηκε δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλούτου αὐτῆς Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικός ἐν Νεαίρᾳ, καὶ Ἀμφίς ἐν Κουρίδι.)</p>
<p>The orators demanded by <i>Alexander</i>, after the destruction of Thebes, were these according to <i>Arrian.</i> I. 10. p. 28. ἐξήτει τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Λυκούργον, καὶ Ὑπερίδην δὲ ἐξήτει καὶ Πολύεукτον, καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον, [the two generals,] καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα. According to <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Demosth.</i> c. 23. ἐξήτει τῶν δημαγωγῶν δέκα μὲν, ὡς Ἰδομενεύς καὶ Δοῦρις εἰρήκασιν, ὀκτώ δ', ὡς οἱ πλείστοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, τοὺςδε· Δημοσθένη, Πολύεукτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Λυκούργον, Μοιροκλέα, Δάμωνα, Καλλισθένη, Χαρίδημον. <i>Alexander</i> was propitiated by <i>Demades</i> : <i>Diod.</i> XVII. 15. <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Demosth.</i> c. 23.</p>	<p><i>Philippides</i> the comic poet flourished: <i>Suidas.</i> Φιλίππιδης, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός τῆς νέας κωμῳδίας, υἱὸς Φιλοκλέους· ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ριᾶ ὀλυμπιάδος. ἐδίδαξε δράματα μέ. <i>Philippides</i> was one of the six who were selected by grammarians as the standards of the new comedy : <i>Proleg.</i> <i>Aristoph.</i> p. xxx. ἀξιολογώτατοι Φιλῶν, Μένανδρος, Δίφιλος, Φιλίππιδης, Ποσειδίππος, Ἀπολλόδωρος. Boeckh. <i>Inscr. Gr.</i> p. I. No. 221. p. 346. Λυσικράτης Λυσιθείδου Κικυννεὺς ἐχορήγει, Ἀκαμαντὶς παῖδων ἐνίκα, Θέων ἡΐλει, Λυσιάδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐδίδασκεν, Εὐαίνετος ἦρχε.</p>
<p>Ἀριστοτέλης εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκετο τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐνδεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. καὶ ἐν Λυκείῳ ἐσχόλασεν ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς δέκα. <i>Apollodorus</i> apud <i>Laërt.</i> V. 10.—<i>Dionys.</i> <i>Amm.</i> p. 728. μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν ἐπ' Εὐαίνετον ἄρχοντος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Λυκείῳ χρόνον ἑτῶν δώδεκα. His treatise on <i>Rhetoric</i> was published after the Chæronensian war, to which he alludes : II. 23, 6. πρὸς τὸ Θηβαίων Φιλίππου διέναι εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν [in B. C. 338] “ ὅτι, εἰ πρὶν βοηθῆσαι εἰς Φωκεῖς ἡῖλον, ὑπέσχοντο ἂν ἄτοπον οὖν εἰ “ διότι προεῖτο καὶ ἐπίστευσε μὴ διήσουσιν.” II. 24, 8. ὁ Δημάδης τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν μετ' ἐκείνην γὰρ συνέβη ὁ πόλεμος. <i>Dionysius</i> ad <i>Amm.</i> p. 739—746. has produced these passages to shew that the work on <i>Rhetoric</i> was subsequent to that war. He farther infers p. 748. that the expression of the philosopher II. 23, 3. ἡ περὶ Δημοσθένους δίκη, is an allusion to the Cause</p>	<p>153</p>

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333.	111. 4. <i>Nicocrates</i> . Diod. XVII. 29. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος Marmor apud Boeckh. P. I. No. 157. p. 250. <i>Nicostratus</i> Arrian. II. 11. p. 112.	<i>Alexander</i> had reached Gordium about the beginning of this campaign: he had reduced Lycia ἐν ἀκμῇ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος. Arrian. I. p. 69. And οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες ἐς Γορδίου ἦκον, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἄλλη στρατιὰ καταλεχθεῖσα. Arrian. I. 29. p. 79. Battle of <i>Issus</i> : Arrian. II. p. 112. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Νικοστράτου (sic) μηνὸς μακτηριῶνος. [November B. C. 333.] Curtius marks the season: III. 8, 8. <i>quum jam hiems instaret</i> .—And after the battle III. 13, 7. <i>procella nivem effuderat, et humus rigeat gelu</i> . Diodorus also XVII. 33 properly assigns the battle to the year of <i>Nicocrates</i> .
332.	Ol. 112. <i>Nicetes</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. <i>Anicetus</i> Arrian. II. 24. <i>Niceratus</i> Diod. XVII. 40.	Siege of Tyre begun, in the middle of winter: taken after a siege of seven months: Plutarch. Alex. c. 24. πολιορκῶν ἑπτὰ μῆνας. Diod. XVII. 46. πολιορκηθέντες μῆνας ἑπτὰ. Curt. IV. 4, 19. <i>Tyrus septimo mense capta est</i> . In the archonship of <i>Nicetes</i> : Arrian. II. 24. p. 148. ἐάλω ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀνικήτου (sic) Ἀθήνησι, μηνὸς ἑκατομβαιῶνος. [July B. C. 332.] After the capture of Gaza, Alexander ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐστέλλετο. Arrian. III. 1. p. 155. While he was occupied at Gaza, <i>iisdem fere diebus solemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum</i> . Curt. IV. 5, 11. <i>Alexander</i> founds Alexandria, Arrian. III. 1. p. 156.—and marches to the oracle of Hammon. Arrian. III. 3. p. 158. He returns to Memphis, where he remains till the spring. Arrian. III. 5. p. 162—165.
331.	112, 2. <i>Aristophanes</i> . Diod. XVII. 49. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Arrian. III. 7. p. 168. —15. p. 194.	<i>Alexander</i> ἅμα τῷ ἡρὶ ὑποφαίνοντι ἐκ Μέμφιος ἦει ἐπὶ Φοινίκης Arrian. III. 6. p. 165.—καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Θάψακον, μηνὸς ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀριστοφάνους [July B. C. 331] Arrian. III. 7. p. 168. <i>Arbela</i> : Arrian. III. 15. p. 194. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησιν Ἀριστοφάνους, μηνὸς πναεψιῶνος [October 1]. eleven days after an eclipse of the

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<p>of the Crown in B. C. 330. But this interpretation is justly rejected by Victorius ad Aristot. Rhet. p. 475. We only know, therefore, that this treatise of Aristotle was later than the year B. C. 338.</p>	
<p><i>Ephorus</i> the historian survived the passage of Alexander into Asia: which he mentioned in his history. See Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 337. A. That he lived to the reign of Alexander is attested by Plutarch. Moral. p. 1043. D. Ἐφορον καὶ Ξενοκράτην καὶ Μενέδημον ἐπαινοῦσι παραιτησαμένους τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.</p> <p>([<i>Demosthenis</i>] κατὰ Θεοκρίνον ἐνδειξίς. After the year of Pythodemus B. C. 335, because the oration is given to <i>Dinarchus</i> by Dionys. p. 652. and because Dionysius by his own rule p. 638 ascribed no oration to <i>Dinarchus</i> which preceded that date: p. 639. ὅσους εὐρίσκομεν πρεσβυτέρους τοῦτου τοῦ ἄρχοντος φερομένους εἰς αὐτὸν λόγους—ἀπιστολήμεν ἂν εἰκότως. In the oration itself, facts which happened in the archonship of <i>Lyciscus</i> [B. C. 34½] are related p. 1330. as past transactions. <i>Macrocles</i> the orator appeared for <i>Theocrines</i>: p. 1339. Μοιροκλής—οὐκ ἀλοχυνεῖται αὐτίκα μάλα λέγων ὑπὲρ Θεοκρίνου.)</p>	<p><i>Theodectes</i> was already dead, when <i>Alexander</i> visited Phaselis, (in the winter of his first campaign in Asia: Arrian. I. 24. 25.) where he honoured the memory of <i>Theodectes</i> in a particular manner: Plutarch. Alex. c. 17. ἀποδιδούς τιμὴν τῇ γενομένῃ δι' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμιλία πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα. He died, therefore, before the beginning of B. C. 333, and at an early age: Suid. v. Θεοδέκτης.—τελευτᾷ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐτῶν γεγονῶς α' καὶ μ'. ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ περιόντος. Buhle ad Aristot. Rhet. II. 23, 3. remarks of <i>Theodectes</i>: <i>Aristotelis sodalis, sed natu grandior</i>. We have sufficient evidence that this could not be. <i>Theodectes</i> probably died not long before B. C. 333, which would raise his birth to about B. C. 375. And that he was younger than <i>Aristotle</i> is manifest from Athenæus XIII. p. 566. e. Buhle was perhaps misled by the erroneous numbers in Suidas v. Θεοδέκτης. cf. a. 352.</p>
<p>(<i>Demosthenis</i> πρὸς Φορμίωνα ὑπὲρ δανείου. (ὑπὲρ Χρυσίππου πρὸς τὴν Φορμίωνος παραγραφὴν Harpocrat. v. ἐπιθέτους ἑορτάς. ὑπὲρ Χρυσίππου Id. v. ἐφεκτὸς τόκος.) The facts happened in the reign of <i>Parysades</i> [or <i>Pareisades</i>] king of Bosphorus. Demosth. p. 909. and mention is made p. 918. of the juncture, ὅτε Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Θήβας παρήει, as an antecedent period. This cause, then, would hardly have occurred sooner than B. C. 332 (the 16th year of <i>Parysades</i>) three years after the destruction of Thebes.)</p>	<p><i>Stephanus</i>, the comic poet, flourished: Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx. Beck. τῆς μὲν οὖν μέσης κωμῳδίας—εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι Ἀντιφάνης καὶ Στέφανος.—τῶν δὲ κωμῳδιῶν Ἀντιφάνους τινὰς καὶ ὁ Στέφανος ἐδίδασκεν. Suidas: Ἀντιφάνης Δημοφάνους· οἱ δὲ, Στεφάνον.—παῖδα ἔσχε Στέφανον, καὶ αὐτὸν κωμικόν. <i>Stephanus</i>, then, exhibited the dramas of his father. Suidas and the Scholiast confirm and explain each other: the same expressions—ἔσχε δὲ νῖδον Στέφανον, κ. τ. λ.—repeated by Suidas v. Ἀλεξίς, appear an error: that being ascribed to <i>Alexis</i> which is elsewhere more truly ascribed to <i>Antiphanes</i>.</p>
<p>(<i>Lycurgi</i> κατὰ Ἀριστογέitonos. [<i>Demosth.</i>] κατὰ Ἀριστογέitonos. After the battle of Chæronea: Demosth. Aristogit. II. p. 803. ὅτε Ὑπερείδης ἔγραψε, τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἀτυχμάτων γενομένων, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἑδαφῶν εἰς κίνδυνον μέγιστον κατακεκλεμένης, εἶναι τοὺς ἀτί-</p>	<p><i>Antiphanes</i> the comic poet survived this year: Clearchus apud Athen. XV. 681. c. καλῶς περὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἴρηκεν ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κιθαριστῇ.</p>

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		<p>moon, which happened Sept. 20. Plutarch. Alex. c. 31. ἡ μὲν οὖν σελήνη τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος ἐξέλιπε περὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθηνῆσιν ἀρχὴν· ἐνδεκάτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως νυκτὶ, κ. τ. λ. We might justify the date of Arrian by supposing the eclipse to fall upon the 20th Boëdromion, and the battle upon the 1st Pyanepsion. When it is said that the battle was ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἡ σελήνη ἐκλιπὴς ἐγένετο; Arrian. III. p. 195. and that, at the time of the eclipse, Aristander had predicted ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἔσεσθαι τὴν μάχην III. 7. p. 170.—this would only imply that the battle happened before the next moon; not within the same civil month; which might not correspond with the periods of the moon. And besides, the civil month would be the Macedonian, and not the Attic. Plutarch, however, dates the battle of Arbela on the 26th Boëdromion. See this question examined in the <i>Appendix</i> c. 19. <i>Alexander</i> remained four months of the ensuing winter at Persepolis: βουλόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν χειμῶνος ὥρα) τέσσαρας μῆνας αὐτόθι διήγαγε. Plutarch. Alex. c. 37. Curtius V. 4, 18 notices the snow, on their entrance into Persis.—<i>nix cumulata</i>.—and adds V. 6, 12. <i>interiorem regionem Persidis sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus petiit</i>.</p> <p>About the time of the battle of Arbela, Agis is defeated and slain by Antipater: Plutarch. Agesil. c. 15. ζοικεν, ὡ ἄνδρες, ὅτε Δαρεῖον ἡμεῖς ἐνικῶμεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐκεῖ τις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ γεγενῆσθαι μονομαχία.—At the time when the Cause of the Crown was pleaded: Plutarch. Demosth. c. 24. εἰσέχθη δὲ τότε καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφή κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. or rather, a little before: for Æschines p. 72, 28 alludes to it.</p>
156	<p>330. 112, 3. <i>Aristophon</i>. Diod. XVII. 62. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Amm. p. 746. Arrian. III. 22. Plutarch. Demosth. c. 24. Theophrast. Char. c. 8.</p>	<p><i>Darius</i> slain (æet. 50) ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίους Ἀριστοφῶντος, μηνὸς ἐκατομβαιῶνος. [July B. C. 330.] Arrian. III. 22. p. 213. After the death of <i>Darius</i>, <i>Alexander</i> conquers the country bordering on the Caspian sea:—<i>Hyrcania</i>; III. 23. p. 214.—the <i>Mardi</i>: 24. p. 219.—and, after fifteen days halt at Zadracarta c. 25. p. 220. he traverses <i>Parthia</i> and <i>Aria</i> p. 220. and marches in pursuit of Bessus through the <i>Zarangæi</i> p. 223.—<i>Drangiana</i> and <i>Arachosia</i>, when it was now winter: III. 28. p. 229. ξύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς ἐπῆλθε. Thence across the mountains of <i>Cabul</i>—τὸ ὄρος τὸν Καύκασον p. 230—northwards, to <i>Bactra</i>; distant from Zadracarta, by this route, about 1650 miles. Along this mountain-tract <i>Alexander</i> ἤλαννε χαλεπῶς διὰ τε χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων Arrian. III. 28. p. 232. Curtius VII. 3 also intimates that the army passed the mountains in the winter: <i>Multos exanimavit rigor insolitus nivis, multorum adussit pedes</i>. And he marks a halt of sixty days, and assigns seventeen to the passage of the mountains: <i>xvii dierum spatio Caucasum superavit exercitus</i>. Ibid. When the army had descended the mountains, the warm season had begun: Curt. VII. 5. <i>Arenas vapor æstivi solis accendit</i>.</p>

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μους ἐπιτίμους,—τούτου τοῦ ψηφίσματος γραφὴν παρανόμων ἀπενέγκας ἡγωνίζετο ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ. And before the affair of Harpalus: Dinarch. p. 106, 32. οὐ τὸ τελευταῖον οὗτος [Aristogiton] ἐνδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυκούργου καὶ ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὀφείλων τῷ δημοσίῳ λέγειν οὐκ ἐξδὴν αὐτῷ, καὶ παραδοθεὶς τοῖς ἑνδεκα κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,—εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν τῶν πρυτάνεων ἐκάθισεν; From the expression τὸ τελευταῖον it is probable that this prosecution was not many years before the oration of *Dinarchus* B. C. 324. The oration of *Lycurgus* is mentioned Vit. X. or. p. 843. E. and Harpocrat. v. ἀγραφίς, ἡλικία, μητρῶον, ὄρυγμα, τρίγωνον, χιλιωθέντα, ψευδεγγραφή.)

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οὐκ ἐφύσων οἱ Λάκωνες ὡς ἀπὸ ρητοῦ ποτε, νῦν δ' ὁμηρεύουσ' ἔχοντες πορφυροῦς κεκρυφάλους;

Antiphanes probably refers to the measures described by *Æschines* in Ctes. p. 72, 33 which followed the defeat of *Agis* by *Antipater* in this year (see col. 2); which will fix this comedy to the beginning of B. C. 330. And, as he was born in Ol. 93, and died at the age of 74 (conf. a. 404), his death might occur soon after, about the summer of B. C. 330. See Philolog. Museum Vol. I. p. 576.

Lycurgi κατὰ Λεωκράτους. In the eighth year after the battle of Chæronea: *Lycurg.* p. 153, 30. τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τελευτησάντων οὗτος οὐδὲ τὰς θήκας παρὶν ἡσχύνθη ὀγδῶς ἔτει τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν προσαγορεύων. *Aristophanes* is the eighth archon, including both, from *Chæronidas*. The cause, therefore, may be placed in the beginning of B. C. 330.

Æschinis κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. *Demosth.* περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου. *Dionys. Amm.* p. 746. ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος ἄρχοντος—καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἐνίκη μάχην. *Plutarch.* *Demosth.* c. 24. εἰσέχθη ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος. To this war of oratory between *Demosthenes* and his rival, *Theophrastus* alludes *Char.* c. 8 p. 847 *Schneid.* προσδιηγῆσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντός ποτε γενομένην τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην. which *Pauw*, *Palmerius*, and others, have strangely understood of the battle of *Megalopolis*, or the battle of *Arbela*. *Rectius de pugna ad Megalopolin hæc explicat Palmerius quam de pugna ad Arbela Casaubonus.* *Pauw* ad loc. *Corsini Fast. Att.* tom. IV p. 45 has rightly interpreted τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην. See Note K. This cause must be dated early in the year of *Aristophon*: for *Æschines* had not yet heard of the death of *Darius*: conf. *Æschin.* p. 72, 28. and the *Pythian* games were to be in a few days: p. 89, 42. The orators *Aristophon* and *Eubulus* were now dead: *Demosth.* p. 281. *Eubulus* had acquired

Philemon began to exhibit comedy during the reign of *Alexander*, a little earlier than *Menander*, and before the 113th Olympiad: *Suidas.* *Φιλήμων*—κωμικὸς τῆς νέας κωμῳδίας, ἡκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείας, βραχὺ Μενάνδρου πρότερος. ἔγραψε δὲ κωμῳδίας πρὸς ἐνενήκοντα. *Prolegom. Aristoph.* p. xxx. *Beck.* ἐδίδαξε πρὸ τῆς ρηγ' Ὀλυμπιάδος. σώζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα ἑπτὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα. *Philemon* lived to the age of ninety-six or ninety-seven years: *Suid.* ἐβίωσεν ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα ἕξ. *Lucian.* *Macrob.* c. 25. ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη βίου.—and died in the reign of the second *Antigonis*, son of *Demetrius*. conf. *Ælian.* περὶ προνομίας apud *Suidam* v. *Φιλήμων*. Consequently after the year B. C. 283. *Diod. Eclog. lib. XXIII.* tom. IX. p. 318. *Bip.* *Φιλήμων* δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς ἔγραψε δράματα ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, βιώσας ἔτη ἐννέα καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. *Wess.* ad loc. *Mortem cum vita commutavit anno primi Punici belli tertio* [B. C. 262 the twenty-second year of Anti-

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
329.	112, 4. <i>Cephisophon</i> . Diod. XVII. 74. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. <i>ubi corrupte Κησιφῶν</i> .	Sixth campaign of <i>Alexander</i> in Asia: he passes the Oxus. Arrian. III. 29 p. 232.—to <i>Maracanda</i> : τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεία τῆς Σογδιανῆς χώρας. ἐνθὲνδε ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν προῆι [the <i>Iaxartes</i>]. p. 236. He finds <i>Alexandria</i> on the <i>Tanaïs</i> : Arrian. IV. 3 p. 245. <i>τειχίσας ἐν ἡμέραις εἴκοσι</i> . Curt. VII. 6, 26. <i>decimo septimo die</i> .—about 420 miles north of <i>Bactra</i> . He passes the <i>Tanaïs</i> and engages the <i>Scythians</i> : Arrian. IV. 4 p. 247. ἡ δίωξις διὰ καύματος πολλοῦ ἐγίνετο p. 248.—which marks the season. He had before found the winter channels at <i>Cyropolis</i> dry: Arrian. IV. 3. τοὺς ἔκρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὃς διὰ τῆς πόλεως χειμάρρους ὧν διέρχεται, ξηροὺς ἐν τῷ τότε ὕδατος. After this campaign he wintered at <i>Bactra</i> : IV. 7 p. 253. ἐς Ζαρίασσα ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμενευ ἐς τε παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ χειμῶνος.
328.	Ol. 113. <i>Euthycritus</i> . Diod. XVII. 82. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Marm. ap. Corsin. F.A. tom. IV. p. 46. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 222. p. 347.	Seventh campaign in Asia: Arrian. IV. 15 p. 274. ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠξὸν ποταμὸν ἦι αἰθῆς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Σογδιανὴν χώραν προχωρεῖν ἐγνώκει. The whole of this campaign is employed in <i>Sogdiana</i> : and at the end of it <i>Alexander</i> goes into winter quarters at <i>Nautaca</i> , in the middle of the province, about twenty-two miles from <i>Samarcand</i> , and two hundred and thirty miles north of <i>Bactra</i> . Arrian. IV. 18 p. 279. περὶ Ναύτακα ἀναπαύων τὴν στρατιάν, ὅτι περ ἀκμαῖον ἦν τοῦ χειμῶνος. compare c. 17. —προστάξας—διαχειμάζειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ. Early in the following spring, αἶμα τῷ ἡρι ὑποφαίνοντι, <i>Roxana</i> , ἡ Ὀξυνάρτου παῖς, is captured. Arrian. IV. 18 p. 284.
327.	113, 2. <i>Hegemon</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. <i>Hegemon</i> Arrian. V. 19. <i>Lacuna est in Diod. XVII. 84. ubi HEGEMON archon desideratur</i> . See <i>Introd.</i> p. xiv.	Eighth campaign in Asia. <i>Alexander</i> ἐκ Βάκτρων, ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἡρος, προῦχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς. Arrian. IV. 22. p. 290. Idem Ibid. ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Καύκασον ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἀφίκετο εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πόλιν, τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βάκτρων ἐστέλλετο. Aristobulus apud Strab. XV. p. 691. ὠρμηκῶτων εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀπὸ Παραπαμισαδῶν, μετὰ δὲ δυσμᾶς Πληϊάδων, καὶ διατριψάντων κατὰ τὴν ὄρειν ἔν τε τῇ Ἰππασίων καὶ τῇ Μουσικανοῦ γῇ τὸν χειμῶνα· τοῦ δ' ἔαρος ἀρχομένου καταβεβηκῶτων εἰς τὰ πεδία καὶ πόλιν Τάξιλα εὐμεγέθη, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὴν Πάρου χώραν—ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ταξίλοις πρῶτον ὑσθῆναι. Μουσικανοῦ can have no place here. <i>Musicanus</i> reigned in another part of <i>India</i> , south of the <i>Malli</i> : Arrian. VI. 15. in the most southern region of <i>India</i> : νοτιώτατα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς Strabo XV. p. 694. close to <i>Pattala</i> : πρὸς αὐτῇ ἤδη τῇ Πατταλινῇ Idem Ib. p. 701. and was not visited by <i>Alexander</i> till the following year, in his voyage down the <i>Indus</i> . We may therefore read ἐν τῇ Μασσιανῶν γῇ from Strabo XV. p. 698. τὰ δὲ μετὰ τούτοις τοῖν δυοῖν ποταμοῖν [the <i>Cophen</i> and the <i>Indus</i>] ἔχουσιν Ἀστακηνοὶ τε καὶ Μασσιανοὶ καὶ Νυσαῖοι καὶ Ἰππάσιοι.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>authority in the state in B. C. 355.—was a leader of the party opposed to <i>Demosthenes</i> in B. C. 348, 343. <i>Æschines</i> after his failure withdrew to Asia: <i>Plutarch</i>. <i>Demosth.</i> c. 24. ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ᾗχετ' ἀπὶ τῶν, καὶ περὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε. For the time of his residence at Rhodes, <i>conf.</i> a. 314.</p>	<p>gonus Gonatas] <i>namque eum ad annum quæ hic referuntur pertinent omnia.</i> According to this account <i>Philemon</i> might exhibit comedy almost seventy years.</p>
<p>(<i>Demosth.</i> κατὰ Διονυσόδωρον βλάβης. Not before B. C. 331, because the facts occurred Κλεομένους ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρξαντος <i>Demosth.</i> p. 1285.—who was appointed præfect of Egypt by <i>Alexander</i> B. C. 331: <i>Arrian</i>. III. 5. <i>Dexipus</i> apud <i>Phot.</i> Cod. 82. p. 200. <i>Cleomenes</i> was charged with the building of Alexandria: <i>Aristot.</i> <i>Œconom.</i> II. 33. <i>Vectigalibus Africæ Ægyptique præpositus</i> <i>Curt.</i> IV. 8, 5. He remained in this office till he was put to death by <i>Ptolemy</i> B. C. 323: <i>Pausan.</i> I. 6, 3.)</p> <p><i>Epicurus</i> ἤρξατο φιλοσοφίας ἀπὸ ἐνιαυτῶν ιβ'. <i>Suid.</i>—ἤρξατο φιλοσοφεῖν ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων ιβ' <i>Laërt.</i> X. 14. The numbers in <i>Laërtius</i> X. 2 may be corrected from these: ἐφάπασθαι φιλοσοφίας αὐτός φησιν, ἔτη γεγωνὺς ιδ'. <i>legendum</i> ιβ'. <i>Eusebius</i> names <i>Epicurus</i> at this date: <i>Ol.</i> 112. 4 anno 1687 [commencing Oct. B. C. 330] <i>Anaximenes et Epicurus agnoscebantur.</i></p>	
<p><i>Crates</i>, the cynic, flourished: <i>Laërt.</i> VI. 85. 87. Κράτης Ἀσκωνίου Θηβαῖος—τῶν ἐλλογίμων τοῦ Κυνὸς μαθητῶν—ἤκμαζε κατὰ τὴν τρίτην καὶ δεκάτην καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. He was still living at Athens in the time of <i>Demetrius Phalereus</i>: <i>conf.</i> <i>Athen.</i> X. p. 422. c. <i>Laërt.</i> VI. 90. and was at Thebes in B. C. 307 when <i>Demetrius Phalereus</i> withdrew thither: <i>conf.</i> <i>Plutarch.</i> <i>Mor.</i> p. 69. C. Some lines of <i>Crates</i> are quoted by <i>Julian</i> or. 7. p. 213. A. B. His life was written by <i>Plutarch</i>: <i>Julian.</i> or. 6. p. 200. B.</p>	<p><i>Boeckh.</i> <i>Inscr. Gr.</i> No. 222. p. 347. <i>Corsin.</i> F. A. tom. IV. p. 46. Αἰγυπτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνίκᾳ, Εὐαγλίδης Κτησίλου Φιλαίδης ἐχορήγει, Λυσιστρατίδης Ἐπιδάμνιος ἡύλει, Χαρίλαος Λοκρὸς ἐδίδασκε, Εὐθύκριτος ἤρχε.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>According to this testimony of Aristobulus a winter was passed in the country between the Cophen and the Indus. Strabo XV. p. 697 describes the scene of action: ἀνέστρεψε δ' οὖν ὑπερθεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ὄρη [sc. Paropamisum] κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπιτομωτέρας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Ἰνδικήν· εἴτ' ἐπέστρεψεν εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς ἐσπερίους αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν Κώφην ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Χοάσπην, ὃς εἰς τὸν Κώφην ἐμβάλλει ποταμόν—διέβη τὸν Κώφην καὶ κατεστρέφετο τὴν ὀρεινὴν, ὅση ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς ἔω.</p>
326.	113, 3. <i>Chremes</i> . Diod. XVII. 87. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649.	<p>Ninth campaign. According to Aristobulus <i>Alexander</i> arrives at Taxila in the spring: <i>conf. a.</i> 327. Diodorus XVII. 86 marks a halt at the Indus of 30 days: τριάκοντα μὲν ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς συντελέσας θυσίας διεβίβασε τὴν στρατιάν. Defeat of <i>Porus</i>: Arrian. V. 11—19. Curtius VIII. 13. 14. Plutarch. Alex. c. 60. It was the <i>summer solstice</i> when they reached the Hyphasis: Arrian. V. 9 p. 330. ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους ἢ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος. Whence we learn that there is error or corruption in the <i>month</i> assigned by Arrian for the battle: τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ—ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίου Ἡγέμονος, μηνὸς Μουνυχιῶνος V. 19 p. 350. But as <i>Nearchus</i> apud Strab. XV. p. 692 still mentions the solstice after they had arrived at the Acesines—ὁ μὲν γε Νεάρχος τοῦ Ἀκεσίλου πλησίον στρατοπεδεύοντάς φησιν ἀναγκασθῆναι κ. τ. λ.—γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς—and as the year of <i>Hegemon</i> did not terminate till the 15th of July, we may retain the <i>archon</i>, and refer the battle to the close of his year.</p>
325.	113, 4. <i>Anticles</i> . Diod. XVII. 110. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Amm. p. 749.	<p>The autumn winter and spring of the archon <i>Chremes</i>, and the following summer, are consumed in the navigation down the Indian rivers: Aristobulus apud Strab. XV. p. 691. 692. διατρίψαντας δὲ περὶ τὴν ναυπηγίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ καὶ πλεῖν ἀρξαμένους πρὸ δύσεως πλειάδων οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις [autumn B. C. 326], καὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον πᾶν καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ δὴν ἔαρ καὶ θέρος ἐν τῷ κατάπλῳ πραγματευθέντας, κ. τ. λ.—δέκα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κατάπλου γενέσθαι μῆνας. Plut. Alex. c. 66. μηνῶν ἑπτὰ χρόνον ἀνῆλθον. <i>Alexander</i> reached the mouth of the Indus a little before the proper season for sailing: see Arrian. VI. 21. He set out on his march about August, leaving <i>Nearchus</i> to wait for the winds (Ibid.), and reached <i>Pura</i> on the confines of <i>Carmania</i> in two months: Arrian. VI. 24. ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις ἐξήκοντα. cf. Plut. Alex. c. 66. <i>Nearchus</i> began his voyage in <i>October</i>: Arrian. Indic. p. 550. εἰκάδι τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος μηνὸς, τὸ ἐνδέκατον βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. Strabo XV. p. 721. μετοπώρου κατὰ πλειάδος ἐπιτολήν. On Arrian's "11th year of <i>Alexander</i>" see Additions and Corrections at the end of this volume.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>(<i>Demadis ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας</i>. This oration in defence of his administration for twelve years was prior to the cause <i>περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλίων</i>, because <i>Demades</i> was condemned in that cause. The twelve years were a period commencing at the battle of Chæronea. After that battle—ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστὰς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔγραψα τὴν εἰρήνην· ὁμολογῶ. ἔγραψα καὶ Φιλίππῳ τιμὰς· οὐκ ἄρνούμαι. δισχιλίους γὰρ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων [conf. <i>Diod. fragm. tom. X. p. 46</i>] καὶ χίλια πολιτῶν σώματα χωρὶς κήρυκος καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ἄνευ πρεσβείας λαβὼν ὑμῖν ταῦτ' ἔγραψα. <i>Demades</i> in fragmento p. 179, 32. The twelve years, which were defended in this oration, would terminate in B.C. 326.) <i>Demosthenes de Coron. p. 320</i> admits the influence of <i>Demades</i> after the battle of Chæronea.</p> <p>The anecdote of <i>Plutarch Polit. Præc. p. 818. E.</i> respecting <i>Demades</i>, ὅτε τὰς προσόδους εἶχεν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς πόλεως, may be referred to this period of his twelve years administration. The successor of <i>Lycurgus</i> in the management of the revenue—ὁ μετὰ <i>Λυκούργου</i> τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων παραλαβὼν—although not named, is described by <i>Dionys. Dinarch. p. 660</i>. This successor of <i>Lycurgus</i> might be the immediate predecessor of <i>Demades</i>.</p>	<p>Ἄγῃν, δράμα σατυρικόν, exhibited in the camp of <i>Alexander</i> on the banks of the <i>Hydaspes</i>, after the revolt of <i>Harpalus</i>: <i>Athen. XIII. p. 595. e.</i> ἐδίδαξε <i>Διονυσίων</i> ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τοῦ ποταμοῦ, εἴ τε <i>Πύθων</i> ἦν ὁ <i>Καταναῖος</i> ἢ ὁ <i>Βυζάντιος</i>, ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς [cf. <i>Athen. II. 50. f. XIII. p. 586. d</i>]. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὸ δράμα ἤδη φηγόντος τοῦ Ἀρπάλου ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ ἀποστάντος. But <i>Harpalus</i> had not yet fled, while <i>Alexander</i> was on the <i>Hydaspes</i>: the expression in the poem apud <i>Athen. l. c.</i> —κατέγνω διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτοῦ φυγὴν—may only imply that he meditated flight.</p>
<p><i>Demetrius Phalereus</i> began to appear in public affairs about the time of the flight of <i>Harpalus</i> to Athens: <i>Laërt. V. 75.</i> ἄρξασθαι αὐτὸν τῆς πολιτείας φησὶ <i>Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης</i> —ὁπότε φηγὼν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦκεν Ἀρπαλος. Consequently in the archonship of <i>Anticles</i>.</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
324.	Ol. 114. <i>Hegesias</i> . Arrian. VII. 28. p. 502. <i>Agesias</i> Diod. XVII. 113.	<p><i>Alexander</i>, having reached the capital of Gedrosia in October B. C. 325, arrives in Susiana (where <i>Nearchus</i> met him: Arrian. VII. 5) about February B. C. 324. χειμῶνος ὥρα is noticed by Arrian. VI. 28 p. 434. The whole time consumed in the navigation from the Indus to Diridotis amounted to 129 days.</p> <p>Proclamation at the Olympic games [Ol. 114 July B. C. 324] for the restoration of the exiles: Diod. XVIII. 8. Ἀλέξανδρος βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον τῆς τελευτῆς ἔκρινε κατάγειν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἑλλη- νίσσι πόλεσι φυγάδας, ἅμα μὲν δόξης ἔνεκεν ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἔχειν ἐν ἑκάστη πόλει πολλοὺς ἰδίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων. διόπερ ὑπογύων ὄντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐξέπεμ- ψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Νικάνορα τὸν Σταγειρίτην, δὸς ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τῆς καθόδου. ταύτην δὲ προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει διὰ τοῦ νικῆσαντος κήρυκος ἀναγνωσθῆναι τοῖς πλήθεσιν.—ἦσαν δ' οἱ φυγάδες ἀπηντηκότες ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πανηγυρίαν, ὄντες πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων. <i>Dinarchus</i>, in a cause which occurred at this very juncture (see col. 3), notices the measure: p. 100, 28. δύο μόνas ἐν τῷ βίῳ Δημοσθένους πεποιοῦνται ἀποδημίας μετὰ τὴν μάχην (τὴν ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ) ὅτε ἀπεδίδρασκεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ νῦν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἐπεὶ Νικάνορι διὰ τῆς ἀρχιθεωρίας ἐντυχεῖν ἐβούλετο. ἀξίον γε τοῦτ' παρακαταθέσθαι τὴν πόλιν—ὅς—ἐπειδὴ τοὺς φυγάδας Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφασαν κατάγειν, καὶ Νικάνωρ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἦκεν, ἀρχιθεωρὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέ- δωκε τῇ βουλῇ. p. 103, 16. ὑμεῖς, (ὦ Δημοσθένης καὶ Πολύευκτες,) ἐν τοῖς ἔξω τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχετε, ἀμιλλώμενοι ταῖς κολακείαις πρὸς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου πράττειν καὶ δῶρα εἰληφέναι—καὶ συμπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον διειλεγμένους Νικάνορι, καὶ κεχηρηματικῶς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ περὶ ὧν ἐβουλήθης, ἐλεεινὸν νῦν σεαυτὸν κατασκευάζεις.</p> <p>Death of <i>Hephæstion</i> at Ecbatana: Arrian. VII. p. 470. Conf. Plutarch. Alex. c. 72. followed by the winter campaign against the <i>Cossæi</i>: Diod. XVII. 111. Plutarch. Alex. c. 72. τοῦ πένθους παρηγορία τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος—τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατεστρέφετο. Arrian. VII. 15 p. 475. ἐνθα δὲ ἐξέλασιν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ Κοσσαίους.—ἐξέειλεν αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος καίπερ χειμῶνος στρατεύσας. Idem Indic. c. 40 p. 586. χειμῶ- νος ὥρῃ ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖσιν. The winter after the death of <i>Hephæstion</i>. After the Cossæan war <i>Alexander</i> approached <i>Babylon</i>: Diod. XVII. 112. καταπεπολεμηκὼς τὸ τῶν Κοσσαίων ἔθνος προήγεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος. which he therefore entered in spring B. C. 323. κατιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα πρεσβεῖαι ἐνετόγγχανον Arrian. VII. 15. πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐνέτυχον VII. 19.</p>
323.	114. 2. <i>Cephisodorus</i> . Diodor. XVIII. 2. Dio- nys. Amm. p. 728. <i>Dinarch</i> . p. 649. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 223. p. 347.	<p>Death of <i>Alexander</i>: Arrian. VII. 28. p. 502. τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ ὀλυμπιάδι, ἐπὶ Ἡγησίου ἀρχontos Ἀθήνησιν· ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μῆνας ἐπέλαβεν ὀκτῶ, ὥς λέγει Ἀριστόβου- λος· ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὀκτῶ μῆνας τούτους. Diod. XVII. 113. 117. ἐπ' ἀρχontos Ἀγησίου—ἐτελεύτησε, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ. Joseph. Apion. I. 22. Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι πάντες ὁμολο- γοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ρυθμολογίας ὀλυμπιάδος. Eratosthenes concurs: apud Clem. Strom. I. p. 336. C. Having fixed the death of <i>Philip</i> to Olymp. 111, 1, he proceeds—μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταλλαγὴν ἔτη δώδεκα. As the first year of the twelve was Ol. 111. 2, the last was Ol. 114. 1. <i>Alexander</i> was born in the month <i>Loüs</i>: Plutarch. Alex. c. 3. and died on the 28th of the month <i>Dæsius</i>. Plutarch. Alex. c.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

Demosthenis περὶ τῆς τῶν δώρων. [περὶ χρυσίου Athen. XIII. p. 592. e.] ἦν ἐπ' Ἀντικλέους ἀρχοντος ἀπελόγησατο. *Dionys. Amm.* p. 749. — *Dinarchi* κατὰ Φιλοκλέους ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀρπαλλίων. — κατὰ Γνωδίου περὶ τῶν Ἀρπ. — κατὰ Ἀριστοῦ νίκου περὶ τ. Ἀ. *Dionys. Din.* p. 654. *Philocles* had been in military commands: *Dinarch.* p. 108, 35. στρατηγὸς ὑφ' ὧν κεχειροτονημένος. p. 109, 36. τρίς ἢ τετράκις ἱππαρχικῶς, πλεονάκις ἢ δεκάκις στρατηγός. — *Dinarchi* κατὰ Δημοσθένους περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλλίων. — *Demosthenes*, being fined fifty talents, ἀπέδρα. He withdrew to Troezen and Ægina: *Plutarch. Demosth.* c. 26. — *Vit. X. or.* p. 846. C. ἀλοὺς ἔφυγε, — μὴ δυνάμενος ἀποτίσαι. *Harpalus* fled to Athens μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπάνοδον *Diod. XVII.* 108. therefore after February B.C. 325. The prosecutions, which followed, might happen towards the end of the year of Anticles; whence *Dionysius* adds p. 749. περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν. That the proceedings commenced at the end of the year of Anticles may be also collected from *Dinarchus* p. 100. from whom it appears that they extended into the year of Hegesias. For he mentions the mission of *Nicanor*, and the rumour that *Alexander* was about to restore the exiles, and relates that an embassy had been undertaken by *Demosthenes* to confer with *Nicanor* at Olympia upon the subject. See col. 2. The condemnation, then, of *Demosthenes* was after the Olympic games, which were in the first month of Hegesias. If the oration of *Demosthenes* περὶ χρυσίου was in reply to that of *Dinarchus*, it would fall within the archonship of Hegesias; and the date of *Dionysius*, ἐπὶ Ἀντικλέους, refers to an earlier stage of the proceedings. *Dinarchi* κατὰ Ἀριστογέιτονος περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλλίων. *Dionys.* p. 654. After the oration against *Demosthenes*, who is mentioned as condemned: *Dinarch.* p. 106, 42. Δημάδῃ καὶ Δημοσθένει οὐδεμίαν ῥέσθαι δεῖν συγγνώμην ἔχειν — ἀλλ' ἐτιμωρήσασθε. Consequently in the year of Hegesias.

Epicurus æt. 18 comes to Athens. His early years had been passed at Samos; where his father was one of the Athenian colonists: *Laërt. X.* 1. Ἐπικούρου φασὶν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῇ Σωτίωνος ἐπιτομῇ, κληρουχισάντων Ἀθηναίων τὴν Σάμον [cf. a. 352, 2], ἐκεῖ τραφῆναι, ὀκτώκαιδεκάτῃ δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας. *Strabo XIV.* p. 638. Ἀθηναῖοι — κληρούχους ἐπεμψαν δισχιλίους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Νεοκλῆς ὁ Ἐπικούρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου πατὴρ, γραμματοδιδάσκαλος, ὡς φασὶν καὶ δὴ καὶ τραφῆναι φασὶν ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Τέφῃ, καὶ ἐφηβεῦσαι Ἀθήνησι, γενέσθαι δ' αὐτῷ συνέφηβον Μένανδρον τὸν κωμικόν. *Cicero Nat. D. I.* 26. *Epicurus* — *Pamphilum* quendam *Platonis* auditorem ait a se Sami auditum:

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Timocles, the comic poet, called by *Pollux X.* 154 τῶν νεωτέρων τις, continued to exhibit comedy after this date: since he ridiculed the leading orators for taking bribes from *Harpalus*: *Athen. VIII.* p. 341. f. Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικός, ἐν Δήλῳ, διηγούμενος τοὺς παρὰ Ἀρπάλου δωροδοκήσαντας

- A. Δημοσθένης τάλαντα πεντήκοντ' ἔχει.
B. Μακάριος, εἴπερ μεταδίδωσι μηδενί.
A. Καὶ Μοιροκλῆς εἴληφε χρυσίον πολὺ.
B. Ἀνόητος ὁ διδοὺς, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ λαμβάνων.
A. Εἴληφε καὶ Δήμων τε καὶ Καλλισθένης.
B. Πένητες ἦσαν, ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχω.
A. Ὁ τ' ἐν λόγοισι δεινὸς Ὑπερίδης ἔχει.

Timocles had already mentioned *Demosthenes* in other comedies: *conf. Athen. VI.* p. 224. a. *Vit. X. or.* p. 845. B. and *Hyperides*: whom he named in the Ἰκάριοι σάτυροι. *Athen. VIII.* p. 342. a. He ridicules *Ctesippus* the son of *Chabrias* in the Δημοσάτυροι. *Athen. IV.* p. 166. a. *Tithymallus* is mentioned in the Κένταυρος, and in the Καῦνιοι. *Athen. VI.* p. 240. d. e. *Tithymallus* occurs again, with *Corydus*, in the Ἐπιστολαί. *Athen. ibid.* *Corydus* is named in the Ἐπιχαιρέκακος. *Athen. VI.* p. 241. a. These two are also the subjects of *Antiphanes*, *Alexis*, and the younger *Cratinus*: *Athen. VI.* p. 240. 241. In the Σαπφῶ, *Misgolas* is named: *Athen. VIII.* p. 339. c. who is noticed by *Antiphanes*, *Alexis*, and the orator *Æschines. conf. ann.* 356. 343. In the Πολυπράγμων, *Callimedon*: *Athen. VIII.* p. 339. f. which associates *Timocles* with *Antiphanes*, *Eubulus*, *Theophilus*, *Alexis. conf. Athen. VIII.* p. 339. 340.

Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 223. p. 347. Λυσικλῆς Βιόττου Ὅθθεν ἐχορήγει, Οἰνητὸς φυλὴ παιδῶν ἐνίκα, Πάμφιλος Ἀγνούσιος ἐδίδασκεν,, Κηφισόδωρος ἦρχεν.

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		<p>76. the <i>tenth</i> month from Loüs, excluding Loüs from the account. If, therefore, <i>Alexander</i> had been born at the end of Loüs, he would have lived <i>ten</i> months of the 33d year, rather than <i>eight</i>, the number reported from <i>Aristobulus</i>: whence it is probable, that, as he was born on the 6th Hecatombæon (<i>cf. a. 356</i>), he might have died on the 6th Thargelion. [May or June B. C. 323.]</p> <p>Lamian war: Diod. XVIII. 9. μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον. Arrian. apud Photium cod. 92. p. 217. This war is noticed by Strabo IX. p. 433.</p>
322.	<p>114, 3. <i>Philocles</i>. Diod. XVIII. 26. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. Laërt. V. 10. <i>Diocles</i> Schol. Aristoph. Prolegom. p. xxx. Beck. See a similar interchange of names at B. C. 392.</p>	<p><i>Craterus</i> comes to the assistance of <i>Antipater</i> from Asia: Arrian. apud Phot. cod. 92. Diod. XVIII. 16. Battle of <i>Cranon</i>: mentioned by Pausan. X. 3, 3. called by Polybius IX. 29, 2. ἡ περὶ Λαμίας μάχη. In the year of <i>Philocles</i>: Dionys. Dinarch. p. 649. 650. Φιλοκλήης ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν φρουρὰν ἐδέξαντο Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη. In August: Plutarch. Demosth. c. 28. μεταγεινιῶνος μὲν ἡ περὶ Κρανῶνα μάχη συνέπεσε. Idem Camill. c. 19. τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς ἐβδόμη τὴν ἐν Κρανῶνι μάχην ἡττηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τελέως ἀπώλοντο. After this battle <i>Xenocrates</i> was sent ambassador to <i>Antipater</i>: Plutarch. Phocion. c. 27. A Macedonian garrison enters <i>Munychia</i> in September: Idem Demosth. c. 28. βοηδρομιῶνος δὲ παρήλθεν εἰς Μουνυχίαν ἡ φρουρά. Phocion. c. 28. εἰκάδι γὰρ ἡ φρουρά βοηδρομιῶνος εἰσήχθη, μυστηρίων ὄντων. In this year, taken as the 16th of a Metonic cycle (see below Appendix c. 19. p. 348 u), the 7th <i>Metagitmion</i> is Aug. 6. and the 20th <i>Boëdromion</i> is Sept. 17. After these events <i>Antipater</i> and <i>Craterus</i> prosecute war in <i>Ætolia</i>: Diod. XVIII. 24. Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐστράτευσαν.—οὗτοι γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαμιακῷ πολέμῳ διαπολεμησάντων ὑπόλοιποι διέμενον ἀχείρωτοι.—In the winter: Diod. XVIII. 25. τῶν περὶ Κρατερὸν στεγνὰ κατασκευασάντων καὶ συναγαγόντων τοὺς πολεμίους μένειν τὸν χειμῶνα. Consequently the winter of the archon <i>Philocles</i>. Diodorus inaccurately refers all these transactions, even the <i>Ætolian</i> expedition, to the year of <i>Cephi-</i></p>

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ibi enim adolescens habitabat cum patre et fratribus.

Death of *Diogenes the Cynic*: Laërt. VI. 79. Δημήτριος ἐν τοῖς ὁμωνύμοις φησὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Διογένην δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ τελευτῆσαι. Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. 1. p. 717. C. τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως τελευτῆς, καὶ τῆς Διογένους τοῦ κυνὸς, ἡμέρα μιᾷ γενομένης. conf. Suid. v. Διογένης. He was near ninety at his death: Laërt. VI. 76. Born, therefore, about B. C. 412.

Demosthenes remains in exile till after the death of *Alexander*: Plutarch. Demosth. c. 27. ἔτι φεύγοντος αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτελεύτησε. After that event, *Demosthenes* τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος πρεσβεύουσι προσμίξας ἑαυτὸν ἡγωνίζετο καὶ συνέπρATTEN ὅπως αἱ πόλεις συνεπιθήσονται τοῖς Μακεδόσιν.—ἐφ' οἷς ἡσθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ψηφίζεται τῷ Δημοσθένει κάθοδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα Δήμων ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνεψιὸς ὦν Δημοσθένους, εἰσήνεγκεν. Ibid. Compare Vit. X. or. p. 846. D. where *Demo* is also mentioned.—*Lycurgus* died about the time of the exile of *Demosthenes*, or not long before: conf. Vit. X. or. p. 842. D. E. Demosth. Epist. III. p. 1479. Reisk. According to another passage of the biographer he was already dead when *Demosthenes* was prosecuted: p. 848. F. ἐπεὶ Λυσικλῆς μὲν καὶ Λυκούργος ἐτεθνήκεσαν Δημοσθένους δὲ ὡς παρὰ Ἀρπάλου δωροδοκήσας ἐκρίνετο.

Hyperidēs ἐπιτάφιος. Vit. X. or. p. 849. F. ἐκοινώνησε δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένει τοῦ Λαμμακοῦ πόλεμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσιν εἶπε τὸν ἐπιτάφιον θαυμασίως. Before the return of *Demosthenes*: conf. Diod. XVIII. 13. This oration is quoted by Harpoer. v. Πύλαι. and a fragment is preserved by Stobæus Serm. 124, 36.

Death of *Demosthenes* two months after the battle of Cranon: Plutarch. Demosth. c. 28. Πνανεψιώνος δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀπέθανε. Idem c. 30. κατέστρεψε δ' ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Πνανεψιώνος μηνός [Oct. 13 B. C. 322]. In the little island of Calauria near Træzen: Plutarch Ibid. c. 30. Idem Phocion. c. 29. Vit. X. or. p. 846. E. F. Strab. VIII. p. 374.—Laërt. V. 10. κατέστρεψεν ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους.

About the same time *Hyperides* had been put to death by *Antipater*: Plutarch. Demosth. c. 28. Idem Phocion. c. 29. ὁ Ὑπερίδου πρὸς Κλεωναῖς θάνατος. Vit. X. or. p. 849. B. ἀχθεὶς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον εἰς Κόρινθον—ἐτελεύτησε πνανεψιώνος ἐνάτῃ ἰσταμένον [Oct. 6]. Consult, for the deaths of the two orators, Arrian. apud Phot. cod. 92. p. 217. Sentence of death had been passed upon them at Athens on the motion of *Demades*. Arrian. ibid. Plutarch. Demosth. c. 28.

Demochares the nephew of *Demosthenes* (*Demostheni sororis filius* Cic. Brut. c. 83) is already engaged in public affairs: Vit. X. or. p. 847. C. D. Δημοχάρης—ἄνηρ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικούς λόγους οὐδενὸς χείρων. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ εἰσιόντων πρὸς τὴν

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		<p><i>sodorus</i>. The Lamian war had commenced in that year, and he related its termination, without marking that the campaign of B. C. 322 extended into the year of the following archon.</p> <p><i>Antipater</i>, upon the submission of Athens, disfranchised 12,000 of the poorer citizens, and settled some of them in Thrace; reducing the number to about 9,000. Plutarch. Phocion. c. 28. τῶν ἀποψηφισθέντων τοῦ πολιτεύματος διὰ πενίαν ὑπὲρ μυρίου καὶ δισχιλίου γενομένων, οἳ τε μένοντες ἐδόκουν σχέτλια καὶ ἄτμα πάσχειν, οἳ τε διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες καὶ μεταστάντες εἰς Θράκην, Ἀντιπάτρου γῆν καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντος, ἐκπεπολιορκημένοις ἐφέκσαν. Diod. XVIII. 18. ὁ δὲ (Ἀντίπατρος) τὴν πολιτείαν μετέστησεν ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας, καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τήμης εἶναι τὸ πολίτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κεκτημένους πλείω δραχμῶν δισχιλίων κυρίου εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας· τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τῆς τήμης ἅπαντας—ἀπῆλασε τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις χώραν ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὄντες πλείους τῶν δισχυρίων [legendum ex Plutarcho μυρίων, conf. Wess. ad Diod. l. c.] καὶ δισχιλίων μετεστάθησαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὠρισμένην τήμῃσιν ἔχοντες περὶ ἑνακισχιλίου ἀπεδείχθησαν κύριοι τῆς πόλεως. The original numbers, 12,000+9,000=21,000, were found at the census five years afterwards, in B. C. 317. the 12,000 having been restored upon the death of <i>Antipater</i>. Conf. Diod. XVIII. 66. et Wess. ad XVIII. 18.</p>
321.	114, 4. <i>Archippus</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650. See <i>Introd.</i> p. xiii. xiv. Wess. ad Diod. XVIII. 44.	<p><i>Antipater</i> and <i>Craterus</i> are suddenly called from Ætolia, and pass into Asia: Diod. XVIII. 25. Victory of <i>Eumenes</i>, and death of <i>Craterus</i>; (related Diod. XVIII. 30. Plutarch. Eumen. c. 7. Nepos Eumen. c. 3. 4. Arrian. ap. Phot. p. 220. 221.) in the archonship of <i>Philocles</i>: Diod. XVIII. 26. When the corn was growing: Plutarch. Eumen. c. 6. μαχομένου περὶ γῆς—τότε πολλὴν καὶ καλὴν ἐχούσης ἐν κάλυκι στάχυν. Therefore before midsummer. News of the victory reached the army in Egypt two days after the death of <i>Perdiccas</i>: Plutarch. Eumen. c. 8. ἀνηρημένου Περδίκκου κατὰ στάσιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυσὶν ἡμέραις πρότερον ἦκεν οὗτος ὁ περὶ τῆς μάχης λόγος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. conf. Diod. XVIII. 37. The attempt of <i>Perdiccas</i> to ford the Nile (Diod. XVIII. 35) was evidently made before the season of the floods; and the rising of the Nile was at the summer solstice: Herodot. II. 19. conf. Vit. Pythag. apud Photium Cod. 249. p. 1321. ὁ Νεῖλος πλημμυρεῖ τοῦ θέρους. Strab. XVII. p. 793. τοῦ θέρους ἀρχομένου πληρούμενος ὁ Νεῖλος. And when the Sun entered <i>Leo</i>: Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 366. A. Sympos. p. 670. C. Plin. H. N. V. 10 (quoted by Kruger). Incipit (Nilus) crescere luna nova, quæcunque post solstitium est, modiceque Cancrum sole transeunte, abundantissime autem Leonem. Conf. Ammian. XXII. 15, 12. These events therefore, the deaths of <i>Craterus</i> and <i>Perdiccas</i>, occurred within the archonship of <i>Philocles</i>, (in whose year they are placed by Diodorus himself,) when two years were completed from the death of <i>Alexander</i>: and Diodorus is in error when he ascribes three years to <i>Perdiccas</i>: ἀρξας ἔτη τρία. XVIII. 36.</p>

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<p>ἐστὶαν δεξιᾷ, ὁ πρῶτος περιέσωμένος ἅμα τῷ ἱματίῳ καὶ ξίφος· οὕτω γὰρ δημηγορήσαι λέγεται ἡνίκα Ἀντίπατρος ἐξήτει τοὺς ῥήτορας. See for Demochares B. C. 302. 280.</p> <p><i>Aristotle</i>, after twelve years complete, or thirteen current, at Athens, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Χαλκίδα τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ριδ' ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐτῶν τριῶν πον καὶ ἐξήκοντα, νόσῳ· ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένης κατέστρεψε. Apollod. apud Laërt. V. 10.</p> <p>—Dionys. Amm. p. 728. τῷ τρισκαυδεκάτῳ ἔτει [after his establishment at Athens] ἀπάρas εἰς Χαλκίδα νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἐξήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη. Dionysius in the dates for <i>Aristotle</i> evidently follows Apollodorus. Compare Dionysius and Laërtius at B. C. 384, 367, 342, 334. And according to Apollod. ap. Laërt. <i>Aristotle</i> died Ol. 114. 3. ὅτε καὶ Δημοσθένης—ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους. Dionysius p. 728. thus expresses the death of <i>Aristotle</i>: μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρῳ ἄρχοντος ἀπάρas εἰς Χαλκίδα, νόσῳ τελευτᾷ. <i>Aristotle</i>, then, retired to Chalcis the year after the death of <i>Alexander</i>, and died there in the fourth month of the archon Philocles, about the time of the death of <i>Demosthenes</i>. As <i>Philocles</i> is the sixty-third archon from <i>Diotrephes</i>, including both, <i>Aristotle</i> would be born in the beginning of the year of <i>Diotrephes</i>, or B. C. 384.—<i>Theophrastus</i> succeeds: Laërt. V. 36. Θεόφραστος Ἐρέσιος—ἀκούσας Πλάτωνος, μετέστη πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλη· κάκεινον εἰς Χαλκίδα ὑποχωρήσαντος, αὐτὸς διέδεξατο τὴν σχολὴν ὀλυμπιάδι τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ. cf. a. 287.</p>	
<p><i>Dinarchus</i> flourished at Athens during the fifteen years which followed the death of <i>Demosthenes</i>: Dionys. Dinarch. p. 633. μάλιστα δὲ ἤκμασε μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν, Δημοσθένους μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων φυγαῖς αἰδίοις καὶ θανάτοις περιπεσόντων.—καὶ διετέλεσεν ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ δέκα χρόνον λόγους συγγράφων τοῖς βουλομένοις, ἕως Κάσσανδρος τὴν πόλιν κατέσχευ· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ κατέλυσαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ φρουρὰν—οἱ περὶ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Δημήτριον βασιλεῖς,—ἐξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως.</p>	<p><i>Menandri</i> Ὀργή. Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx. ἐδίδασκε πρῶτος ἐφηβος ὢν ἐπὶ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ [sic legendum] ἄρχοντος [Feb. or March B. C. 321]. Eusebius ex versione Hieronymi: Ol. 114. 4. <i>Menander</i> primam fabulam cognomento ORGEN docens superat. Placed also in Eusebius himself ed. Ven. at Ol. 114. 4 anno 1695 commencing from Oct. B. C. 322. <i>Menander</i> was at this time in his twenty-first year.</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
166	320. Ol. 115. <i>Neæchmus</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650. Marmor ap. Boeckh. Inser. Gr. No. 224. p. 347. Corsin. F. At. t. IV. p. 56. See <i>Introd.</i> p. xiii. xiv.	
319.	115, 2. <i>Apollodorus</i> . Diodor. XVIII. 44. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	<i>Eumenes</i> retires to Nora: Plutarch. Eumen. c. 10. καταφυγὼν εἰς Νῶρα, χωρίον ἐν μεθορίῳ Λυκαονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας. where he is blockaded by <i>Antigonus</i> : Ibid. c. 11. Diodorus XVIII. 41. 42. has placed the narrative of this siege before the year of Apollodorus; conf. c. 44. consequently within the archonship of <i>Neæchmus</i> , whose name is wanting in the present text of Diodorus. <i>conf. ann.</i> 321, 1. 320, 1. The blockade lasted several months: <i>complures menses</i> Nep. Eum. c. 5. or a year: Diod. XVIII. 53. ἐνιαυτοῦ οὗσης τῆς πολιορκίας. and did not terminate till after the death of <i>Antipater</i> . <i>conf. a.</i> 318.
318.	115, 3. <i>Archippus</i> . Diodor. XVIII. 58. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	<p>Death of <i>Antipater</i>: in the year of Apollodorus: Diod. XVIII. 44. 48. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀπολλοδώρου—Ἀντιπάτρου περιπεσόντος ἀρρώστια βαρυτέρα, καὶ τοῦ γήρως συνεργοῦντος πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυνσιν τοῦ βίου, κ. τ. λ. According to Lucian Macrob. c. 11. he had passed his eightieth year: Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ἰολάου μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς, καὶ ἐπιτροπέυσας πολλοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας, ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ζήσας ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον.</p> <p>At the time of the death of <i>Antipater</i>, <i>Eumenes</i> is still blockaded in Nora: Plutarch. Eumen. c. 12. ἤδη δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας χρόνον λαμβανούσης Ἀντίγονος τεθηγκέναι πυνθανόμενος Ἀντίπατρον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ,—πέμψας Ἱερώνυμον ἐσπένδeto τῷ Εὐμενεῖ. Diodorus agrees; placing the liberation of <i>Eumenes</i> in the archonship of Apollodorus, and after the death of <i>Antipater</i>: XVIII. 50. διαβοηθείσης τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτῆς,—ὁ Ἀντίγονος—Ἱερώνυμον μὲν τὸν τὰς ἱστορίας γράψαντα μετεπέμψατο, φίλον ὄντα καὶ πολίτην Εὐμένους τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ, τοῦ συμπεφευγότος εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ καλούμενον Νῶρα· τοῦτον δὲ μεγάλας δωρεαῖς προκαλεσάμενος ἐξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένην. c. 53. ὁ πολιορκῶν τὸν Εὐμένην καὶ σπεύδων ἀνελεῖν Ἀντίγονος ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν πρὸς κοινοπραγίαν· καὶ λαβὼν διὰ τῶν ὅρκων τὰς πίστεις τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπελύθη. The siege had begun in the year of <i>Neæchmus</i>, cf. a. 319. and had lasted through a winter and till the spring: Nep. Eum. c. 5. <i>Tenuit se uno loco quamdiu fuit hiems.—Ver appropinquabat; simulatâ deditione, se ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.</i> The winter and spring of the archon Apollodorus.</p>
317.	115, 4. <i>Demogenes</i> . Diod. XIX. 2. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	<p>Death of <i>Phocion</i>: in the archonship of Archippus: Diod. XVIII. 58. 64—67.—in the month Munychion: Plutarch. Phocion. c. 37. ἡν δ' ἡμέρα μηνὸς μουνυχίωνος ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. [April or May B. C. 317.] <i>Phocion</i> was now 85; since he was in his eightieth year, ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔχων ἔτος, at the time of the Lamian war B. C. 323. Plutarch. Phocion.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
	<p><i>Diphilus</i>—Δίφιλος Σινωπεύς, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐδίδαξε Μενάνδρῳ. τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Σμύρνῃ. δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ρ'. Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxxi.</p> <p>Marmor apud Corsin. F. A. tom. IV. p. 56. Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. No. 224. p. 347. Θράσυλλος, Θρασύλλου Δεκελεὺς ἀνέθηκεν χορηγῶν νικήσας ἀνδράσιν—Εὐῖος Χαλκιεὺς ἤνλει, Νέαιχμος ἤρχεν, Καρχίδαμος Σώτιος ἐδίδασκεν.</p>
<p><i>Theophrastus</i> is mentioned at this date by Eusebius ed. Ven. Ol. 115 2. anno 1697 [commencing Oct. B. C. 320] <i>Theophrastus philosophus agnoscebatur.</i></p>	
<p><i>Demades</i> put to death at the time of the decease of <i>Antipater</i>: Arrian. apud Phot. cod. 92. p. 217. Δημάδης—ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου ἐσφάγη, τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τοῖς κόλποις προαποσφαγέντος· αἰτίαν δ' ἐπῆγε Κάσανδρος ὅτι τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐξυβρίσειεν, ἐν οἷς ἔγραψε Περδίκκῃ.—Δείναρχος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος ὁ κατήγορος ἦν. Plutarch. Phocion. c. 30. Δήμαδης—τὸν υἱὸν ἔχων ἀπῆρεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν—εἰς τοῦτο καιροῦ κομισθεὶς, ἐν ᾧ κατεῖχeto μὲν Ἀντίπατρος ἤδη νόσῳ, Κάσανδρος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γεγονὼς εὗρεν ἐπιστολὴν Δημάδου, κ. τ. λ. conf. Plutarch. Demosth. c. 31. Diod. XVIII. 48. ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος (ἐσχάτως ἤδη διακείμενος) παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τεταγμένοις αὐτόν τε τὸν Δημάδην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Δημέαν.—Suidas: Δημάδης, Ἀθηναῖος, ρήτωρ, καὶ δημαγωγὸς πανούργος καὶ εὐτυχής. [εὐφυὲς Ruhnck.] πρότερον ναύτης ὦν ἔγραψεν ἀπολογισμὸν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δωδεκαετίας.—τελευτᾷ δὲ κατ' ὀλυμπιάδα ριέ'. ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου, ὃς κατέλυσε τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τοὺς ρητορικοὺς ἀγῶνας, καὶ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεύσας Θήβας ἀνέστησε. Thus happily restored by Ruhnck. apud Reisk. tom. VIII. p. 150.</p>	
<p>The orators <i>Hegemon</i> and <i>Pythocles</i> were put to death with Phocion. <i>Demetrius Phalereus</i> and <i>Callimedon</i> ὁ Κάραβος escaped: Plutarch. Phocion. c. 35. ἦσαν σὺν τῷ Φωκίῳ Νικοκλῆς, Θούδιππος, Ἠγήμων, Πυθοκλῆς· Δημητρίων δὲ τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ Καλλιμέδοντος καὶ Χαρικλέους καὶ τινων</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>c. 24. (ὕπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη in Plutarch. Mor. p. 791. F. ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη p. 819. A. where the same anecdote is told.) Nepos Vit. Phoc. c. 2. nearly agrees with Plutarch: <i>Quum prope ad annum octogesimum prosperā pervenisset fortunā, extremis temporibus magnum in odium pervenit suorum civium: primo quod cum Demade de urbe tradendā Antipatro consenserat.</i> This occurred after the battle of Cranon; which supposes <i>Phocion</i> to be near eighty in B.C. 322. Whence we may perhaps correct the numbers of <i>Ælian</i> V. H. III. 47. Φωκίωνα δὲ ἡ εὐφημία ἢ καλοῦσα αὐτὸν χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ὠφέλησεν, οὐδὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη [legendum videtur πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔ.] ἅπερ οὖν διεβίωσεν οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν βραχεί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν Ἀντιπάρῳ [the error of <i>Ælian</i> or his transcriber for Κασάνδρῳ, conf. Perizon. ad loc.] τὸν Πειραῖα προδιδόναι [sc. in B.C. 317], Ἀθηναῖοι κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ θάνατον. <i>Seventy-five</i> years at the period of his alleged treachery in the year of Archippus B.C. 31$\frac{8}{7}$ would be inconsistent, not only with Plutarch, but with the command of <i>Phocion</i> in the battle of Naxos B.C. 376; [conf. an.] fifty-eight years before.</p> <p><i>Philip Arrhidæus</i> is put to death by <i>Olympias</i>: Diod. XIX. 2. 11. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Δημογένους—βασιλεὺς γεγενημένος ἕξ ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέτταρας. In the beginning of the year of Demogenes, about September B.C. 317.</p> <p><i>Agathocles</i> tyrant of Syracuse: Diod. XIX. 2. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Δημογένους—τύραννος ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως.</p> <p>Census at Athens: Athen. VI. p. 272. b. Κτησικλῆς ἐν τρίτῃ Χρονικῶν, [τῇ πεντῇ] καιδεκάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, φησὶν, ὀλυμπιάδι, Ἀθήνησιν ἐξετασμὸν γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τῶν κατοικοῦντων τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ εὐρεθῆναι Ἀθηναίους μὲν δισμυρίους πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις μετόικους δὲ μυρίους οἰκετῶν δὲ μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα. The 21,000 <i>Athenians</i> express those who had votes in the Public Assembly, or all the males above the age of twenty years; the 10,000 <i>μέτοικοι</i> describe also the males of full age: and, when the women and children are computed, the total free population will be about 127,660, and 400,000 slaves added to 127,660 free inhabitants will give about 527,660 for the total population of Attica.</p>
316.	Ol. 116. Democles. Diod. XIX. 17. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	<p>Campaign of <i>Antigonus</i> against <i>Eumenes</i> in Upper Asia: Diod. XIX. 17—34.—ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Δημοκλεδου XIX. 17.—Continued till the winter: XIX. 34. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις παρεχέμαζον ἅμα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀνελάμβανον. Meanwhile <i>Cassander</i> besieged <i>Olympias</i> at Pydna, through the winter: Diod. XIX. 49. Κάσσανδρος εἰς Πύδναν συγκεκλεικὼς Ὀλυμπιάδα προσβολὰς μὲν—ἡδυνάτει ποιείσθαι διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας. conf. XIX. 36.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

ἄλλων ἀπόντων κατεψηφίσθη θάνατος. Hegemon and Pythoeles are mentioned together by Demosth. Cor. p. 320. 321.

Demetrius Phalereus began to govern Athens not sooner than the year of *Demogenes*, because the death of *Phocion* happened in the tenth month of *Archippus*. And *Demetrius* governed ten years: Laërt. V. 75. τῆς πόλεως ἐξηγήσατο ἔτη δέκα. Strab. IX. p. 398. ἔνιοι δέ φασι καὶ βέλτιστα τότε αὐτοὺς [the Athenians] πολιτεύσασθαι δεκαετὴ χρόνον, ὃν ἦρχε Μακεδόνων Κάσανδρος. Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ—ἐπέστησε τῶν πολιτῶν Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα [conf. Pausan. I. 25, 5] τὸν Θεοφράστου τοῦ φιλοσόφου γνώριμον, ὃς οὐ μόνον οὐ κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηνόρθωσε. These ten years were ended in the third month of *Anaxicrates*. [Sept. B. C. 307.] Hence the census of the Athenian people could not have been made earlier than the year of *Demogenes* Ol. 115. 4, the first year of his administration. Scaliger Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγραφ. Ol. 110. 1. misled by the defective reading δεκάτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, in *Athenæus* VI. p. 272. b. has placed this census in the archonship of *Theophrastus* B. C. 340. A *prochronism* of twenty-three years.

4. POETS.

[The decree of *Sophocles* against the philosophers is fixed by the allusion of *Alexis* either to this date or to Olymp. 118. ten or twelve years later. See Col. 4. The law is mentioned by Pollux IX. 42. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νόμος Ἀττικὸς κατὰ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων γραφεὶς, ὃν Σοφοκλῆς Ἀμφικλείδου Σουμειὺς εἶπεν, ἐν ᾧ τινα κατὰ αὐτῶν προειπὼν ἐπήγαγε “μὴ ἐξεῖναι μηδενὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν διατριβὴν κατασκευάσασθαι.” It was opposed by *Philo*, but defended by *Demochares*: Athen. XIII. p. 610. e. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ τις ψηφίσματι ἐξήλασε πάντας φιλοσόφους τῆς Ἀττικῆς· καθ’ οὗ λόγον ἔγραψε Φίλων Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμος, ἀπολογίαὺν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Δημοχάρους πεποιηκότος τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀνεψιοῦ. The law of *Sophocles*, however, (which derives credit from the support of *Demochares*,) did not enact that the philosophers should be banished; it only subjected them to regulation and restraint: Laërt. V. 38. ἀπεδήμησε πρὸς ὀλίγον καὶ οὗτος [Theophrastus] καὶ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ φιλόσοφοι, Σοφοκλέους

[*Alexidis* Ἴππος. Before the death of *Xenocrates*, and during the government of *Demetrius Phalereus*: which would determine the date of this comedy, and of the decree against the philosophers to which it alludes, to B. C. 316. Athen. XIII. p. 610. e. Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ἴππῳ

Τοῦτ’ ἔστιν Ἀκαδημία, τοῦτο Ξενοκράτης; πολλ’ ἀγαθὰ δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ τοῖς νομοθέταις διότι τοὺς τὰς τῶν λόγων ὥς φασι δυνάμεις παραδιδόντας τοῖς νέοις ἐς κόρακας ἔρρειν φασὶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

If the allusion is to be understood of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, which is the opinion of *Petitus* Leg. Att. p. 391. (who is followed by *Menagius* ad Laërt. V. 38. *Corsini* F. Att. tom. IV. p. 68.

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
315.	116, 2. <i>Praxibulus</i> . Diod. XIX. 55. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650. Theophrast. <i>περὶ λίθων</i> p. 702. Schneid. Plin. H. N. XXXIII. 7.	<p>War renewed in the winter between <i>Antigonus</i> and <i>Eumenes</i>; Diod. XIX. 37. 38. compare Plutarch. Eumen. c. 15.—which ended in the death of <i>Eumenes</i>: Diod. XIX. 39—44. Plutarch. Eumen. c. 16—19.—In the year of <i>Democles</i>, and while it was still winter: consequently, early in B. C. 315. <i>Eumenes</i> perished at the age of 45. Nep. Eumen. c. 13. He had been seven years in the service of <i>Philip</i>: Nep. Eum. c. 1. <i>Hunc locum tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum annos septem. Illo interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim.</i> He had engaged the notice of <i>Philip</i> at Cardia; see Plutarch. Eumen. c. 1. And <i>Philip</i> was at Cardia during the Thracian expedition B. C. 342. 341. <i>conf. a. 341, 3.</i> in the seventh year before his death. Which agrees with the date of <i>Nepos</i>.</p> <p><i>Olympias</i>, having been besieged through the winter by <i>Cassander</i>, in the beginning of spring—<i>τοῦ ἔαρος ἀρχομένου</i>—is captured and put to death. Diod. XIX. 50. 51. <i>Cassander</i> rebuilds Thebes, in the twentieth year after its destruction by <i>Alexander</i>: <i>εἰκοστῷ ἔτει</i> Diod. XIX. 54.—towards the end of the year of <i>Democles</i>, before midsummer B. C. 315. This event, however, is dated by some writers ten years later. <i>conf. a. 305.</i> On the restoration of Thebes by <i>Cassander</i>, compare Pausanias IX. 7, 1. who remarks, <i>ἐς δὲ τῶν Θηβῶν τὸν οἰκισμὸν προθυμώτατοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.</i> Confirmed by Plutarch Polit. Præc. p. 814. B. (<i>Ἀθηναῖοι</i>) <i>Θήβας Κασάνδρου κτίζοντος ἐστρεφά-νηφόρησαν.</i></p>
314.	116, 3. <i>Nicodorus</i> . Diod. XIX. 66. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650. Theophrast. Caus. Plant. I. 19, 5. Plin. H. N. III. 5. Chandler. Inscr. Antiq. P. 2. No. XI. p. 50.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>τοῦ Ἀμφικλείδου νόμον εἰσενεγκόντος “ μηδένα τῶν φιλοσόφων “ σχολῆς ἀφηγεῖσθαι ἀν μὴ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δόξη” εἰ δὲ “ μὴ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν.” ἀλλὰ αὐθις ἐπανήλθον εἰς νέωτα, Φιλλήωνος [l. Φίλωνος] τὸν Σοφοκλέα γραφάμενον παρὰ νόμων. ὅτε καὶ τὸν νόμον μὲν ἄκυρον ἐποίησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα πέντε ταλάντοις ἐζημίωσαν· κάθοδόν τε τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐψηφίσαντο, ἵνα καὶ Θεόφραστος κατελθῇ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ᾗ. Larcher Hérod. tom. VII. p. 714. has just views of the tendency of this law. It appears that the secession of the philosophers from Attica had its effect; for the law was repealed in the following year. In the oration of Demochares ὑπὲρ Σοφοκλέους πρὸς Φίλωνα were contained those invectives against the philosophers which are quoted Euseb. Præp. XV. 2. p. 791. D. Athen. V. p. 187. d. 215. c. XI. p. 508. f.]</p>	<p>and Larcher Hérod. tom. VII. p. 714.) in that case we must, with Petitus, place the law of <i>Sophocles</i> (see Col. 3), and the <i>Ἰππος</i> of <i>Alexis</i>, within the 118th Olympiad: that is to say, after the liberation of Athens B. C. 307, and before the exile of <i>Demochares</i> B. C. 302. This drama of <i>Alexis</i>, together with the Ὑποβολιμαῖος and the Φαρμακοπώλης, 171 (for which see B. C. 306) would thus be brought down to the latest possible period of his exhibitions.]</p>
<p><i>Polemo</i> succeeds <i>Xenocrates</i>: Laërt. IV. 16. διαδέξασθαι τὴν σχολὴν, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκτῆς καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. The twenty-fifth year of <i>Xenocrates</i> would commence about the first month of Ol. 116. 2. cf. a. 339. So that <i>Polemo</i> seems to have succeeded in the year of <i>Praxibulus</i>, and Ol. 116. 2. <i>Xenocrates</i> at his death was in his 82d year: Laërt. IV. 14. ἔτος ἡδὴ γεγωνὺς δευτέρου καὶ ὀγδοηκοστού. or 81 complete: Censorin. c. 15.—Lucian Macrob. c. 20. makes him 84. Ξενοκράτης—τέσσαρα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. According to Euseb. Chron. ed. Ven. <i>Polemo</i> lived to B. C. 273: Ol. 126. 4 anno 1743 [commencing Oct. B. C. 274] <i>Polemon philosophus obiit: post quem Arcesilaus qui et Coton cognoscebatur.</i> [<i>Arcesilaus et Crates clari habentur</i> Hieron.] This account is probable, for he lived to old age: Laërt. IV. 20. ἐτελεύτησε γηραιὸς ἡδὴ ὑπὸ φθίσεως. With respect to the times of <i>Arcesilaus</i> and <i>Crates</i>, the account is inaccurate. conf. a. 278. Contemporary with <i>Polemo</i> was <i>Crantor</i>: Laërt. IV. 24. Κράντωρ Σολεὺς—ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ Ξενοκράτους διήκουσε Πολέμῳ συσχολάζων. Cic. Acad. I. 9. <i>Speusippus et Xenocrates—primi Platonis rationem auctoritatemque susceperant; et post hos Polemo et Crates unaque Crantor, in Academia congregati, diligenter ea quæ a superioribus acceperant tuebantur.</i> [Eusebius: Ol. 116. 2 anno 1701 [from Oct. B. C. 316] <i>Menander</i> [l. ex versione Hieronymi <i>Menedemus</i>] et <i>Speusippus philosophi cognoscebantur.</i> A metachronism of many years: Conf. Scalig. ad num. 1701 p. 128.]</p>	
<p>Death of <i>Æschines</i> the orator: if he lived to the age of 75.—βεβιωκὼς ἔτη σέ'. Apollon. in Vit.—Since he was born about B. C. 389. The other particulars of his death, recorded by Apollon. ἀνααιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου,—ὅτε καὶ οἱ περὶ Δημοσθένην ἐξεδόθησαν,—are inaccurate, or at least incompatible with the age assigned to him. According to other accounts, he removed to Rhodes, and taught eloquence there, after the death of <i>Alexander</i>: Anon. in Vit. πνθόμε-</p>	

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
172 313.	116, 4. <i>Theophrastus</i> . Diod. XIX. 73. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	
312.	Ol. 117. <i>Polemon</i> . Diod. XIX. 77. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	<i>Demetrius</i> defeated at Gaza by <i>Ptolemy</i> and <i>Seleucus</i> : Diod. XIX. 80—85. Plutarch. Demetr. c. 5.—In the year of <i>Polemon</i> : Diod. XIX. 77. consequently after midsummer B. C. 312. After the battle, <i>Seleucus</i> took possession of Babylonia: Diod. XIX. 90.—Appian. Syr. c. 54. Πτολεμαῖος αὐτίκα τὸν Σέλευκον ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα πέμπει τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναληψόμενον. From hence the era of the <i>Seleucidæ</i> commences. <i>Demetrius</i> was at this time in his twenty-second year: Plutarch. Demetr. c. 5. Appian Syr. c. 54.
311.	117, 2. <i>Simonides</i> . Diod. XIX. 105. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650. <i>Theophrast</i> . Hist. Plant. VI. 3, 3.	
310.	117, 3. <i>Hieromnemon</i> . Diod. XX. 3. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	<i>Agathocles</i> lands in Africa at the time of an eclipse of the sun, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἱερομνήμονος. Diod. XX. 3—5. [Aug. 15. B. C. 310] after his defeat in the battle of Himera: Diod. XX. 3. which had happened ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Σιμωνίδου. Diod. XIX. 105. 109. about June or July B. C. 310.
309.	117, 4. <i>Demetrius</i> . Diod. XX. 27. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	
308.	Ol. 118. <i>Charinus</i> . Diod. XX. 37. Senec. Epist. XVIII. <i>Cærimus</i> Dionys. Din. p. 650.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>νον τετελευτηκέναι τὸν βασιλέα—καταφυγεῖν εἰς Ῥόδον. Vit. X. or. p. 840. D. τοῦ δὲ τελευτήσαντος, παραχῆς οὔσης, ἀπάρas εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν. Philostratus Vit. Sophist. I. 18. καθορμισθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν (Ἀλέξανδρον) τεθνάναι ἀκούων—Ῥόδου εἶχετο. καὶ σοφιστῶν φροντιστήριον ἀποφύνας τὴν Ῥόδον, αὐτοῦ διητάτο. Photius cod. 61. p. 61. πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου ἐν Ἀσίᾳ στρατεύοντα φεύγειν ὄρμηθεὶς ἐπεσχέθη, τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ἀκούσας—εἰς Ῥόδον δὲ πλεύσας κατέμεινε χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς νέους ἐπαίδευε. Conf. Plin. Epist. IV. 5. Hieron. Paulino tom. III. p. 5. <i>Æschines</i> might therefore survive <i>Alexander</i> nine years, and die at the age of 75, in B. C. 314. He died at Samos: Vit. X. or. p. 840. E. Photius l. c. γηράσας δὲ ἀπὸ Ῥόδου εἰς Σάμον μετέστη κακεῖ τελευτᾷ.</p>	
	<p>(<i>Alexis</i> in the Πύρρανos alludes to <i>Seleucus</i>: Athen. XIII. p. 590. b. Ἀλεξίς ἐν Πυράνῳ ἀνοιγ', ἀνοίγε τὴν θύραν· ἐλάνθανον πάλαι περιπατῶν ἀνδρίας ἀλήθινος, ποτάμιος ἵππος, τοίχος, ὁ Σελεύκου τέγρις. which marks the Πύρρανos for a late comedy. For the second line, see Porson. Adv. p. 138.)</p>
<p><i>Epicurus</i> in his thirty-second year began to teach at Mytilenē and Lampsacus: Apollodor. apud Laërt. X. 15. ὑπάρχοντα ἑτῶν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ καὶ Λαμψάκῳ πρῶτον συστήσασθαι σχολὴν ἐπὶ ἕτη πέντε. Laërt. X. 14. ἀφηγήσασθαι τῆς σχολῆς ἑτῶν ὄντα δύο πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα. Therefore in the year of <i>Hieromnemon</i>.</p>	
<p><i>Marsyas</i> of Pella flourished: Diod. XX. 50. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος—κατὰ μέσσην τὴν τάξιν τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν σκαφῶν ἔστησεν, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Θεμίσιον τε ὁ Σάμιος καὶ Μαρσύας ὁ τὰς Μακεδονικὰς πράξεις συνταξάμενος. conf. a. 306, 2. Suidas: Μαρσύας, Περίανδρον, Πελλαῖος, ἱστορικός.—ἀδελφὸς [i. e. frater</p>	

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
174	<p>307. 118, 2. <i>Anaxicrates</i>. Diod. XX. 45. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 633. 634. 636. 650. Laërt. X. 2. Plut. Mor. p. 843. C. 850. D. 852. A.</p>	<p><i>Demetrius</i> approaches the Piræus on the 26th of Thargelion : Plutarch. Demetr. c. 8, πέμπτη φθίνοντος θαργηλιῶνος. [the 11th month of the archon <i>Charinus</i> : June B. C. 307.] He besieges Munychia, and occupies Megara, in the beginning of the year of <i>Anaxicrates</i> : Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650. Ἀναξικράτης ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ κατασταθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου ὀλιγαρχία κατελύθη. Philochorus apud Dionys. p. 636. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος, εὐθὺς μὲν ἡ τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλις ἐάλω· ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ὁ κατελθὼν ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων κατεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν Μουνυχίαν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατασκάψας ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ· ὕστερον δὲ εἰσηγγέλθησαν πολλοὶ πολιτῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς. In the fifteenth year after the establishment of the oligarchy : Plutarch. Demetr. c. 10. Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπολαβόντες τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἔτει πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ, κ. τ. λ. Diod. XX. 45. 46. ἤρχεν Ἀναξικράτης.—Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς—τὰ κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπογινώσκων ἔφυγεν εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Αἴγυπτον [conf. a. 296, 3]. οὗτος μὲν οὖν, ἔτη δέκα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιστατήσας, ἐξέπεσεν.—ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος μετ' ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα ἐκομίσατο τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν. From the third month of <i>Philocles</i> [Sept. or Oct. B. C. 322] to the third month of <i>Anaxicrates</i> [Sept. B. C. 307] are fifteen years complete.</p> <p><i>Agathocles</i> quits Africa : Diod. XX. 45. 69. ἤρχεν Ἀναξικράτης.—(Ἀγαθοκλῆς) ἐκπλεύσας κατὰ τὴν δύσιν τῆς Πλειάδος, χειμῶνος ὄντος.—At the close of B. C. 307. He had been nearly four years in Africa : ἔτος τέταρτον Diod. Ibid.</p>
	<p>306. 118, 3. <i>Coræbus</i>. Diod. XX. 73. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.</p>	<p><i>Demetrius</i>, after the liberation of Athens, defeats <i>Ptolemy</i> in a great sea-fight : in the archonship of <i>Anaxicrates</i>. Diod. XX. 45—52. [before midsummer B. C. 306.] After that action, <i>Antigonos</i>, <i>Lysimachus</i>, <i>Seleucus</i>, and <i>Ptolemy</i>, assume the title of king : Diod. XX. 53. Plutarch. Demetr. c. 18.—Porphyr. in Fragmento apud Scalig. Euseb. p. 59. 60. Πτολεμαῖος μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν [the year after the death of <i>Alexander</i>] σατράπης εἰς Αἴγυπτον πέμπεται. καὶ σατραπεύει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἔτη ζ' καὶ δέκα [B. C. 323—307], βασιλεύει δὲ ἔτη τρία καὶ εἴκοσιν ὥστε πάντα μ' λογίεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.—which coincides with <i>Diodorus</i>. The great sea-fight in the year of <i>Anaxicrates</i> was at the distance of seventeen years complete from the death of <i>Alexander</i>. The first year, therefore, of the reign or government of <i>Ptolemy</i> is the year of the archon <i>Cephisodorus</i> B. C. 32½, in the beginning of whose year the first division of the provinces, made by <i>Perdiccas</i>, took effect. Compare for the first division of the provinces Diod. XVIII. 2. 3. Arrian. ap. Phot. cod. 92. p. 216. the copious account of <i>Dexippus</i></p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>uterinus, ut bene Schweigh. ad Athen. tom. XIV. p. 144] Ἀντιγόνην τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντος· σύντροφος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως. ἔγραψε Μακεδονικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις δέκα. [cf. Athen. XIV. p. 629. d. Harpocr. v. Μύρτιον. Plutarch. Demosth. c. 18.] ἤρξατο δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Μακεδόνων, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐφόδου, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείας κτίσιν.</p> <p><i>Epicurus</i> is mentioned at this date by Seneca Epist. 18. <i>Epicurus</i>—in his epistolis quas scripsit Charino magistratu ad Polyænum.</p>	
<p><i>Lycurgus</i> is honoured with a statue: Vit. X. or. p. 843. C. ἀνάκειται αὐτοῦ χαλκῇ εἰκὼν ἐν Κεραμειῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα, ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους ἀρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ ἔλαβε σίτησιν ἐν Πρυτανείῳ αὐτός τε ὁ Λυκούργος καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐγγόνων. The decree was moved by <i>Stratocles</i>: Στρατοκλῆς Εὐθυδήμον Διομεινὸς εἶπεν. See the decree itself, ad calcem Vit. X. or. p. 852. These posthumous honours were granted about seventeen years after the death of <i>Lycurgus</i>: although the expressions of the biographer l. c. seem to imply that he was still living.—<i>Dinarchus</i> goes into exile in the year of <i>Anaxierates</i>: Dionys. Dinarch. p. 634. ἐξεληθὼν τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Χαλκίδα τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τὸν ἀπ' Ἀναξικράτους χρόνον ἕως Φιλίππου πεντεκαίδεκαετῇ γενόμενον ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν. Vit. X. or. p. 850. D. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον—παρὰ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Μουνυχίας, ἥνικα ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνης καὶ Δημητρίου ἐφρουρήθη ἐπ' Ἀναξικράτους ἀρχοντος,—ἐφυγεν εἰς Χαλκίδα. διατρίψας δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς φυγῆς ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη—κατῆλθε. These honours to the memory of <i>Lycurgus</i>, and the exile of <i>Dinarchus</i>, happened upon the ascendancy of the democratical party, to which <i>Lycurgus</i> had belonged, and the depression of the aristocratical, which was the party of <i>Dinarchus</i>.</p> <p><i>Stilpo</i> is at Megara, at its capture by <i>Demetrius</i>: Plutarch. Demetr. c. 9. Laërt. II. 115. Seneca epist. 9.</p>	
<p><i>Epicurus</i>, having taught at Mytilenē and Lampsacus five years current, εἰς Ἀθήνας μετέλθε. Laërt. X. 15. In the year of <i>Anaxierates</i>: Laërt. X. 2. ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους. He taught at Athens about thirty-six years, till his death, at the age of 72, κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ρκ' ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου. Laërt. X. 15. conf. Cic. de Fato c. 9. [B. C. 270.] In Gamelion of the archon <i>Anaxierates</i> he was 35 years complete.</p> <p><i>Philochorus</i> the historian, author of the Ἀθῆναι, already holds the office of ἱεροσκόπος at Athens, in the year of <i>Coræbus</i>: Dionys. Dinarch. p. 637. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ φησὶ (Φιλόχορος)· “Τοῦ δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου [the year of <i>Anaxierates</i>] διεληθόντος, ἑτέρου δ' εἰσιόντος, ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημεῖον ἐγένετο τοιοῦτο· κύων, κ. τ. λ.—ἡμεῖς δ' ἐρωτηθέντες ὑπὲρ “τε τοῦ σημείου καὶ τοῦ φαντάσματος, εἰς ὃ φέρει, φυγάδων “κάθοδον ἐφάμεν προσημαίνειν ἀμφοτέρω.” Confer Siebel.</p>	<p><i>Alexis</i> the comic poet is still living in the time of <i>Antigonos</i> and <i>Demetrius</i>: Athen. VI. p. 254. a. Ἀλεξίς ἐν Φαρμακοπόλῃ· ἐν Ἀντιγόνης τοῦ βασιλέως νίκῃς καλῆς, καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου κύαθον Δημητρίου. and in the time of king <i>Ptolemy</i>: Athen. XI. p. 502. b. Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ὑποβολιμαίῳ· ἐγὼ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως τέτταρα χυτρίδι ἀκράτου τῆς τ' ἀδελφῆς προσλαβὼν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως—</p> <p>He had exhibited comedy at least fifty, perhaps sixty, years before. cf. a. 356. But <i>Alexis</i> lived to an advanced age: Stob. Floril. 116, 47. Confirmed by Plutarch. de Orac. Def. p. 420. D. οὕτω</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		apud Phot. cod. 82. and the concise sketch of Appian Syr. c. 52.
305.	118, 4. <i>Euxenippus</i> . Diod. XX. 81. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	The restoration of Thebes, according to Polemo apud Athen. I. p. 19. c. was accomplished thirty years after its destruction : φησὶ Πολέμων φεύγοντά τινα χρυσίον εἰς τὸ ἱμάτιον κοῖλον ὃν ἐνθέσθαι· καὶ συνοικισμένης τῆς πόλεως ἐπανελθόντα εὐρεῖν τὸ χρυσίον μετὰ ἔτη τριάκοντα. Which would place this event in the year of <i>Euxenippus</i> . Thebes, however, already existed in the archonship of <i>Anaxicrates</i> , when Demetrius Phalerius fled thither for refuge. <i>conf. a.</i> 307. And we may understand with Casaubon addend. ad Animadv. ad Athen. the twenty years of Diodorus to refer to the commencement of the work, and the thirty years of Polemo to the final accomplishment.
304.	Ol. 119. <i>Pherecles</i> . Diod. XX. 91. Dionys. Din. p. 650.	Siege of Rhodes by <i>Demetrius</i> : Diod. XX. 81—88. 'Ροδίοις ἐνέστη πόλεμος. In the archonship of <i>Euxenippus</i> . Diod. XX. 81. [Spring B. C. 304.]
303.	119, 2. <i>Leostratus</i> . Diod. XX. 102. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	Peace concluded with the Rhodians, after a year's siege : πολιορκηθέντες ἐνιασίον χρόνον Diod. XX. 100. In the archonship of <i>Pherecles</i> . XX. 91. [before midsummer B. C. 303.] The siege of Rhodes terminated in the <i>spring</i> of B. C. 303, and in the end of the year of <i>Pherecles</i> ; otherwise <i>three</i> winters would have been passed in Greece by <i>Demetrius</i> , before he went into Asia ; whereas the transactions of the war with <i>Cassander</i> are hardly sufficient to explain <i>two</i> winters passed there. And, as the siege lasted one year, it commenced in the spring B. C. 304.

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>ad Philochori fragmenta p. 2.</p>	<p>γὰρ Ἐπίκουρός τε χείρων Γοργίου φανεῖται τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καὶ Μητροδώρου Ἀλέξιδος τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ. διπλάσιον γὰρ οὗτος ἔζησε τοῦ Μητροδώρου, Ἐπικούρου δ' ἐκεῖνος πλεόν ἢ ἐπίτριτον. Metrodorus died seven years before Epicurus at the age of 53: Laërt. X. 23. This account therefore supposes Alexis to have lived 106 years. For the death of Alexis compare Plutarch. An seni, &c. p. 785. B. An allusion to <i>King Seleucus</i> (see col. 2) is ascribed to <i>Antiphanes</i> by Athenæus IV. p. 156. c. κατὰ τὸν ἡδὺν Ἀντιφάνη, ὃς ἐν τῇ Παρεκτιδομένη ἔφη·</p> <p>ὄμνυμι δ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες, αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ μέθυειν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γίγνεται, ἢ μὴν ἐλέσθαι τοῦτον ἂν ζῆν τὸν βίον ἢ τὴν Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεροχὴν. ροφεῖν φακὴν ἐσθ' ἡδὺ μὴ δεδοικότα, μαλακῶς καθεύδειν ἄθλιον δεδοικότα.</p> <p>But these lines more probably belonged to <i>Alexis</i>; as these two poets were sometimes confounded, and composed many comedies with the same title, of which no less than fifteen occur in the extant lists of their dramas. See Philolog. Mus. Vol. I. p. 607. 608.</p>
<p><i>Theopompus</i> the historian is still living: Phot. Bibl. cod. 176. p. 392. μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον—εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικέσθαι ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ δὲ, τὸν ταύτης ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ, οὗ προσίεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.</p>	
	<p><i>Anaxippus</i> flourished: Suid. Ἀνάξιππος, κωμικὸς τῆς νέας κωμωδίας, ἤκμασεν ἐπὶ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ.</p>

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		<p>After the peace with the Rhodians, <i>Demetrius</i> sailed to Greece to oppose <i>Cassander</i>. Diod. XX. 100—102. Plutarch. Demetr. c. 22. 23. —in the year of <i>Leostratus</i>: Diod. XX. 102. εἶχε πρόθεσιν πρὸς Κάσσανδρον διαπολεμεῖν.</p>
302.	<p>119, 3. <i>Nicocles</i>. Diod. XX. 106. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.</p>	<p>Campaign of <i>Demetrius</i> in Greece against <i>Cassander</i>. Diod. XX. 102. 103. Compare Plutarch. Demetr. c. 23—26. In the year of <i>Leostratus</i>: continued, however, in the year of <i>Nicocles</i>. <i>Antigonus</i> moves into Cappadocia against <i>Lysimachus</i>: Diod. XX. 113. ἀρχὼν Νικοκλῆς Id. 106. <i>Seleucus</i> approaches from Upper Asia. Diod. XX. 113. The three kings winter in Asia: XX. 109. Ἀντίγονος—πρὸς τὴν χειμασίαν ἐπελέξατο τοὺς εὐθεωτάτους τόπους.—παραπλησίως δὲ Ἀνσίμαχος διεῖλε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς χειμασίαν. XX. 113. Σέλευκος—κατεσκεύασε στεγνὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις παραχειμάζειν. The winter of the archon <i>Nicocles</i>.</p>
301.	<p>119, 4. <i>Calliarchus</i>. Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650. Between <i>Nicocles</i> and <i>Philippus</i> one archon seems wanting in Dionys. p. 650. cf. ann. 293. 292.</p>	<p><i>Demetrius</i>, διατρίβων ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἔσπενδε μνηθῆναι. Diod. XX. 110.—in the archonship of <i>Nicocles</i>: XX. 106.—in the month Munychion: Plutarch. Demetr. c. 26. [April B. C. 301.] After his initiation, he passed to Ephesus, to join his father: Diod. XX. 110. 111. Plutarch. Demetr. c. 28. The three kings having passed the winter in winter quarters, κεκριότες κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν θερείαν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων κρίναι τὸν πόλεμον, (Diod. XX. 113.)—engage at <i>Ipsus</i> in Phrygia—in the year of <i>Calliarchus</i>. [after midsummer B. C. 301.] Death of <i>Antigonus</i> æt. 81. Lucian. Macrob. c. 11. ἐτῶν ἑνὸς καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. Appian. Syr. c. 55. ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη. Compare for the battle Plutarch. Demetr. c. 28—30. Diod. XXI. eclog. 1. The success of <i>Seleucus</i> is described by Libanius Antioch. tom. I. p. 299. The date of the action is clear from the twentieth book of Diodorus, although his history of the battle (lib. XXI) is lost. For he specifies nine years as the space, before the battle, from the archon <i>Hieromnemon</i> to the archon <i>Nicocles</i>: XX. 2. καταλήξομεν εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, καθ' ὃν οἱ βασιλεῖς κοινῇ διαπολεμεῖν ἤρξαντο πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, περιλαβόντες ἔτη ἑννέα. And the ninth year concludes with the distribution of their forces into winter quarters, (the winter of the archon <i>Nicocles</i>,) prepared to engage in the next campaign; while <i>Demetrius</i> set out from Athens in Munychion of the archon <i>Nicocles</i>, to join <i>Antigonus</i> in Asia. The armies therefore met in the beginning of the year of <i>Calliarchus</i>; about August B. C. 301.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

Demochares, nephew of *Demosthenes*, is banished by the party of *Stratocles*: *Plutarch*. *Demetr.* c. 24. προσεψηφίσαντο δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος κεύσῃ, τοῦτο—εἶναι δίκαιον. εἰπόντος δέ τινος μαίνεσθαι τὸν Στρατοκλέα τοιαῦτα γράφοντα, Δημοχάρης ὁ Λευκονοεὺς εἶπε· “Μαίνοιτο μὲν τ’ ἂν εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο.”—ὁ δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐπὶ τούτῳ διαβληθεὶς ἐφυγαδεύθη. This exile is noticed in the decree apud *Vit.* X. or. p. 851. D. ἄρχων Πυθάρatos [B. C. 27½]. Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεὺς αἰτεῖ δωρεὰν τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Δημοχάρεϊ Λάχηςτος Λευκονοεῖ—ὀχυρωσαμένῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τετραετοῦς πολέμου, καὶ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνοχὰς καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησαμένῳ πρὸς Βοιωτοῦς· ἂνθ’ ὧν ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ [male ἀπὸ in edd.] τῶν καταλυσάντων τὸν δῆμον. By the four years’ war we must understand the war which *Cassander* and *Polysperchon* carried on against the Greeks, partly during the absence of *Demetrius* in Asia, and partly after his return. Conf. *Diod.* XX. 100. Δημήτριος σπεύδων ἐλευθερώσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ περὶ Κάσσανδρον καὶ Πολυσπέρχοντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἄδειαν ἐσχηκότες ἐπόρθουν τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Hieronymus of *Cardia*, the historian, flourished. He had been the companion of *Eumenes*: *Diod.* XVIII. 42. [B. C. 319.] (conf. a. 318, 2.) and fell into the hands of *Antigonos* upon the death of *Eumenes*: *Diod.* XIX. 44. [B. C. 315.] He was employed by *Antigonos* at the lake *Asphaltites*: *Diod.* XIX. 100. [B. C. 312.] compare *Joseph.* *Apion.* I. 23. p. 1192. After the death of *Antigonos* he was appointed governor of *Boeotia* by *Demetrius* [B. C. 293]: *Plutarch.* *Demetr.* c. 39. *Hieronymus* is quoted for the wars of *Pyrrhus* in Italy by *Plutarch* *Pyrrho* c. 17. 21. He was one of the first Greek writers who treated of Roman history, though briefly: *Dionys.* *Ant.* I. p. 16. πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσα καὶ εἰδέναι, τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐπιδραμόντος Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ συγγραφέως ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων πραγματείᾳ. This was that part of his history, in which he treated of *Pyrrhus*: whose contemporaries were the ἐπίγονοι, as *Eumenes*, *Antigonos*, and their contemporaries, were the διάδοχοι. The history περὶ τῶν διαδόχων and that περὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων appear to have been distinct works. He mentioned in his history the death of *Antigonos* [B. C. 301] and of *Lysimachus* [B. C. 281]: *Lucian.* *Macrob.* c. 11. and that of *Pyrrhus* [B. C. 272]: *Pausan.* I. 14, 1. He therefore continued to write history in the reign of the second *Antigonos*, fifty years after the death of *Alexander*. But he lived to the age of 104:

4. POETS.

Archedicus, the comic poet, was contemporary with *Demochares*, whom he satirised: *Polyb.* XII. 13. Τίμαιος—κατέψενσται τῶνδρὸς, (Δημοχάρους,) κωμικόν τινα μάρτυρα προσεπισπασάμενος ἀνώνυμον—Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἀρχέδικος ὁ κωμωδιογράφος ἔλεγε ταῦτα μόνος περὶ Δημοχάρους, κ. τ. λ. *Archedicus* is quoted in two comedies by *Athenæus*: VII. p. 294. b. Ἀρχέδικος ἐν *Θησαυρῷ*. conf. p. 292. c. Idem XI. p. 467. e. Ἀρχέδικος ἐν *Διαμαρτάωνι*.

Philippides, the comic poet, ridiculed the honours paid to *Demetrius* through the influence of *Stratocles* the demagogue; the flattery of voting *Munychion* to be *Anthesterion*: ὁ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συντεμὼν εἰς μῆν’ ἕνα.—the lodging *Demetrius* in the *Parthenon*:—ὁ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πανδοκεῖον ὑπολαβών. *Plutarch.* *Demetr.* c. 26.—Idem *Demetr.* c. 12. Φιλιππίδης, ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Στρατοκλέους, ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποίησε ταῦτα:

Δι’ ὃν ἀπέκασεν ἡ πόλις τὰς ἀμπέλους,
δι’ ὃν ἀσεβοῦνθ’ ὁ πέπλος ἐρράγῃ μέσος,
ποιούντα τιμὰς τὰς θεῶν ἀνθρωπίνας—
ταυτὶ καταλύει δῆμον, οὐ κωμῳδία.

ἦν δ’ ὁ Φιλιππίδης Λυσιμάχου φίλος, καὶ πολλὰ δι’ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος εὖ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πρὸς πράξιν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς στρατείαν εὐσύμβολος ἀπαντήσας εἶναι καὶ ὀφθαίς. ἄλλως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἦθος εὐδοκίμει, μηδὲν ἐνοχλῶν μηδ’ αὐλικῆς περιεργίας ἀναπιμπλάμενος. φιλοφρονουμένου δέ ποτε τοῦ Λυσιμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος “ὦ Φιλιππίδη, τί-

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
300.	Ol. 120. <i>Hegemachus</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	
299.	120, 2. <i>Euctemon</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 650.	<p>The siege of Athens by <i>Demetrius</i>, during the tyranny of <i>Lachares</i>, may be placed about two years after the battle of Ipsus. Plutarch <i>Demetr.</i> c. 30—33. enumerates the intermediate events: After that battle, <i>Demetrius</i>, being excluded from Athens, (ἐπειγομένῳ περὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας αὐτῷ πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀπήντησαν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς πόλεως παρακαλοῦντες,) sails to the Chersonese. Not long after,—οὐ πολλὰ ὕστερον—the marriage of his daughter <i>Stratonice</i> with <i>Seleucus</i> ensues: <i>Demetrius</i> τὴν κόρην ἀναλαβὼν ἐπλεῖ ταῖς ναυσὶ πάσαις εἰς Συρίαν. After the marriage, he occupied Cilicia: Δημήτριος Κιλικίαν κατέσχε. which he fortified with garrisons, and then proceeded to the siege of Athens: τὰς μὲν πόλεις ἐκρατύνετο φρουραῖς· αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος Λαχάρη στασιάζουσιν Ἀθηναίους ἐπιθέμενον τυραννεῖν ἤλπισε ῥαδίως ἐπιφανεῖς λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. Athens, pressed by famine, surrenders: Λαχάρης ὁ τύραννος ἀπέδρα προέμενος τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι—εὐθὺς ἀνεψύχοντο τὰς ἐγγὺς πύλας. <i>Lachares</i> had been encouraged by <i>Cassander</i>: Pausan. I. 25, 5. Κάσσανδρος—Λαχάρη προεστηκότα ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ δήμου, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα οἰκειωσάμενος τυραννεῖν ἐπεισε βουλευέσθαι.—Δημητρίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιγόνου διάφορα μὲν ἦν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθεῖλε δ' ὅμως καὶ τὴν Λαχάρους τυραννίδα. ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἐκδιδράσκει Λαχάρης ἐς Βοιωτούς. In Boeotia he was assassinated: Pausan. <i>ibid.</i> Λαχάρη μὲν οὖν—κτείνουσιν ἄνδρες Κορωνάιοι. <i>Lachares</i> is noticed by Plutarch <i>Moral.</i> p. 379. D. 558. C. 1090. E.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

Lucian. Macrob. c. 22. ἔζησεν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ὡς Ἀγαθαρχίδης—λέγει, καὶ θαυμάζει γε τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέρας ἄρτιον ὄντα ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις, κ. τ. λ. Compare Phlegon. Longæv. c. 2.

According to Pausanias I. 9, 10. Hieronymus was a partial historian: ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος οὗτος ἔχει μὲν καὶ ἄλλως δόξαν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν γράφαι τῶν βασιλέων, πλὴν Ἀντιγόνου· τούτῳ δὲ οὐ δικαίως χαρίζεσθαι. Conf. I. 13, 8.

Birth of *Lycon* the Peripatetic; since he succeeded *Strato* in B. C. 270, taught forty-four years, and died at the age of 74. Laërt. V. 68. ἐτελεύτησε γεγονὼς ἔτος τέταρτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν. cf. a. 287.

Arcesilaüs flourished, according to Apollodorus: Laërt. IV. 45. καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδορος ἐν χρονικοῖς, ἥκμαζε περὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. According to Hermippus, he died at the age of 75: Laërt. IV. 44. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ, ὡς φησιν Ἑρμιππος,—ἤδη γεγονὼς ἔτος πέμπτον καὶ ἑβδομηκοστόν. and was succeeded by *Lacydes* in Ol. 134. 4 B. C. 241, according to Laërtius IV. 61. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ (Λακύνδης) σχολαρχεῖν ἀρξάμενος τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τριακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος· τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἕξ πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσιν ἔτη. If these numbers are accurate, *Arcesilaüs* had an early reputation; for he would now be only 17 years of age. That he continued to flourish as late as the 134th Olympiad is rendered probable by the incidents of his life. See Appendix c. 21.

Zeno—Ζήνων Μνασέου Κιτιεὺς [I. Κιτιεύς. See Thuc. I. 112. and Wasse and Duk. ad locum]—ἥκμαζεν ἐπὶ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ, ἐπὶ τῆς κ' καὶ ρ' ὀλυμπιάδος. Suid. Ζήν. Though it was true that he flourished in Ol. 120, yet, as *Antigonus* began to reign Ol. 124, it is probable that the numbers were ἐπὶ τῆς ρκ' ὀλ. as in Suid. v. Σωκράτης Σωφρονίσκ. *Zeno* came to Athens in the time of *Crates* the cynic: heard *Crates*, *Stilpo*, and *Xenocrates* or *Polemo* twenty years according to Laërtius; (but more probably twelve, or eighteen years, see Appendix. c. 21.) and taught at Athens fifty-eight years: Suid. v. Ζήνων. μαθητῆς ἦν Κράτητος τοῦ κυνικοῦ, εἵτα Πολέμωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου. Laërt. VII. 2. διήκουσε Κράτητος, εἵτα καὶ Στίλπωνος ἀκοῦσαι φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοκράτους ἔτη δέκα.—ἀλλὰ καὶ Πολέμωνος. Id. VII. 4. καὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἤκουσεν ἕως ἑτῶν εἰκοσιν. cf. a. 279.

4. POETS.

“ vos σοι τῶν ἐμῶν μεταδῶ; ” “ Μό-
“ νον,” ἔφη, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ τῶν ἀπορ-
“ ρήτων.” This last anecdote is re-
peated Stob. Florileg. 49, 19. Plutarch.
Apophthegm. p. 183. E. de Garrulit.
p. 508. B. de Curiosit. p. 517. B. Those
honours were paid to *Demetrius* at
Athens in April B. C. 301, and in the
preceding winter. *Stratocles* is the
subject of another fragment: Plutarch.
Mor. p. 750. F. Στρατοκλεῖ τῷ ῥήτορι
Φιλιππίδης ὁ κωμικὸς ἐπεγγελῶν ἐποίη-
σεν

Ἀποστρεφομένης τὴν κορυφὴν φιλεῖς μόλις;

Demetrius, the comic poet, was con-
temporary with *Seleucus*, *Agathocles*,
and *Lachares*; whom he mentioned in
his Ἀρεοπαγίτης. Athen. IX. p. 405. f.
κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Δημήτριον—ἐν τῷ Ἀρεο-
παγίτῃ·

ἀβυρτακοποιὸς παρὰ Σέλευκον ἐγενόμεν·
παρ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ δὲ πρῶτος εἰσήνεγκ' ἐγὼ
τῷ Σικελιώτῃ τὴν τυραννικὴν φακὴν.
τὸ μέγιστον οὐκ εἶρηκα· Λαχάρους τινὸς
ὅτ' ἦν ὁ λίμος ἐστίωντος τοὺς φίλους,
ἀνάληψιν ἐποίησ' εἰσενέγκας κάππαριν.

Demetrius therefore belongs to the pe-
riod of the *new comedy*, and is improp-
erly referred to the *old comedy* by
Laërt. V. 85. unless we suppose two
comic poets of this name. From the
mention of *Lachares*, and the allusion
to the famine which occurred at the
siege of Athens in his time, (conf. Plu-
tarch. Demetr. c. 33. 34.) we may col-
lect that this drama was composed after
the year B. C. 299.

B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
298.	120, 3. <i>Mnesidemus</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 651.	
297.	120, 4. <i>Antiphates</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 651.	
296.	Ol. 121. <i>Nicias</i> . Dio- nys. Dinarch. p. 651.	Death of <i>Cassander</i> . Nineteen years after the death of <i>Olympias</i> : Dexippus ap. Syncell. p. 265. B. In the fourth year of Olymp. 120. Porphy. apud Scal. p. 63. See <i>Appendix c. 4.</i> and <i>conf. a. 287.</i>
295.	121, 2. <i>Nicostratus</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 651.	
294.	121, 3. <i>Olympiodorus</i> . Dionys. Dinarch. p. 651.	<i>Demetrius</i> , having removed the sons of <i>Cassander</i> , reigns in Mace- donia seven years according to Plutarch. <i>Demetr. c. 36. 44.</i> which determines his accession to this year B. C. 294. <i>conf. a. 287.</i>
293.	121, 4. * See <i>Introd.</i> p. xiv.	
292.	Ol. 122. <i>Philippus</i> . Dio- nys. Dinarch. p. 634. 651. The seventieth from <i>Nicophemus</i> [B. C. 361], the sixteenth from <i>Anaxicrates</i> [B. C. 307] —in the thirty-second year of Soter. <i>cf. a. 291,</i> 4. See <i>Introd.</i> p. xv. n.	
291.	122, 2.	

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>(<i>Dyillus</i> closed his history about this period. Diod. lib. XXI. eclog. 5. t. IX. p. 268. Bip. Διάλλος (l. Δύλλος) Ἀθηναῖος, συγγραφεὺς, τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις συντάξας ἔγραψε βίβλους εἰκοσιέξ. conf. Wess. ad Diod. XVI. 14. The narrative was continued by <i>Psaon</i>: Diod. Ibid. Ψαὼν δὲ ὁ Πλαταιεὺς τὰς ἀπὸ τούτου διαδεξάμενος πράξεις ἔγραψε βίβλους τριάκοντα.)</p>	
<p><i>Demetrius Phalereus</i>, after the death of <i>Cassander</i>, withdraws to Egypt: Strabo IX. p. 398.—μετὰ τὴν Κασσάνδρου τελευτὴν ἠναγκάσθη φυγεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Laërt. V. 78. φησὶ δ' αὐτὸν Ἑρμιππος μετὰ τὸν Κασάνδρου θάνατον φοβηθέντα Ἀντίγονον [for this error of Hermippus, or of Laërtius, see Wess. ad Diod. XX. 45] παρὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἐλθεῖν τὸν Σωτήρα.</p>	
<p><i>Dinarchus</i> returns from exile: Dionys. p. 651. Φίλιππος. ἐπὶ τούτου κάθοδος ἐδόθη τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φυγάσι καὶ Δεινάρῳ ὑπὸ βασιλείῳ Δημητρίου. After a banishment of fifteen years: Dionys. p. 634. πεντεκαίδεκαετῇ χρόνῳ. Vit. X. or. p. 850. D. διατρίψας ἐπὶ τῆς φυγῆς ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη, καὶ πολλὴν οὐσίαν κτησάμενος, κατήλθε, πραξάντων αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν περὶ Θεόφραστον, ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις φυγάσιν. From the third month of Anaxicrates to September B. C. 292 are fifteen years. Whence we may conclude that Philippus was archon in September B. C. 292, and that he consequently commenced in Hecatombæon of Olymp. 122. 1.</p>	
	<p>Death of <i>Menander</i> æt. 52. Inscriptio apud Corsin. F. A. t. IV. p. 76. Μένανδρος Διοπείδους Κηφισιεὺς ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Σωσιγένους· ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν ν' καὶ β'. ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλίππου, κατὰ τὸ β' καὶ λ' ἔτος τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτήρος βασιλείας. Euseb. Ol. 122. 1 anno 1724 [from Oct. B. C. 293] Me-</p>

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
290.	122, 3.	<p><i>Demetrius</i> celebrates the Pythian games at Athens : Plutarch. <i>Demetr.</i> c. 40. τῶν δὲ Πυθίων καθηκόντων, πρᾶγμα καινότατον ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ Δημήτριος. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ τὰ περὶ Δελφούς στενὰ κατέειχον, ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐτὸς ἤγε τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν. These were the <i>Pythia</i> of Ol. 122. 3, in the autumn of B. C. 290.</p>
289.	122, 4.	<p>Death of <i>Agathocles</i> : [Ol. 122. 4.] Diod. XXI. <i>Eelog.</i> 12. p. 278. Bip.—δυναστεύσας μὲν ἔτη δύο τῶν τριάκοντα λείποντα, βιώσας δὲ δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, καθὼς Τίμαιος ὁ Συρακούσιος συγγράφει, καὶ Καλλίας. But <i>Lucian Macrob.</i> c. 10., also quoting <i>Timæus</i>, has 95 years : ἑτῶν ἑνενηκονταπέντε τελευτᾷ, καθάπερ Δημοχάρης καὶ Τίμαιος ἱστοροῦσιν. He seems to have met with corrupted copies of his author. conf. <i>Wess.</i> ad Diod. t. IX. p. 502.</p>
288.	Ol. 123.	
287.	123, 2.	<p><i>Demetrius</i> driven by <i>Pyrrhus</i> from Macedonia, ἐπταετίαν βεβαίως ἀρχθείσης. Plutarch. <i>Demetr.</i> c. 44. Dexippus apud <i>Syncell.</i> p. 265. D. gives him six years : οὗτος—Μακεδόνων 5' ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μόνα μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασάνδρον καὶ ἐκβάλλεται τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Πύρρου βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἡπείρου. Porphyry apud <i>Scalig.</i> p. 63. agrees in six years ; and assigns three years and a half to the sons of <i>Cassander</i> : ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας 5' ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα.—τῶν οὖν παίδων Κασάνδρου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη λογίζονται ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους τῆς ἑκατοστῆς [ἄχρι] τοῦ τρίτου ἑκατοστῆς εἰκοστῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. When the <i>lacuna</i> is supplied with the necessary word <i>εἰκοστῆς</i>, Porphyry fixes the death of <i>Cassander</i> to the year of the</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.	
	<p><i>Menander comicus obiit.</i> Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxxi. τελευτᾷ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων νβ'. Apollodor. ap. Gell. XVII. 4.</p> <p>Κηφισιεύς ὦν ἐκ Διοπίθεος πατρὸς, πρὸς τοῖσιν ἑκατὸν πέντε γράψας δράματα ἐξέλιπε, πενήκοντα καὶ δυοῖν ἐτῶν.</p> <p>He died before U. C. Varr. 514 [B. C. 240] <i>annis circiter quinquaginta duobus.</i> Gell. XVII. 21. which also agrees with Ol. 122. 1 B. C. 29$\frac{2}{3}$, and the 32d of Soter. <i>Philippus</i>, who was archon B. C. 29$\frac{2}{3}$, [cf. a. 292, 1.] is the thirty-second archon, both included, from <i>Cephisodorus</i> B. C. 32$\frac{2}{3}$, from whose year the reign of Soter was computed. [cf. a. 306.] <i>Philippus</i> therefore, in the inscription is no other than the <i>Philippus</i> of Dionys. Dinarch. p. 651. For the age of <i>Menander</i> conf. a. 342.</p>	183
	<p><i>Posidippus</i> begins to exhibit: <i>Suidas</i>. Ποσίδιππος Κασσανδρεὺς, υἱὸς Κυνίσκου [conf. Steph. Byz. v. Κασάνδρεια], τρίτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸ τελευτῆσαι τὸν Μέανδρον διδάσας, κωμικός. ἔστι δὲ τὰ δράματα αὐτοῦ ἕως τῶν λ'. cf. Eudoc. p. 359. The archon of Olymp. 122. 3 would be the third (both inclusive) from <i>Philippus</i>, in whose year <i>Menander</i> died.</p>	
<p><i>Strato</i> succeeds <i>Theophrastus</i>: Laërt. V. 58. σχολαρχεῖν δὲ, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς, ἤρξατο τῇ ρκγ' ὀλυμπιάδι, τῆς σχολῆς ἀφηγησάμενος ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα. <i>Theophrastus</i>, who had succeeded upon the death of <i>Aristotle</i> B. C. 322 (Laert. V. 36), presided about thirty-five years. <i>Strato</i> was succeeded by <i>Lycon</i> in B. C. 270: Laërt. V. 65. 68. διεδέξατο Λύκων Ἀστυνάκτος Τρωαδεύς—ἀφηγήσατο δὲ τῆς σχολῆς ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, κατὰ τὴν ρκζ' ὀλυμπιάδα. [B. C. 270—226.]</p> <p><i>Crates</i>—Κράτης Ἀντιγένους Θριάσιος τὸν δῆμον—the friend and disciple of <i>Polemo</i>, the master of <i>Arcesilaüs</i></p>		

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B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
		archon <i>Antiphates</i> [Ol. 120. 4], where it is placed by other incidents. And he computes nine years and a half from the death of <i>Cassander</i> to the expulsion of <i>Demetrius</i> by <i>Pyrrhus</i> ; which determines that expulsion to the date derived from the times of <i>Pyrrhus</i> , <i>Lysimachus</i> , and <i>Seleucus</i> . See <i>Appendix c. 4. Kings of Macedonia</i> .
286.	123, 3.	<i>Pyrrhus</i> driven from Macedonia, after seven months possession, by <i>Lysimachus</i> . Plutarch. <i>Pyrrho</i> c. 13.—Dexippus apud Syncell. p. 266. A. Πύρρος—ἐκράτησε τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς μῆνας ζ'. Λυσίμαχος δὲ—ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδόνων ἔτη πέντε καὶ μῆνας ξξ. Terminated by the death of <i>Lysimachus</i> July B. C. 281.
285.	123, 4.	<i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> is associated in the kingdom by his father: Lucian Macrob. c. 12. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγον—ζῶν παρέδωκε τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ δυοῖν ἔτοιμ τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ υἱῷ. Porphy. ὁ Φιλάδελφος ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς δύο πληροὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτη. The coronation festival is described by Callixenus ap. Athen. V. p. 196. a.—203. b. The Astronomical Canon, nearly agreeing with this date, reckons N. E. 464 commencing Nov. 2 B. C. 285 as the first year of the reign of <i>Philadelphus</i> .
284.	Ol. 124.	
283.	124, 2.	Death of <i>Demetrius</i> æt. 54 three years after his surrender to <i>Seleucus</i> : Plutarch. <i>Demet.</i> c. 52. ἔτος τρίτον ἐν τῇ Χερρόνῳ καθειργμένος—ἀπέθανεν, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα βεβιωκός. Idem <i>Comp. Dem.</i> et Anton. fin. καθειρχθεὶς ἠγάπησεν ἐπικερδᾶναι τριετίαν. Fixed to this year by the reign of his son <i>Antigonus Gonatas</i> . The place of his captivity was otherwise called <i>Apamea</i> , and <i>Pella</i> ; conf. Steph. Byz. Ἀπάμεια. Wess. ad Diod. t. IX. p. 504. Death of <i>Ptolemy Soter</i> æt. 84. Lucian. Macrob. c. 12.—forty years after the death of <i>Alexander</i> : Porphy. <i>conf. a.</i> 306.—in the 124th Olympiad: Polyb. II. 41.
282.	124, 3.	
281.	124, 4.	<i>Lysimachus</i> is defeated and slain by <i>Seleucus</i> : in Olymp. 124. Polyb. II. 41.—about seven months before the death of <i>Seleucus</i> : Justin. XVII. 2. [July B. C. 281.] See <i>Appendix c. 4</i> .
280.	Ol. 125. <i>Gorgias</i> . Plutarch. <i>Mor.</i> p. 847. D.	<i>Seleucus</i> murdered by <i>Ptolemy Ceraunus</i> : in the 32d year of his reign. Dexipp.—in the 124th Olympiad: Polyb. II. 41. [January B. C. 280.]

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>(Laërt. IV. 21—23), flourished at the time of the misfortunes of <i>Demetrius</i>: Plutarch. <i>Demetr.</i> c. 46. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ—τόν τε Πύρρον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετέπεμποντο.—ὁ δ' ὀργῇ μὲν ἐπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιορκίαν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ συνεστήσατο καρτεράν· Κράτητος δὲ τοῦ φιλοσόφου πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ δυνατοῦ, τὰ μὲν οἷς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐδεῖτο πεισθεῖς τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐδόδαξε περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων νοήσας ἔλυσε τὴν ἑπολιορκίαν· καὶ συναγαγὼν ὅσαι νῆες ἦσαν αὐτῷ—ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔπλει. <i>Crates</i> is mentioned in conjunction with <i>Polemo</i> and <i>Crantor</i> by <i>Cic.</i> <i>Acad.</i> I. 9. <i>conf.</i> a. 315.</p>	
<p><i>Demetrius Phalereus</i> is in great credit at Alexandria till the death of <i>Soter</i>: Plutarch. <i>de Exil.</i> p. 602. F. Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς—ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν πρώτος ὢν τῶν Πτολεμαίου φίλων οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διήγεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δωρεὰς ἔπεμπε. To this period of his life is to be referred the anecdote in Plutarch. <i>Apophthegm.</i> p. 189. D. repeated by Stobæus <i>Flor.</i> 48, 27. and the notice in <i>Cicero</i> <i>Fin.</i> V. 19. and that in <i>Ælian.</i> V. H. III. 17. Upon the death of <i>Ptolemy</i>, <i>Demetrius</i> was disgraced by <i>Philadelphus</i>, and perished in confinement. See Laërt. V. 78. who is confirmed as to the manner of his death by <i>Cicero</i> <i>pro Rabir. Postum.</i> c. 9.</p>	<p><i>Sopater</i> of <i>Paphos</i> still continued to exhibit comedy: <i>Athen.</i> II. 71. a. b. γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπιβιὸς δὲ καὶ ἕως τοῦ δευτέρου τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλείας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐμφανίζει. <i>Sopater</i>, therefore, the comic poet, also quoted by <i>Athenæus</i> as ὁ παρωδὸς, ὁ Πάφιος, ὁ φάκιος, ὁ φλυακογράφος, flourished for more than forty years.</p>
<p><i>Demosthenes</i> honoured with a statue on the motion of his nephew <i>Demochares</i>: <i>Vit.</i> X. or. p. 847. D. Ἀθηναῖοι</p>	

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
186	<p><i>Gorgias</i> was archon in the tenth year before <i>Pytharatus</i>: Plutarch. Ibid. who was archon Ol. 127. 2 B. C. 27$\frac{1}{2}$: Laërt. X. 15.</p>	<p><i>Pyrrhus</i> passed into Italy in the spring of B. C. 280, when he found <i>Lævinus</i> consul: Plutarch. <i>Pyrrho</i> c. 16. Liv. epit. XIII.—the year before the irruption of the Gauls into Greece, and two years before their destruction at Delphi: Polyb. I. 6, 5. Ταραντίνων—ἐπισπασαμένων Πύρρον τῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφόδου. Id. II. 20. ταῦτα [an engagement of the Romans with the Gauls and Etrurians] συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τῷ ΤΡΙΤΩΙ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Πύρρον διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ΠΕΜΠΤΩΙ δὲ τῆς Γαλατῶν περὶ Δελφούς διαφθορᾷς.</p> <p>Rise of the <i>Achæan League</i>: within Olymp. 124, about the time of the passage of <i>Pyrrhus</i> into Italy: Polyb. II. 41, 1. Ὀλυμπιάς ἦν εἰκοστὴ καὶ τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, ὅτε Πατρεῖς ἤρξαντο συμφρονεῖν καὶ Δυμαῖοι. Id. II. 41, 11. περὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν καὶ τετάρτην ὀλυμπιάδα πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν,—κατὰ τὴν Πύρρον διάβασιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. These notes of time place the <i>Achæan League</i> in Ol. 124. 4 B. C. 28$\frac{3}{4}$. Polybius afterwards, II. 43, enumerates <i>thirty-eight</i> years between the establishment of the League and the victory of <i>Catulus</i> at the <i>Ægates</i>—τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἡττης—in B. C. 242. But B. C. 242 + 38 = B. C. 280 for the era of the League, in conformity with the other computation.</p> <p><i>Ceraunus</i> is slain by the Gauls, <i>nine months</i> after the death of <i>Seleucus</i>: Euseb. and <i>seventeen</i> [or rather <i>sixteen</i>] months after the death of <i>Lysimachus</i>: Dexipp. [about October B. C. 280.] For these dates, see <i>Appendix</i> c. 4.</p>
	<p>279. 125, 2. <i>Anaxicrates</i>. Pausan. X. 23, 9.</p>	<p>Irruption of the Gauls into Greece: Ἀναξικράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχοντος, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Pausan. X. 23, 9. <i>Ptolemy Ceraunus</i> had been slain in Macedonia, before their passage into Greece. See <i>Appendix</i> c. 4.</p> <p>Second year of the war of <i>Pyrrhus</i> in Italy: coss. P. Sulpicio P. Decio Mure.</p>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.

στίτησίν τε ἐν Πρυτανείῳ τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἔδοσαν, καὶ αὐτῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐπὶ Γοργίου ἄρχοντος, αἰτησάμενον αὐτῷ τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ ἀδελφίδου Δημοχάρους. ὃ καὶ αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ υἱὸς Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεὺς ἤτήσατο δωρεὰς ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος δεκάτῳ ἔτει ὕστερον. The two decrees are preserved *ad calcem* Vit. X. or. From the second we learn that Demochares himself died between B. C. 280 and 270. *cf. a. 302.* He was now in advanced age: for his mother was two years younger than *Demosthenes* (*conf. Demosth. p. 814. ἐμὲ ἐπ' ἑτῶν ὄντα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν πέντε*), and was consequently born B. C. 380, 100 years before the year of Gorgias. *Demochares* had been engaged in public affairs 42 years before the present date, in the time of *Antipater*: Polyb. XII. 13. Ἀντιπάτρου—καθ' οὗ πεπαρήσιασται πολλὰ, καὶ δυνάμενα λυπεῖν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου διαδόχους καὶ φίλους γεγονότας. *conf. a. 322.* He had held the highest offices: Polyb. Ibid. μὴ μόνον στρατηγίας αὐτὸν ἡξιώσθαι παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμῶν. He opposed the party of *Demetrius Phalereus*: Polyb. Ibid. and disapproved the honours paid to *Demetr. Poliorcetes*. *cf. a. 302.* Of the duration of his exile we have no account. See *App. c. 21.* From Laërt. VII. 14. we collect that *Demochares* possessed influence with *Antigonus Gonatas*.

Chrysippus born: since he died Ol. 143 [B. C. 207] *aet. 73.* Laërt. VII. 184. ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα βιώσαντα ἔτη κατὰ τὴν ρμγ' ὀλυμπιάδα, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν χρονικοῖς. Suidas. Χρύσιππος. μαθητὴς Κλεάνθους· καθηγησάμενος τῆς Στωϊκῆς σχολῆς μετὰ Κλεάνθην, καὶ τελευτήσας ὁ καὶ γ' ἑτῶν. He died about 56 years after *Zeno*. The succession is marked by Strabo XIII. p. 610. (whom Steph. Byz. follows v. Ἄσσυος) ἐντεῦθεν [from Assus] ἦν Κλεάνθης ὁ στωϊκὸς φιλόσοφος ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κιτιέως σχολὴν, καταλιπὼν δὲ Χρυσίπῳ τῷ Σολεῖ.—by Plutarch *Mor. p. 605. B. Ζήνων Κιτιεύς· Κλεάνθης Ἄσσιος· Χρύσιππος Σολεῖς* and by Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 301. C.

Zeno of Citium flourished: *γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῆς ρκ' ὀλυμπιάδος.* Suid. v. Σωκράτ. Σωφρονίσκ.—in the reign of *Antigonus Gonatas*: Suid. *Ζήνων.* with which this date agrees. *cf. a. 299.* He was in great favour with *Antigonus*: Laërt. VII. 6. *Ælian. V. H. IX. 26. Athen. XIII. p. 603. e.* *Zeno* died before him: *cf. Laërt. VII. 15.* By Eusebius the death of *Zeno* is placed at Ol. 128. 1 *anno* 1748 [commencing Oct. B. C. 269]. By Hieronymus four years later; Ol. 129. 1. He lived 98 years: Lucian. *Macrob. c. 19.*—or 90: Suid. *Ζήνων.* *Zeno* mentions his 80th year in his letter to *Antigonus ap. Laërt. VII. 8. 9.*

For the account of Laërtius see *Appendix c. 21. p. 368.*

4. POETS.

B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.
278.	125, 3. <i>Democles</i> . Pausan. X. 23, 9.	The Gauls, repulsed in Greece in the year of Anaxicrates, pass into Asia in the year of Democles: Pausan. X. 23, 9. τῷ δὲ ἔτει τῷ ἐφεξῆς, Δημοκλέους ἄρχοντος,—ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβαίνουσιν. They were called into Asia by <i>Nicomedes</i> king of Bithynia: Liv. XXXVIII. 16. <i>Auxilia Nicomedi dant, adversus Zybætam gerenti bellum.</i>

3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
<p>The four Schools of Philosophy are directed at this time by <i>Strato</i>, <i>Zeno</i>, <i>Epicurus</i>, and <i>Arcesilaüs</i>. <i>Strato</i> died B. C. 270. <i>cf. a.</i> 287. <i>Epicurus</i> in Jan. B. C. 270: <i>conf. a.</i> 306. F. H. III. p. 9. The death of <i>Arcesilaüs</i> is placed at Ol. 134. 4 B. C. 241. <i>cf. a.</i> 299. <i>Polemo</i> is still living: <i>conf. a.</i> 315. and probably <i>Crates</i>. <i>cf. a.</i> 287. But <i>Arcesilaüs</i> appears to have founded the <i>Middle Academy</i> in their lifetime: perhaps at the death of <i>Crantor</i>; who died early, before <i>Polemo</i> and <i>Crates</i>: Laërt. IV. 25. ἦν δ' αὖτε Μούσαις Κράντωρ, καὶ γήρως ἤλυθεν οὗ τι πρόσω. Ibid. 27. κατέστρεψε πρὸς Πολέμωνος καὶ Κράτητος. For <i>Arcesilaus</i> see <i>Appendix c.</i> 21.</p>	

OL. B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.	3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
55. 560	Comias . . .	Pisistratus	Thales fl.	Ibycus fl.
559	Hegestratus	Cyrus king of Persia . . .	. . . . .	Anacreon fl.
*				
56. 556	Euthydemus	. . . . .	Chilon fl.	Birth of Simonides
*				
553	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Death of Stesichorus
57. 552				
*				
549	. . . . .	Death of Phalaris		
58. 548	Erxielides ..	Temple at Delphi burnt .	Anaximenes fl.	
547	. . . . .	. . . . .	Anaximander set. 64.	
546	. . . . .	Sardis taken by Cyrus. . .	Thales	Hipponax fl.
545				
59. 544	. . . . .	. . . . .	Pherecydes fl.	Theognis, Phocylides, fl.
*				
60. 540				
539	. . . . .	. . . . .	Pythagoras fl.	Hipponax, Ibycus, fl.
538	. . . . .	Cyrus king of Babylon. . .	Xenophanes fl.	
537				
61. 536				
535	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Thespis fl.
534				
533	Thericles ..	. . . . .	Pythagoras fl.	
62. 532	. . . . .	Polycrates of Samos		
531	. . . . .	. . . . .	Pythagoras fl.	Anacreon fl.
530				
529	. . . . .	Death of Cyrus		
63. 528				
527	. . . . .	Death of Pisistratus.	Xenophanes	
526				
525	. . . . .	Conquest of Egypt . . . .	. . . . .	Birth of Æschylus
64. 524	Miltiades	. . . . .	
523	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Chœrilus fl.
522	. . . . .	Death of Polycrates		
521	. . . . .	Death of Cambyses		
65. 520	. . . . .	. . . . .	Hecataeus, Dionysius, fl.	Melanippides fl.
519	. . . . .	Plataea applies to Athens. .	. . . . .	Birth of Cratinus
518	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Birth of Pindar
517				
66. 516				
515	. . . . .	Miltiades in the Chersonese		
514	. . . . .	Hipparchus slain		
513	. . . . .	First year of Hippias		
67. 512	. . . . .	Second year of Hippias		
511	. . . . .	Third year of Hippias . . .	. . . . .	Phrynichus trag. fl.
510	. . . . .	Pisistratidæ expelled . . .	Pythagoras fl.	Telesilla fl.
509				
68. 508	Isagoras. . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	The χορὸς ἀνδρῶν
*				
69. 504	Acestorides	. . . . .	Charon fl.	
503	. . . . .	. . . . .	Heraclitus, Parmenides, fl.	Lasus fl.
502	. . . . .	Naval empire of Eretria	Heraclitus fl.	Pindar. <i>Pyth. X.</i>
501	. . . . .	Naxian war	Hecataeus fl.	
70. 500	Myrus	Aristagoras at Athens . . .	Birth of Anaxagoras	Epicharmus fl.
499	. . . . .	Ionian war	(Pythagoras obiit)	Æschyl. Pratin. Chœril. fl.
498	. . . . .	Second year of the war		

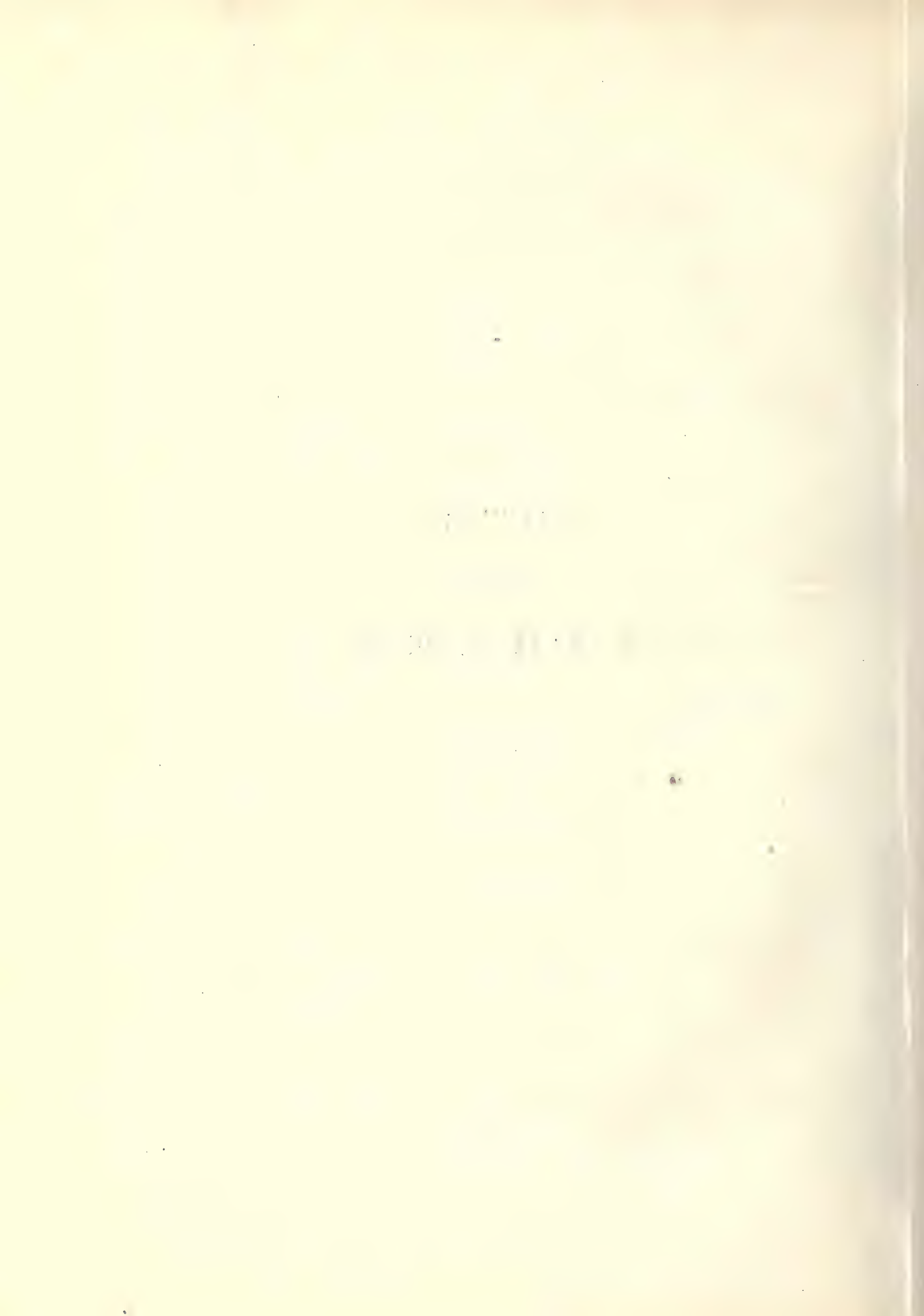
OL. B.C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.	3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
497	.....	Aristagoras slain		
71. 496	Hipparchus	Fourth year of the war ..	Birth of Hellanicus	
495	Philippus ..	Fifth year of the war ....	.....	Birth of Sophocles
494	Pythocritus	Miletus taken .....	.....	Pindar. <i>Pyth. VI.</i>
493	Themistocles	Miltiades returns to Athens		
72. 492	Diognetus ...	Mardonius		
491	Hybrilides ..	Gelon master of Gela		
490	Phænippus ..	Marathon		
489	Aristides ..	.....	.....	Panyasis fl.
73. 488	Anchises	.....	.....	Chionides fl.
487	.....	.....	.....
486	.....	Revolt of Egypt	.....
485	Philocrates	Gelon at Syracuse .....	.....	Epicharmus fl.
74. 484	Leostratus ..	Egypt recovered	Birth of Herodotus	First prize of Æschylus
483	Nicodemus ..	Aristides banished .....	.....	Cherilus, Phrynichus, fl.
482	.....	.....	.....
481	Themistocles	Xerxes at Sardis		
75. 480	Calliades ..	Thermopylæ. Salamis	Pherecyd. hist. Anaxagor. fl.	Birth of Euripides
479	Xanthippus	Platæa. Mycalæ	Birth of Antiphon	Cherilus Samius
478	Timosthenes	Hiero succeeds Gelon	Herodotus	Pindar. <i>Pyth. XI. IX.</i>
477	Adimantus ..	Athenian empire	Xenophanes	Epicharmi <i>Nûroi</i>
76. 476	Phædon	Anaxilaus Rhæg. ob. ....	.....	Phrynichus trag. fl. Pindar. <i>Ol. XIV.</i>
475	Dromoclides	.....	.....	Æschylus fl.
474	Acestorides	Naval victory of Hiero. ....	.....	Pindar. <i>Pyth. III. I.</i>
473	Menon	.....	.....
77. 472	Chares	Death of Theron	(Pythagoras ob.)	Æschyl. <i>Pers.</i> Pindar. <i>Ol. II. XII.</i>
471	Praxiergus ..	Ostracism of Themistocles	Birth of Thucydides	Timocreon Rhodius
470	Demotion	.....	.....
469	Apsephion ..	Pericles fl.		
78. 468	Theagenides	Mycenæ destroyed	Birth of Socrates. Diog. Apoll. fl.	First prize of Sophocles
467	Lysistratus ..	Death of Hiero	Birth of Andocides	Simonides ob. Panyasis fl.
466	Lysanias	Syracuse free	Diagoras Melius fl.	Pindar. <i>Pyth. IV. V.</i>
465	Lysitheus ..	Revolt of Thasos		
79. 464	Archidemides	Revolt of the Helots	Charon hist. Zeno El. fl.	Pindar. <i>Ol. XIII. VII.</i>
463	Tlepolemus	Thasos recovered	Xanthus Lydus fl.	
462	Conon	Third year of Messen. war		
461	Euippus	Cimon		
80. 460	Phrasiclides	Egyptian war	Democritus, Hippocrates, born	Pindar. <i>Ol. VIII.</i>
459	Philocles ....	.....	Gorgias fl.	
458	Bion .....	.....	Birth of Lysias	Æschyl. <i>'Oπερτεία</i>
457	Mnesithides	Tanagra .....	.....	Death of Panyasis
81. 456	Callias	Ænophyta	Herodotus fl.	Death of Æschylus
455	Sosistratus ..	Ithomè surrenders	Parmenides, Zeno, Empedocles	Euripid. <i>Peliades.</i>
454	Ariston	Campaign of Pericles		
453	Lysicrates	.....	.....	Aristarchus, Cratinus, fl.
82. 452	Chærephanes	.....	.....	Pindar. <i>Ol. IV. V.</i>
451	Antidotus ..	.....	.....	Ion Chius fl.
450	Euthydemus	Five-years' truce	Anaxagoras. Archelaus	Crates, Bacchylides, fl.
449	Pedieus	Death of Cimon		
83. 448	Philiscus ....	.....	.....	Cratini <i>Archilochi</i>
447	Timarchides	Coronea .....	.....	Achæus, Sophocles, fl.
446	Callimachus	.....	
445	Lysimachides	Thirty-years' truce		
84. 444	Praxiteles ..	Pericles fl.	Melissus, Protag. Empedocles.	
443	Lysanias	Colony to Thurium	Herodotus. Lysias	

OL. B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.	3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
442	Diphilus . . .		Gorgias περί φύσεως	Euripides fl.
441	Timocles . . .			Comedy prohibited. Sophocles.
85. 440	Myrichides . .	Samian war	Melissus fl.	(Death of Pindar)
439	Glaucines . . .			Euripidis <i>Alcestis</i> .
438	Theodorus . . .			Prohibition of comedy repealed
437	Euthymenes . .	Agnon at Amphipolis . . .	Birth of Isocrates	Cratinus fl.
86. 436	Lysimachus . .	Propylæa	Democritus, Empedocles, Prodicus . .	[Phrynichus comicus]
435	Antilocheides .	Sea fight of Cor. and Corcyr.		Lysippus fl.
434	Chares			
433	Apseudes . . .	Corcyrean embassy to A th.		
87. 432	Pythodorus . .	Congress at Sparta	Andocides, Anaxagoras, Meton	Hermippus, Callias
431	Euthydemus . .	First invasion of Attica . .	Hippocrates fl.	Euripid. <i>Medea</i> . Aristomenes fl.
430	Apollodorus . .	Plague at Athens.		Hermippus fl.
429	Epameinon . . .	Death of Pericles	Birth of Plato	Eupolis, Phrynichus, fl.
88. 428	Diotimus . . .	Revolt of Lesbos	Death of Anaxagoras	Euripid. <i>Hippolyt.</i> (Plato comicus)
427	Euclides	Platæa surrenders	Gorgias fl.	Aristoph. <i>Dætal.</i>
426	Euthynus . . .			Aristoph. <i>Babyl.</i> Hermipp. Φορμοφόροι
425	Stratocles . . .	Sphacteria taken		Aristoph. <i>Acharn.</i>
89. 424	Isarchus	Delium	Xenophon	Aristoph. <i>Equit.</i>
423	Ameinias	Truce for a year	Thucydides banished	Aristoph. <i>Nub. I.</i> (Cratinus ob.)
422	Alcæus	Cleon and Brasidas slain . .	Protagoras fl.	Aristoph. <i>Vesp. Nub. II.</i>
421	Aristion	Fifty-years truce		Eupol. <i>Maric.</i> Κόλακες. Aristoph. <i>Pax</i>
90. 420	Astyphilus . . .			Pherecrat. Ἀγριοί. Eupol. <i>Autolye.</i>
419	Archias	Alcibiades in Peloponn.		
418	Antiphon	Mantineia		
417	Euphemus . . .			
91. 416	Arimnestus . . .	Melos surrenders.	Plato æt. 14.	Agathon fl.
415	Chabrias	Expedition to Sicily.	Andocides	Xenocles fl. Euripid. <i>Troades</i>
414	Pisander			Aristoph. <i>Amphiar. Aves.</i>
413	Cleocritus . . .	Defeat in Sicily		Hegemon Thasius
92. 412	Callias		Antipho Rhamnusius	Euripid. <i>Andromeda</i>
411	Theopompus . .	The Four-hundred	Death of Antipho	Aristoph. <i>Lysist. Thesmoph.</i>
410	Glaucippus . . .	Mindarus slain		
409	Diocles		Herodotus æt. 75.	Sophocl. <i>Philoctet.</i>
93. 408	Euctemon . . .			Euripid. <i>Orest.</i> Aristoph. <i>Plut. I.</i>
407	Antigenes . . .	Return of Alcibiades		
406	Callias	Arginusæ	Hellanicus. Philistus fl.	Death of Euripides
405	Alexias	Ægospotami.	Democritus	Death of Sophocles. Aristoph. <i>Ran.</i>
94. 404	Pythodorus . . .	The Thirty	Lysias. Andocides	Birth of Antiphanes
403	Euclides		Thucyd. Andocid. Lys. Aristophon	
402	Micon		Andocid. Archinus, Cephalus	Cephisodorus comicus
401	Xenænetus . . .	Expedition of Cyrus	Xenophon, Ctesias, fl.	Sophocl. <i>Ædip. Colon.</i>
95. 400	Laches	Return of the Cyreans.	Andocid. <i>de Myster.</i>	
399	Aristocrates . .	Thimbron and Dercyllid. . .	Death of Socrates	Meletus tragicus
398	Ithycales	Dercyllidas	Ctesias	Astydamas, Philox. Timoth. fl.
397	Sumiades	Dercyllidas		
96. 396	Phormion	Agésilas in Asia	(Birth of Xenocrates)	Sophocles junior fl.
395	Diophantus . . .	Agésilas in Asia	Plato fl.	
394	Eubulides	Cnidus. Coronea.	Lysia pro <i>Mantitheo.</i>	Strattidis Πιερδαμοί
393	Demostratus . .	Lechæum	Speusippus et Diogenes fl.	Xenarchus fl.
97. 392	Philocles			Aristoph. <i>Ecoles.</i>
391	Nicoteles		Andocid. <i>de Pace</i>	Plato comicus fl.
390	Demostratus . .	(Thrasylbulus)		
389	Antipater		Plato fl. Æschines born	
98. 388	Pyrrhion		Lysia <i>Olympiaca. pro Aristoph. bon.</i>	Aristoph. <i>Plut. II.</i>

OL. B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.	3. PHILOSOPHERS, &c.	4. POETS.
387	Theodotus ..	Peace of Antalcidas	Callisthenes	
386	Mystichides			
385	Dexitheus ..		Androtion fl.	
99. 384	Diotrephes ..		Lys. in <i>Theomnest.</i> Aristotle born	
383	Phanostratus			Antiphanes fl.
382	Evander	Olynthian war	Birth of Demosthenes	
381	Demophilus	Olynthian war		
100. 380	Pytheas	Olynthian war	Isocratis <i>Panegyrica</i>	Death of Philoxenus
379	Nicon	The Cadmea recovered ..	Cephalus fl.	
378	Nausinicus ..	First expedition into Boeotia	Death of Lysias	
377	Callias	Second exped. into Boeotia		
101. 376	Charisander	Last year of the Cyprian war	Demosthenes	Anaxandrides fl.
375	Hippodamas		Hermeias of Methymne	Eubulus, Araros, fl.
374	Socratides ..	Death of Evagoras	Isocrat. <i>Plataica</i>	
373	Asteius		Callistratus	
102. 372	Alcisthenes ..		Leodamas, Callistrat. Aristophon, &c.	Astydamas junior fl.
371	Phrasiclides	Leuctra	Callistratus and Melanopus	
370	Dyscinetus ..		[Democritus ob.]	
369	Lysistratus ..	First invasion of Laconia		
103. 368	Nausigenes ..		Eudoxus fl.	Aphareus fl.
367	Polyzelus ..	Death of Dionysius	Aristot. æt. 17	Dionysii Ἀλτραπεύτορος
366	Cephisodorus		Isocrat. <i>Archid.</i> Demosth. <i>ἑξοικιστῆς</i> .	
365	Chion	War of Arcadia and Elis ..	Isocrates, Anaximenes, &c. fl.	
104. 364	Timocrates ..	War of Arcadia and Elis ..	Isai <i>Philoctem.</i> Demosth. <i>Aphob.</i> ..	Polyzelus comicus
363	Chariclides ..		Philistus fl.	
362	Molon	Mantineia	Æschines æt. 27. Aristophon fl.	
361	Nicophemus	A general peace	Birth of Dinarchus	
105. 360	Callimedes ..		Theopompus hist. Isæus	
359	Eucharistus	Accession of Philip	[Death of Xenophon]	
358	Cephisodotus		Isæus	
357	Agathocles ..	Social war. Phocian war	Democrit. Hippocrat. ob.	Death of Timotheus
106. 356	Elpines	Expulsion of Dionysius ..	Philistus ob. Isocrat. <i>de Pace</i>	Alexis fl.
355	Callistratus ..	Social war ended	Isocr. vel Aphareus in <i>Megaclidem.</i>	
354	Diotimus ..	Trial of Timotheus	Demosth. <i>de Class.</i>	
353	Eudemus ..	Death of Dion	Isocrat. <i>de Permut. Areopagit.</i>	Diodorus fl. Simylus fl.
107. 352	Aristodemus	Death of Onomarchus	Cydias or. fl.	Theodectes fl. Erinna fl.
351	Thessalus ..		Demosth. <i>pro Rhodiis</i>	
350	Apollodorus	Tamynæ	Demosth. in <i>Bæot. pro Phormione</i> ..	Demosthenes χορηγός
349	Callimachus	Olynthian war	Demosth. <i>Olynthiacæ</i>	The festivals of Bacchus
108. 348	Theophilus ..	Olynthian war	Demosth. <i>Midiana</i>	Heracides fl.
347	Themistocles	Olynthus taken	Plato ob. Speusippus succeeds.	Anaxandrides fl.
346	Archias	Phocian war ended	Isocr. <i>Philipp.</i>	
345	Eubulus		Æschin. <i>Timarch.</i>	An exhibition of tragedy.
109. 344	Lyciscus	Expedition of Timoleon ..	Demosth. <i>Philipp. II.</i>	
343	Pythodotus ..	Timoleon at Syracuse	Demosth. et Æschin. <i>Fals. Leg.</i>	Antiphanes fl.
342	Sosigenes	Philip in Thrace	Aristot. fl. Isocrates	Birth of Menander
341	Nicomachus	Philip in Thrace	Epicurus born	Aphareus tragicus
110. 340	Theophrastus		Isocrat. <i>Panathen.</i> Ephorus	Epigenes comicus
339	Lysimachides	Crimesus	Diyllus. Xenocrates. Anaxarchus.	
338	Chærondas ..	Chæroneæ	Death of Isocrates	
337	Phrynichus ..	Death of Timoleon	Lycurg. in <i>Lysiclem. in Autolycum</i> ..	(Lycurgi lex de comædis)
111. 336	Pythodemus	Philip slain	Dinarchus fl.	Amphis comicus
335	Euænetus ..	Thebes destroyed		Philippides fl.
334	Ctesicles	First campaign in Asia ..	Aristotle comes to Athens	
333	Nicocrates ..	Issus	Ephorus still living	

OL. B. C.	1. ARCHONS.	2. EVENTS.	3. PHILOSOPHERS, &C.	4. POETS.
112. 332	Nicetes	Tyre taken	Demosth. in <i>Phormionem</i>	Stephanus comicus
331	Aristophanes	Arbela	Lycurg. [Demosth.] in <i>Aristogit.</i> . .	Antiphanes
330	Aristophon . .	Death of Darius	Lycurg. <i>Leocr.</i> Æsch. Demosth. <i>de Cor.</i>	Philemon comicus
329	Cephisophon	Sixth campaign in Asia . .	Epicurus æt. 12.	
113. 328	Euthycritus	Seventh campaign in Asia	Crates fl.	ἀνδρῶν χορός,
327	Hegemon . .	Defeat of Porus	Demad. ἐπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας.	Ἄλγην, δρᾶμα σατυρικόν
326	Chremes	Voyage of Nearchus . . .	Demetrius Phalereus fl.	
325	Anticles		Demosth. Dinarch. <i>de Harpal.</i>	Timocles comicus
114. 324	Hegesias	Alexander enters Babylon	Demosth. in exile. Epicurus fl. . . .	παίδων χορός
323	Cephisodorus	Death of Alexander	Demosth. Hyperid. Aristot. ob.	
322	Philocles	Cranon	Dinarchus fl.	Menandri Ὀργή
321	Archippus . .	Deaths of Crat. and Perdic.	Theophrastus fl.	Diphilus fl. ἀνδρῶν χορός
115. 320	Neæchmus . .		Death of Demades	
319	Apollodorus	Eumenes and Antigonus . .	Demetrius Phalereus fl.	
318	Archippus . .	Death of Antipater	[decree against the philosophers.] . .	Alexis fl.
317	Demogenes . .	Agathocles tyrant of Syrac.	Death of Xenocrates	
116. 316	Democides . .	Antig. and Eumen. in Asia	Death of Æschines	
315	Praxibulus . .	Thebes rebuilt		
314	Nicodorus . .			
313	Theophrastus			
117. 312	Polemon	Era of the Seleucidae		Alexis
311	Simonides			
310	Hieromnemon	Agathocles in Africa	Epicurus æt. 32.	
309	Demetrius			
118. 308	Charinus		Marsyas of Pella fl.	
307	Anaxicrates	Demetrius at Athens	Honours to Lycargus	
306	Corcebus . .	Title of king assumed	Epicurus, Philochorus, fl.	Alexis comicus
305	Euxenippus	(restoration of Thebes) . .	Theopompus hist.	
119. 304	Pherecles . .	Siege of Rhodes		
303	Leostratus . .	Demetrius in Greece		Anaxippus comicus
302	Nicocles	Demetrius in Greece	Demochares banished	Archedicus comicus
301	Calliarchus . .	Ipsus	Hieron. Card. fl.	Philippides fl.
120. 300	Hegemachus		Birth of Lycon Peripat.	
299	Euctemon . .	Lachares tyr. of Athens . .	Arcesilaus fl. Zeno fl.	Demetrius comicus
298	Mnesidemus		Diyllus hist.	
297	Antiphates			
121. 296	Nicias	Death of Cassander	Demetrius Phalereus.	
295	Nicostratus			
294	Olympiodorus	Demetrius in Macedon		
293				
122. 292	Philippus . .		Return of Dinarchus	
291				Death of Menander
290		Demetrius at Athens		
289		Death of Agathocles		Posidippus fl.
123. 288				
287		Pyrrhus in Macedon	Theophrastus ob. Crates Academic. fl.	
286		Lysimachus in Macedon		
285		Ptol. Philadelph. king		
124. 284				
283		Demetrius, and Ptol. Sot.ob.	Demetrius Phalereus	Sopater comicus
282				
281		Lysimachus slain		
125. 280	Gorgias	Achaean League	Honours to Demosthenes	
279	Anaxicrates	The Gauls in Greece	Zeno fl.	
278	Democles	The Gauls pass into Asia	Strato, Zeno, Epicur. Arcesil. Polemo.	

NOTES
UPON THE
TABLES.



NOTE A.—MR. KRUGER EXAMINED.

MR. KRUGER'S Latin translation of this Volume, published at Leipsic in 1830, for the most part faithfully and accurately expresses the sense of the original. And this work is indebted to that translation for making it known to those to whom it was inaccessible in its own language. Mr. Kruger has supplied in the Tables some passages which are inserted in the present edition ^a.

I now proceed to examine some observations of the translator, and to consider the objections which he has proposed to some dates ^b.

TABLES col. 2.

§. 1. B.C. 497. "*Aristagoras* slain in Thrace :—fixed to this date by Thucydides. *Aristagoras* withdrew from Miletus after the recovery of Cyprus, &c. which agrees with the third year of the war.—Herodotus "and Thucydides confirm each other." *Quomodo hæ res cum tertio belli anno convenient non assequor. Nam factæ narrantur paullo post quam Sardes combustæ erant : Herod. V. 116. nec multo post aufugit Aristagoras c. 124. Neque vero Thucydidis rationes Clintonis computationi favere alio loco monstrabo.* KR. At 465, where Thucydides is quoted, I find only this remark : *Ex meis rationibus Thasii anno 467 defecerunt, v. Tabb. meas.* KR. At 437, where I again treat the subject, the translator is silent.

Thucydides reckons (as will be seen in the Tables) 32 + 28 (the 29th current) = 60 years complete or 61 current between the death of *Aristagoras* and the colony of *Agnon*. But the colony of *Agnon* was in the year of *Euthymenes* : after midsummer B. C. 437 ; which fixes the death of *Aristagoras* (in the 61st year current) to the beginning of 497. Herodotus relates in detail the two first campaigns of the Ionian war, 499, 498, and the sixth, 494 ; but

^a See B. C. 442, 3. 436, 2. 429, 2. 421, 4. 408, 2. 321, 2. where it is acknowledged from whom those passages were received.

^b These remarks on Mr. Kruger were originally printed as a supplement to the third Volume some years ago.

of the three intermediate years 497—495 he tells but little. The burning of Sardis brought out all the Persians within the Halys: V. 102. who pursued the Ionians down to Ephesus. This brings the first campaign to the close of 499. Cyprus revolted after the revolt of Ionia: V. 104. and yet retained its freedom a year: c. 116. Soli was besieged five months current: V. 115. The Cyprian war, then, in which Cyprus was recovered, occupied the second campaign 498. Meanwhile the Persian leaders, after their victory at Ephesus, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον V. 116. One leader is engaged on the Hellespont: c. 117. when Caria revolts, and he marches to Caria. Then follows a campaign in Caria c. 118—121. which would occupy the year 498 contemporary with the war in Cyprus. A second leader proceeds to the Propontis: c. 122. and afterwards to the Hellespont; where he dies during the war in Caria. A third invades Ionia and Æolis, and captures Clazomenæ and Cymæ: c. 123. All these operations were conducted in distant quarters, and evidently occupied the campaign of 498. After all these transactions (as expressed in the Tables at 497) *Aristagoras* quits Miletus: c. 124. Some space elapsed between his departure from Miletus and his death: ἐπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' ἣν ἐστάλη. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμεώμενος ἀπώλλυται. which brings his death to the beginning of 497, the beginning of the third campaign, where I have placed it. Thucydides, then, and Herodotus agree in fixing the death of *Aristagoras* to the beginning of 497, as I have affirmed them to do. I may lastly observe, that the translator has inaccurately expressed my meaning. In his remark I am made to say that the recovery of Cyprus &c.—*hæ res*—were in the third campaign. But at 497 the only question at issue is the death of *Aristagoras*. And this event I place in the third campaign, because *hæ res*—the war in Cyprus, &c. (which preceded it) occupied the whole of the second: where the recovery of Cyprus had already been described in the Tables at 498.

§. 2. B. C. 496. "*Histiæus* comes down to the coast." *At enim Histiaëum paullo post defectionem Ionum a rege dimissum esse tradit Herodot. V. 106. Ita que vix fieri potest ut post annum 498 in Ioniam pervenerit. Κκ.*

Darius would receive the news of the fall of Sardis (V. 105) three months after the event: V. 50. About the close of 499. But *Histiæus* did not reach Sardis till after the death of *Aristagoras*: V. 108. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνῆκε καὶ Δαρείος—Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε καὶ Ἰστιαῖος μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο τάδε. Then are related all the operations of the second campaign 498 and the death of *Aristagoras*. After the death of *Aristagoras*, the historian returns to *Histiæus*: VI. 1. Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν οὕτω τελευτᾷ. Ἰστιαῖος δὲ μεμετιμένος ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν ἐς Σάρδεις. It is clear, then, that he did not arrive in 498, and that a year at least had passed before *Darius* sent him, although Herodotus in his account V. 106. 107. has not noticed it. He might arrive at Sardis in 497, after the death of *Aristagoras*: I have placed his coming in 496, two years before the last campaign, because no incidents are related to fill a longer space. The sixth campaign (VI. 18) is described VI. 6—18. but the operations of the Persian commanders in the preceding three years are not given. The flight of *Histiæus* to Chios, his negotiation with Sardis, his exclusion from Miletus, his station at Byzantium with eight ships—these are all the occurrences recorded VI. 2—6. between his arrival and the sixth campaign. If this is the narrative of two years, and perhaps of three, we may readily suppose that the historian has been equally concise V. 105—107. in his narrative of one.

§. 3. B. C. 471. "*Themistocles banished*" &c. *Diodorus more suo ultimos Themistoclis casus unum in annum conduxit, eum quo viri mors esset narranda, cum eum aliquot ante annis ejectum fuisse probabile sit.* KR. 470. *Cimon hac æstate vel potius proximo vere Persas ad Eurymedontem devicit: Diod. XI. 60. Et, ut alios prætermittam, Thucyd. I. 100. Clintonem ad 466 decepit Dodwellus. In proximis quoque annis aliquammulta non eis quibus debebant annis posita esse ad meas tabulas docebo.* KR. 466. "*Naxos besieged.*" *Hæc pluribus annis prius facta esse docebo annott. ad meas tabulas.* KR. 465. "*Revolt of Thasos*" &c. *Ex meis rationibus Thasii anno 467 defecerunt.* KR.

I have placed with Diodorus the exile of *Themistocles* at 471, the siege of *Naxos* and battles of *Eurymedon* at 466 (which are followed by the revolt of *Thasos* in 465), and the arrival of *Themistocles* in *Persia* in 465. The cardinal point for determining these dates is the arrival of *Themistocles* in *Persia*. The siege of *Naxos* occurred while he was passing into *Asia*. The battles of *Eurymedon* followed the siege of *Naxos*. The revolt of *Thasos* followed the battles of *Eurymedon*. The proofs will be seen in my *Tables*. But the arrival of *Themistocles* in *Persia* is fixed by *Thucydides* himself to the reign of *Artaxerxes*: consequently it could not precede 465, the year of the death of *Xerxes*. But if, according to my translator, *Themistocles* died in 471, the 15th year of *Xerxes*, what becomes of *Thucydides*? According to *Thucydides* he arrived in *Persia* in the reign of *Artaxerxes*; according to Mr. Kruger he was settled there seven or eight years before the death of *Xerxes*. I need not repeat here what has been shewn in the *Tables*, that the date 465 for the revolt of *Thasos* is farther confirmed by the coincidence of an expedition to *Amphipolis*, which is determined by *Thucydides* to the same date.

§. 4. B. C. 460. "First year of the war in Egypt, &c. *In his proximorumque annorum rebus constituendis parum ponderata est inscriptio anno 457 laudata: Ἐρεχθίδος οἶδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν Φοινίκῃ, ἐν Ἀλιεῦσι, ἐν Αἰγίῃ, ἐν Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.* (Conf. Boeckh. Corp. Inscr. p. 292.) *Ubi quæ eidem anno adscripta sunt in quatuor annos digeri non posse perspicuum est, quum præsertim Thucydides quoque ita easdem res enarret ut eas majoribus quibusdam intervallis discretas fuisse non significet. Ex mea sententia quomodo hæc omnia distribuenda sint ad meas tabulas persequar.* KR.

I have quoted that inscription at 457 from Corsini. Mr. Boeckh Corp. Inscr. p. 292. gives the same monument. In his annotation part II. p. 294 (published in 1826) he places these battles in the year of *Bion* Ol. 80. 3. in which he concurs with me; for I place the battles of the *Megarid* at the same date: the spring of B. C. 457. He also concurs with me that the archonship of *Bion* began at midsummer, and not at *Gamelion*: a point which I have argued in the Introduction p. xvii—xxii against *Dodwell* and *Corsini*. Now Mr. Kruger imagines that the soldiers, recorded in the *Marble* who fell in *Egypt*, fell there in the first year of the war. But no mention is made of the first year of the war either in the inscription, or in Mr. Boeckh's commentary, or in my *Tables*. These men therefore fell in *Egypt* in the third year of the war, in the archonship of *Bion*, as Mr. Boeckh rightly gives the date: and there is nothing in this inscription to remove the beginning of the *Egyptian* war from the point at which I have placed it; a point determined by other circumstances.

§. 5. B. C. 431. "Munychion of the archon Pythodorus." Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἀρχοντος. *ubi tamen vereor ne emendandum sit δ' i. e. τέσσαρας μῆνας, quæ conjectura quibus rationibus nitatur alio loco dicam.* KR. Ibid. "The thirty years' truce was made in the beginning of Munychion." *Ex meis rationibus factum est paulo ante Elaphebolionem.* KR. 423. "The truce commenced about a month before the actual termination of the 'eighth year' &c. *Quæ difficultas conjectura ad 431. proposita tollitur.* KR. 421. "τὸ πρῶτον—ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο." *Non debebat omittere verba post πρῶτον addita: ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἡ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καί.* *Ex quibus quæ difficultas existit, eam quomodo tollendam censeam ad 431 significavi.* KR.

According to the extant text the war began towards the close of the tenth Attic month. The emendation of Mr. Kruger throws it back two months, and places it at the close of the eighth. The war therefore would begin about the 25th of *Anthesterion*^c [March 4 B. C. 431] instead of the 25th of *Munychion* [May 2]. The irruption into Attica, on the 80th day—ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ—after, would fall upon the 15th of *Thargelion*^d [May 22] instead of the 15th of *Hecatombæon* [July 20]. The thirty years' truce would also be raised two months; and would commence at the beginning of *Anthesterion* B. C. 445, instead of the beginning of *Munychion*. But the words which I have omitted to quote at 421 are by no means reconciled by this emendation. Mr. Kruger places the first invasion in the middle of *Thargelion*; but how does this remove the difficulty in the assertion that on the 24th of *Elaphebolion* ten years and a few days more had elapsed since the first irruption, when the ten years were not yet accomplished, and two months were still wanting to complete them? Thucydides then here speaks generally: he names the beginning of the war and the first invasion of Attica together, although separated by an interval of 80 days: and this part of the passage was not necessary to be quoted for the purpose for which I was then quoting him. And these very words which I have omitted to quote are an argument to shew that the correction of Mr. Kruger is the less necessary for explaining the difficulty at the year 423. For, if Thucydides could say that on the 24th of *Elaphebolion* 421 ten years and some days had elapsed from the beginning of the war and *from the first irruption*, we are justified in concluding with Dodwell, Ann. Thuc. p. 165, that he computed his campaigns not from the first operations of each campaign, but from the spring with which it commenced; and that the campaign of 431, in his mode of computing, was reckoned to begin neither from the irruption on the 15th of *Hecatombæon* nor from the attack on the 25th of *Munychion*, but from the antecedent spring. I think it extremely probable that Thucydides, in his plan of division κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, reckoned his campaigns from the vernal equinox, March 27. And this might explain the passage IV. 118. in the Tables at 423. The truce on the 14th of *Elaphebolion* fell upon the 23d of March, four days before the equinox March 27th, in that year the 18th of *Elaphebolion*. Now, if he dated his campaigns from the equinox, he would naturally place the truce (only four days before the equinox) as the first transaction of the ninth campaign. The emendation of Thuc. II. 2. proposed by Mr. Kruger is not quite

^c I assume the 25th for the sake of naming a definite day. Dodwell unnecessarily places the event on the last day of the month. It is sufficient that it occurred within the last quarter of the moon. The next new moon fell in this first year of the first *Metonic* cycle 16^h. 39^m. 32^s. be-

fore the end of *Munychion*. Dodwell also supposes 80 days complete between the attack upon Plataea and the march into Attica. But Thucydides only expresses the 80th current.

^d In reality the 16th, because in this year of the *Metonic* cycle the 15th was a *dies exemptilis*.

consistent with the termination of the war. If the war began in *Anthesterion*, it ended a few days later than *Anthesterion*, since its duration was a few days beyond 27 years: Thuc. V. 26. But the city was taken on the 16th of *Munychion*: see 404. If therefore the 27th year had expired, according to Mr. Kruger, at the end of *Anthesterion*, the war was extended into the third month current, fifty days beyond the 27th year; which is at variance with the historian's account. But the 16th of *Munychion* in B. C. 404 coincided with April 24, twenty-eight days after the equinox; and with this term of 28 days the expressions V. 26., *τοσαῦτα ἔτη καὶ ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς παρενεγκούσας*, may be better reconciled^e. We may farther observe that the extant text in Thuc. II. 2. better agrees with Diodorus XII. 38. who places the ravage of Attica in the year of *Euthydemus*. This was true, if the invasion of Attica occurred in *Hecatombeon*, but not if we place it with Mr. Kruger in *Thargelion* of the preceding year. Now, although Diodorus is no authority when opposed to better testimonies, yet, when we find him in concurrence with them, we are not to reject him.

The truce in 421 was concluded on the 10th of April, which is accordingly marked in the Tables. And in each year of the war in the Tables, where *Munychion* is named, the reader will understand this of the actual termination reckoned from the first act of hostility, but not of the termination according to the reckoning of Thucydides, who dated his campaigns from a higher point.

§. 6. B. C. 409. "Thrasyllus." *Hæc cum Haackio superiori anno adscribenda esse apparet ex Hellen. I. 1, 33. coll. §. 8. Etiam proxima a Clintone anno inferius quam debebant posita sunt. Atque Cyrum jam 408 Sardes venisse non modo ex Xenophonte sed etiam ex Thucydide probari potest, qui II. 65. inter Siciliensem cladem et Cyri adventum nonnisi per tres annos bellum gestum esse tradit: quod quum demum post mediam ætatem 412 cæptum fuerit, vere 408, quo tempore Cyrus Sardes venit, tres demum anni et aliquot menses præterierint. KR. 408. Vide ad annum 409 ubi quæ disputavi ab ipso Xenophonte confirmantur, qui quæ Clinton huic anno adscripsit belli vicesimo tertio a. 409 gesta esse tradit. Etiam Diodorus ea Diocle archonte facta esse refert. KR.*

If Thucydides had intended to describe by three years the space between the defeat in Sicily and the arrival of *Cyrus*, he would have placed the coming of *Cyrus* to the coast in the year 409, two years before my date, and totally deranging the narrative of *Xenophon*. For the defeat in Sicily occurred in the autumn of 413; from whence three years and a half

^e It is to be supposed that Thucydides had some fixed point from which to reckon his campaigns, not according to the fluctuating Attic year, but according to the natural course of the seasons. And yet his expressions are worthy of observation. In 423, the 14th of *Elaphebolion*, March 23, is thus characterised: *τοῦ χειμῶνος διελθόντος—ἄμα ἤρι*. In 421, at the 24th of *Elaphebolion*, April 10, it is said, *τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄμα ἤρι*. The term in the latter case, *τελευτῶντος*, is less decisive than the term in the former, *διελθόντος*. And yet the latter date is in Attic reckoning ten days, and in actual time 18 days below the former.

Again, the interval from the end of his year to the 24th of *Elaphebolion*, April 10, in 421 is called *ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων*. But the interval to the 16th of *Munychion*, April 24th, in 404 is also still *ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς*, although the latter space is 21 days in Attic computation, and 14 days in true time greater than the former. It appears from these instances that Thucydides did not think precision necessary upon this point; and it is the more probable on this account that he might reckon the truce in 423 to the future year, although perhaps four days before the end of the preceding.

would bring the coming of *Cyrus* to the spring of 409. And during this whole period war was never intermitted, for *Decelea* was occupied by the *Lacedæmonians* in 413. But Mr. Kruger has not rightly interpreted *τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντείχον* in *Thucyd.* II. 65. The historian does not there describe a space preceding the arrival of *Cyrus*, but marks a period terminating at the capture of the city, as Dr. Arnold, in his note upon the place, has truly explained it. The meaning of *Thucydides* is clear enough. "The Athenians, after their defeat in Sicily B. C. 413, and their factions at home B. C. 411, and the revolt of their allies B. C. 412, 411, and lastly after the arrival of *Cyrus* B. C. 407, held out still three years, 407—404." That is, they held out from the spring of B. C. 407 to the spring of 404. *Thucydides* then confirms my date, and places *Cyrus* where I have placed him. The arrangement of *Xenophon* is explained below^{ee}. The passages to which Mr. Kruger refers have no concern in the question, since they merely relate what was done by *Thrasyllus* at Athens between the death of *Mindarus* and his own mission to Samos in the following spring. The date in *Xen. Hellen.* I. 3, 1., from which Mr. Kruger collects that *Xenophon* refers this to the 23d year, is an interpolation. But if it were genuine, it would place the campaign in the year of *Antigenes*: ἀρχοντος Ἀντιγένους, ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτοιν τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότου, which would place that campaign in the spring of B. C. 406, two years below my date, instead of one year above it. But that date in *Xenophon* is doubtless an interpolation; as *Dodwell* and *Schneider* have agreed. *Diodorus* concurs with me, but not with Mr. Kruger; for I place these transactions in the year of *Diocles*, as I have expressed in the Tables: Mr. Kruger places them in the spring of the preceding archon.

§. 7. B. C. 401. The Elean war. *Neque hoc anno bellum Eleum ceptum esse ex eo apparet quod Xenophon Hel. III. 2, 21. illud gestum esse notat quo tempore Dercyllidas cum imperio in Asia fuerit. Vide ad annos 400 et 399. KR. 400. περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ vel propter articuli collocationem non potest esse proximo anno. Conf. Thucyd. I. 30. Itaque e Xenophontis narratione utraque impressio eodem anno facta est, ut opinor 398. Ita Diodorus, ut sæpius, Olympiade prius quam debebat rem enarraverit. KR. 399. "Pausan. III. 8, 2. τρίτῳ ἔτει τοῦ πολέμου," &c. De his quid sentiam jam significavi ad 400. Conf. quæ disputavi ad Append. c. 11. N^o. III. KR.*

At Appendix c. 11. N^o. III. no remark occurs. The translator is silent. We have therefore two reasons for limiting the expeditions to one year, the year 398: namely the account of *Xenophon* *Hel.* III. 2, 21. and the expression *περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ*. But if these two expeditions had been in the year 398, let us mark the sequel. *Xenophon*, after the expression *περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ*, mentions τὸ λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα, the winter, according to Mr. Kruger, of B. C. 398⁷. Then follows τοῦ ἐπιόντος θέρους III. 2, 30. then μετὰ τοῦτο Ἄγης ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς—πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμιν. He died therefore towards the close of summer B. C. 397. Then followed the contests for the succession: then the affair of *Cinadon*, Ἀγησιλάου οὐπω ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, III. 3, 4. He must therefore have been near a year or at least more than six months by the tenor of the expression: which brings down this point of time, according to Mr. Kruger's date for the Elean war, to the summer or autumn of B. C. 396. Then followed the passage of *Agesilaus* into Asia in the spring of 395: which cuts off a year from his stay in Asia, and produces all the inconveniences arising out

^{ee} See note H.

of the error of Dodwell which have been examined in the Appendix c. 11. N^o. III. where the translator offers no observation. The arrangement then of Mr. Kruger, bringing down the Elean war to 398, is at variance with Pausanias, is at variance with Diodorus, and especially at variance with Xenophon himself; according to whose narrative of subsequent events the war in Elis must have begun before *Dercyllidas* had reached Asia. In this passage, then (III. 2, 21), τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλλίδα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλείοις κ. τ. λ. he does not mean to place the whole Elean war within the time of *Dercyllidas* in Asia, but, having pursued the affairs of Asia from the settlement of Athens in B. C. 402 to the acts of *Dercyllidas* in Asia in B. C. 399 (III. 1, 1—2, 20), he returns to the affairs of Greece, which he resumes from a higher point, taking up the narrative at B. C. 401. The expression περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ Mr. Kruger understands in the same sense as Thucyd. I. 30. But the term in Thucydides is περιόντι, a word of different meaning: and although περιόντι τῷ θέρει in Thucydides may mean *superante adhuc æstate*, or *reliqua æstatis parte*, as some have there rendered it, yet περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ will express *when the year came round again*: which places the second expedition in a different summer from the first, agreeing with Pausanias and Diodorus.

§. 8. B. C. 382. "Olynthian war &c.—Aristides: Πυθίων ὄντων ἡ Καδ-
"μεία κατελήφθη." *Huic nihil tribuerim. Conf. ad Append. c. 1. Atque*
quæ Clinton hoc anno gesta esse tradit non dubito quin superiori tribuenda
sint. Conf. ad annum 381. et computa Phliuntis obsidionem. KR. 381.
Agesipolin non eadem æstate qua Teleutias cecidit contra Olynthios profec-
tum esse ex Xenoph. Hel. V. 3, 3. coll. s. 18. et s. 8. probari potest. Conf.
Schneid. ad s. 25. KR.

In the Appendix to which he refers the translator has no remark at p. 200 (211 Lips.). At the end of the chapter he subjoins Mr. Boeckh's argument on the season of the Pythian games.

Mr. Kruger, then, rejecting the accounts of Aristides and Diodorus, places the Olynthian war a year higher, because *Teleutias* and *Agesipolis* were not employed in the same campaign, and because a higher date arises from the computation of the siege of Phlius: and he refers to Mr. Schneider in confirmation of his position. With respect to *Agesipolis* the reasoning of Schneider is this^f: *Agesilaüs* attacked Phlius in the same year in which *Agesipolis* marched to Olynthus, not in the year following, as Dodwell imagined. He thinks it probable that *Agesipolis* might march in the year after the fall of *Teleutias*, and he assigns to *Agesipolis* one campaign instead of two; placing the death of *Agesipolis* in the summer of 380, and the

^f Schneider ad V. 3, 25. *De ipso Agesipolidis anno quo contra Olynthios exiit scrupulus mihi hæret. Teleutiæ successit is in belli administratione. Teleutiæ autem cædem Diodorus in Ol. 99. 3 exeuntem contulit. Huic Agesipolis si eodem anno successit ineunte Ol. 99. 4 factum fuerit. Verum nescio an apparatus copiarum majorum contra Olynthios ducendarum tam brevi tempore perfici potuerit.—Dodwellus expeditionem Agesipolidis per duos annos distribuit naturales.—Verum Xenophon nec reditum Agesipolidis ex priore expeditione memoravit nec novi anni ulteriusque expeditionis sig-*

num ullum apposuit. Quare haud scio an rectius Agesipolidis expeditio annua dicenda et in Ol. ⁹⁹⁻⁴/₁₀₀₋₁ [B. C. 380] annum conferenda sit. The opinion of Schneider is farther confirmed by the incident in Xenophon: Ἀγησίπολις ἔφθειρε τὸν σίτον. Now if he had approached Olynthus in the autumn, there would have been no corn in the fields. The harvest had been already carried; the future crop had not yet appeared. But if his approach was in February or March, the crop of the future year had then sprung up; to be destroyed by the invader.

command and death of *Teutias* in 381; precisely where I have placed them. From the siege of Phlius, then, and from the reasoning of Schneider, nothing occurs to overthrow the testimony of Aristides, or to raise the date of the Olynthian war. The siege of Phlius lasted twenty months. It terminated in 379, between the end of the Olynthian war in summer, and the recovery of the Cadmea in the winter following. The precise month is not determined. Schneider places its commencement at the spring of 380, when *Agesipolis* marched, and its conclusion in the autumn of 379. I place its beginning in the close of 381 because I suppose *Agesipolis* to have marched in that year. The commencement of the siege is to be adapted to the movements of *Agesipolis*, and not the contrary. The passages of Xenophon are these: Having related the death of *Teutias* in the second campaign V. 3, 3—6. he proceeds s. 8. 9. τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι—οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι—πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιόκων ἐθελονταὶ καλοὶ καγαθοὶ ἡκολούθουν κ. τ. λ. Ἀγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον. Then follows the narrative of the Phliasian war: then he returns s. 18. to *Agesipolis*: καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσίων ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὄπλα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει αὐτῶν ἐφθειρε τὸν σῆτον. Then follows his death κατὰ θέρους ἀκμήν. Mr. Schneider is right in the observation that Xenophon does not describe two campaigns, and that he does not mark the intervention of a winter. But neither does he mark a winter between the death of *Teutias* and the march of *Agesipolis*. His brief account leaves both these points obscure. I now incline however to the opinion of Schneider that the acts of *Agesipolis* were included in one campaign; and that passage in the Tables at 381, “*Agesipolis* takes the command,” &c. to the end, I place at the beginning of 380. The march of *Agesipolis* and the siege of Phlius, instead of being placed in the autumn of 381, I assign with Schneider to the spring following, a few months later. But none of the main points are altered by this arrangement. The war still began in 382; *Teutias* fell in 381; *Agesipolis* in 380; and Phlius still surrendered in 379.[§]

§. 9. B. C. 369. “The emphatic notice of Xenophon, who in the next year speaks of Messenia as then established.” The translator renders this, *Xenophon de Messene ut tum restituta loquitur*: and then remarks, *Immo ibi ut 4, 9. et Agesil. 2, 29. terra dici videtur. Conf. Diod. XV. 90. KR.*

Doubtless all these passages speak of the territory or province of Messenia, and so did my Tables; till the translator obscured my meaning in rendering “Messenia,” which expressed the province, by *Messene* which expresses the town. In the next year, 368, where the same subject is mentioned, my expression “the establishment of the independence of “Messenia” is rightly translated *Messeniae libertatem constitutam*; from whence Mr. Kruger might have perceived that his remark at 369 was superfluous.

§. 10. B. C. 368. “The Syracusan succours went home τοῦ θέρους ἀλγόντος. And they had come εἰς μῆνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰληφότες.”

§ A typographical error in the translation 379. 2. has caused the meaning of the original to be misrepresented. In the original it is said, “Polybiades finishes the Olynthian war—towards “the end of the year of Pytheas. Surrender of

Phlius, &c. This in the translation is thus given: *Itaque sub finem Pythæ anni Phlius—se dedit*. The omission of a point has materially altered the sense.

Sed inde non sequitur eos quinque menses in Peloponneso mansisse : quumque Diodorus τὴν δευτέραν βοήθειαν, quæ et ipsa hac æstate missa videtur (vide ad 367), hanc potius τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος rediisse dicendum fuisse suspicor. KR. 367. "Dionysius was still living when the Syracusan succours were in Peloponnesus" &c. Quum Boeckhius Lenæa Gamelioni assignaverit, Dionysius autem paullo post mortem obierit, hæc δευτέρα βοήθεια, quæ quo tempore missa est Dionysius nondum excesserat, superiori anno, fortasse autumnno, adscribenda videtur. KR.

The first succours arrived in the spring of 368, the second succours, which staid their full time of service (ἐξήκοι ὁ χρόνος Xen. Hel. VII. 1, 28), returned home, according to Mr. Kruger, at the end of summer or in the autumn of the same campaign. The Lacedæmonians, then, instead of retaining those for whose services they had already paid, suddenly dismissed them with their five months pay, and in the same campaign called for new succours. A proceeding of which we are at a loss to understand the policy. But *Dionysius* died at some interval after his Lenæan victory: nor is it affirmed that he lived till the succours returned; Xenophon only marks that he lived to send them. It is far more probable, then, that the first auxiliaries performed their stipulated service; that the second were sent in the following spring, and that *Dionysius* died soon after they arrived in Peloponnesus. Nor is this arrangement affected by Mr. Boeckh's opinion respecting the *Lenæa*. For *Gamelion* in this year, the 8th of a *Metonic* cycle, did not commence till January 22nd. The *Lenæa* then, upon Mr. Boeckh's plan, would not occur till February, and, if *Dionysius* died within a month (which is nowhere affirmed), his death would have fallen in March, and the succours might have been sent in his lifetime.

§. 11. B. C. 340. "The siege of Selymbria at the end of Boëdromion." *Selymbriam prius oppugnatam esse quam Perinthus et Byzantium rerum ordo evincit. Propterea Boeckhius Boedromionem Ol. 109. 4 intelligit [B. C. 341], ejusdemque anni ultimis mensibus etiam Perinthus et Byzantium oppugnari cæpta esse. KR.*

Philochorus determines the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium to the year of *Theophrastus*; which refutes Mr. Boeckh, who places the commencement of those sieges at the preceding year. The same testimony of Philochorus also refutes the date of *Boëdromion* B. C. 341 for the siege of Selymbria. His words (partly quoted in the Tables at 339. 2) are these: "Θεόφραστος Ἀλαιεύς. ἐπὶ τούτου Φίλιππος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναπλεύσας Περὶνθῳ προσέβαλεν ἀποτυχὼν δ' ἐντεῦθεν Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει καὶ μηχανήματα προσήγεν." *Dionysius* then proceeds: ἔπειτα διεξελθὼν ὅσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐνεκάλει διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ Δημοσθένους παρακαλέσαντος αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ψηφίσματα γράψαντος, ἐχειροτόνησεν [ὁ δῆμος] τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας σταθεῖσαν, ναὺς δὲ πληροῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. ταῦτα γράψας κατὰ Θεόφραστον ἄρχοντα γεγονέναι τῷ μετ' ἐκείνου ἐνιαυτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα μετὰ τὴν λύσιν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου ἄρχοντος διεξέρχεται. Now if *Philip* ἀναπλεύσας, sailing northwards, attempted Perinthus after midsummer 340, he was not engaged in besieging Selymbria eight months before, in autumn 341. Nor does the *rerum ordo* determine that Selymbria was besieged first. Mr. Mitford vol. VIII. p. 349. has better seen the course of events: "Philip laid siege to Perinthus, &c. —Meanwhile observing that supplies reached Perinthus principally through the Selymbrians, whom he had not before treated as enemies, he sent a body of troops to blockade

“their town.” The position of Selymbria justifies the account of Mitford. Selymbria lies about a day’s march to the east of Perinthus, protected by the larger town, which is interposed between Selymbria and Macedon, or Thrace. An invading force, then, approaching from Macedon and Thrace would begin with Perinthus first; as *Alcibiades* in Xenoph. Hel. I. 1, 21., approaching from the south-west quarter of the Propontis, visited Perinthus first. The siege, then, of Selymbria was incident upon that of Perinthus, and both are to be referred to the autumn of 340. And this is confirmed by the account of Ulpian p. 88. For the oration of *Demosthenes* on the letter is determined to the beginning of 339: see 339. 3. and this fixes the letter of *Philip*, which produced it, to the close of 340. But if that letter was written during the siege of Selymbria, as Ulpian affirms, then the siege also is fixed to the autumn of 340, where I have placed it.

§. 12. B. C. 340. “The letter of Philip which produced the oration of Demosthenes makes no mention of Selymbria; although the date ascribed to it by Ulpian is verified by other circumstances.” Thus translated by Mr. Kruger: *Ea Philippi epistola quæ Demosthenem ut orationem de ea haberet commovit Selymbriæ mentionem non facit, quamquam hanc concionem quo Ulpianus dicit tempore habitam esse alia sunt quæ confirmant.* To which he subjoins this note: *Nescio quænam, quum Selymbriæ nulla mentio ibi injiciatur atque jam Perinthis obsidio commemoratur* p. 153. KR.

An erroneous interpretation, followed by an irrelevant remark. The translator makes me speak of the oration of *Demosthenes* when I speak of the letter of *Philip*. That Mr. Kruger should have understood me here to refer to the oration is the more remarkable, because in the next year at the third column (339. 3) I state the arguments upon which the date of the oration is founded, and which place it in the beginning of 339. The “other circumstances,” then, of which Mr. Kruger, because he had missed my meaning, knew nothing, are these very arguments, which assign the date of the oration. For when the date of the oration is known, we can assign the date of the letter to which it was an answer.

§. 13. B. C. 332. “Alexander founds Alexandria and marches to the oracle of Hammon.” *Conditam esse postquam ab Hammonē redierat, Aristophanē Archonte, testatur Diodorus XVII. 52. Conf. Curt. IV. 8. Justin. XI. 11. Fundamenta certe jam 332 videntur jacta esse.* KR.

Diodorus could give no testimony upon this subject. And Mr. Kruger himself, while he quotes the testimony of Diodorus, very properly rejects it. Alexandria could not be founded in the year of *Aristophanes*, for in the first month of this archon *Alexander* had arrived at Thapsacus. The report of Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin, all placing the foundation of Alexandria after the expedition to the oracle, is of less authority than the account of Arrian, a more careful and accurate writer than any of these; and Arrian places the foundation before the march; in which he is confirmed by Plutarch Alex. c. 26. *ἔργου κελεύσας ἔχουσιν αὐτὸς ἐπιμελητὰς αὐτὸς ὥρμησεν εἰς Ἀμμωνος.*

Col. 3.

§. 14. B. C. 496. “*Hellanicus—Thucydides.*” Mr. Kruger rejects the account of Pamphila, and prefers that of Marcellinus for the age of *Thucydides*, and that of Anonym. in vita Eurip. for the age of *Hellani-*

cus. His opinion is expressed in the following sentences: 496. 3. *Quod de Thucydide tradit ex parte jam refutavi ad Dionys. p. 91. ubi quæ proposui propediem novis argumentis confirmaturus sum simulque quod Pamphila de Hellanico scriptum reliquit probabile non esse docebo.* KR. 480. 4. *Hellanicus nascitur. Vita Eurip.* [apud Elmsleium ad calcem Eur. Bacch. p. 194] *γεννηθῆναι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἑλλάνικον ἢ ἐνίκων τὴν περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες.* *Confirmat ipsum nomen. Adde Dionysium Jud. de Thucyd. p. 818. et ad annum 395.* KR. 395. 4. *Hellanicus moritur—Eum anno 411 quo vulgo mortem obisse ponitur superstitem fuisse apparet ex Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 709. Conf. Append. c. 21. Histt. 14.* KR. At the Appendix here referred to the translator adds no remark.

The authority of Pamphila is the more weighty because her account is accepted by Gellius; who had investigated literary chronology (see XVII. 21), had read the *χρονικά* of Apollodorus (see XVII. 4), and doubtless many other works upon this subject, of which even the names are now unknown. We have therefore not Pamphila alone, but Pamphila sanctioned by Gellius, a competent judge of the credibility of her narrative. The authority, then, of Pamphila is not lightly to be set aside. Her account of *Herodotus* is confirmed by Dionysius p. 820. *γενόμενος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῶν Περσικῶν.* Upon the age of *Thucydides* Poppo prolegom. tom. I. p. 21., I think with good reason, considers the authority of Marcellinus as of less value: *Hæc de Marcellino abunde docent non magnam hujus vitæ auctoritatem esse posse, quum, quonam tempore et a quibusnam viris ea composita et quinam fontes ad eam rem adhibiti sint non pateat.* Ibid. p. 31. *Negligentius Marcellinus dicit eum ultra quinquaginta annos natum vitam finisse.* The account preserved by Suidas agrees with Pamphila: *Θουκυδίδης ἤμαζε κατὰ τὴν πρ' Ὀλυμπιάδα.* Dionysius, after reciting the preceding historians, adds p. 821. *τούτοις ἐπιγενόμενος Θουκυδίδης.* which determines nothing against Pamphila. *Thucydides* speaks of himself in these passages, supplied by Poppo p. 22.: I. 1. 23. II. 48. IV. 104—107. V. 26. In the last only is there any indication of his age: *ἐπεβίων διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῦ αἰσθανόμενός τε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην ὅπως ἀκριβές τι εἶσομαι.* from which nothing more can be deduced than that he was of mature age at the beginning of the war, and was still of vigorous faculties at the conclusion. And this again is not inconsistent with Pamphila. Aristides tom. II. p. 121. Jebb=tom. II. p. 163. Dindorf. affirms of *Thucydides* that he was *κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον (τὸν Περικλέα) γεγονώς καὶ συγγεγονώς.* and the Scholiast adds tom. III. p. 454. Dindorf. *Θουκυδίδης Περικλεῖ συνεγένετο περὶ λόγους· συμφουιτῆται γὰρ ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι.* which confirms the account of Antyllus apud Marcellin. p. x. that he heard *Anaxagoras*: *ἤκουσε διδασκάλων Ἀναξαγόρου μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις.* But this account of Aristides is more consistent with Pamphila, who makes *Thucydides* forty-three years of age at the death of his companion and fellow-disciple *Pericles*, than with that of Marcellinus, who makes him little more than twenty at that period. The account then of Pamphila is not invalidated with respect to *Thucydides*. On *Hellanicus* Mr. Kruger observes, 1. that Dionysius p. 818. is at variance with the date of Pamphila. But this passage in Dionysius is indefinite: *ὀλίγῳ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας.* A general statement by which nothing is determined. But in that very passage Dionysius reckons him older than *Herodotus*. He recites first *Hecataeus* and his contemporaries, then *Hellanicus* and his contemporaries, then *Herodotus*, and lastly *Thucydides*. Moreover *Hellanicus* is there named with others who contribute to fix his age: *Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Δαμάστης ὁ*

Σιγριεύς καὶ Ξενομήδης ὁ Χίος καὶ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδός. But *Xanthus* wrote before *Herodotus*: see the Tables 463. 3. *Damastes* was the contemporary of *Herodotus*, and yet the disciple of *Hellanicus*: Suid. v. Δαμόστ. Dionysius then places *Hellanicus* at the head of that list which preceded *Herodotus*. But according to Dionysius *Herodotus* was born a little before the Persian war. He is clearly at variance, then, with that account which makes *Hellanicus* younger than *Herodotus*, but consistent with Pamphila, who makes *Hellanicus* twelve years older. 2. Mr. Kruger argues from the name that *Hellanicus* was born at the time of the Grecian victory. He therefore supposes Ἑλλάνικος to come from νίκη. This I very much doubt. Such compounds are formed from the genitive: and, as from Ἑλληνος and ταμίας comes Ἑλληνοταμίας, from the Æolic form Ἑλλανος and δίκη Ἑλλανοδίκης, so from Ἑλλανος and νίκη would come Ἑλλανόνικος. Ἑλλάνικος then is nothing more than the adjective converted into a proper name, analogous to Ἑλλανίς, which is the name of a Lesbian woman in Anthol. tom. IV. p. 34. as Ἑλλάνικος in the case of the historian is the name of a Lesbian man; with the accent thrown back to distinguish it from Ἑλλανικός, as the accent is thrown back in Εὐμένης to distinguish it from εὐμενής, and in Ἀθήναιος to distinguish it from Ἀθηναῖος. Lobeck ad Phrynichum p. 670 argues, *Huic ipsi nomini Hellanico Tzetzes Post. Hom. 778 mensuram epitriti quarti tribuit*. But it has been shewn from examples in F. H. I. p. 127. d. that Tzetzes is no authority for quantity; and that he makes this very name Ἑλλάνικος in one place and Ἑλλάνικος in another. 3. Mr. Kruger collects from Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 706 that *Hellanicus* mentioned the battle of Arginusæ. Mr. Boeckh Œcon. of Athens vol. I. p. 349, 350 (observing in a note that Plataeans had been admitted to citizenship at Athens in Ol. 88. 1) remarks on this passage that “the Athenians immediately after the battle of Arginusæ emancipated the slaves and made them Plataean citizens;” but that “this must have taken place at an earlier period of the Peloponnesian war, since, according to *Hellanicus*, who could not have been alive at the time of this action, slaves who had been engaged in sea-fights were made Plataean citizens.” This appeared to be the interpretation, as the text of the Scholiast formerly stood. But the excellent edition of Dindorf has completed the text as now given in the Tables B. C. 406, 3; and it appears that Arginusæ was clearly referred to by the historian. That passage however of the Scholiast does not establish the later date for the birth of *Hellanicus*; it only proves that he lived to a later period of life than the age assigned by Lucian. For the date of the birth of *Hellanicus* I still prefer the authority of Pamphila and Gellius to that of the anonymous author.

§. 15. B. C. 381. *Hac Olympiade videtur habita esse Isæi oratio ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δικαιογένους κλήρου. Nam amplius duodecim anni post pugnam Cnidiam præterierant (v. §. 7.) necdum finitum erat bellum Olynthium: v. §. 46. Kr.*

The passage p. 55. is this: οὐκ ἐστράτευσαι τοσούτου καὶ τοιούτου γενομένου πολέμου, εἰς δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι μὲν καὶ νησιῶται ὑπὲρ τῆςδε τῆς γῆς ἀποθνήσκουσι μαχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις. It may be doubted whether this is a description of the Olynthian war of 381, in which the Athenians were not parties. The word Ὀλύνθιοι has been with reason suspected by Sir W. Jones, who substitutes Ὀπούντιοι.

Col. 4.

§. 16. B. C. 518. “Pindar born Ol. 65. 3.”— *Boeckh. tamen Pindar. tom. II. p. 2. p. 14. Ol. 64. 3 natum esse probat. Kr. 439. “Pindar—*

“completed his eightieth year” &c. *Boeckhius tom. II. p. 2. p. 15. Pindarum Ol. 84. 3. mortuum esse censet. KR. 498. “Pindar. Pyth. X. “Ol. 70. 3.” Imo Ol. 69. 3. ex Boeckii computatione, ad Ol. XII. p. 206. KR.*

The date of the *Pythia* shall be examined below; the age of *Pindar* may be discussed here. Mr. Boeckh's argument ad *Pindar. tom. II. p. 2. p. 13—15* is as follows: *Corsinus natales poëtæ in Ol. 65. 3. retulit, me non adsentiente. Certe Suidas hac ipsa Olympiade natum Pindarum non efficit, qui si paullo ante lucem viderat, tamen potuit κατὰ τὴν ξέ' ὀλυμπιάδα natus dici, quum præsertim natales poëtæ inde potissimum collecti videantur quod quo tempore Xerxes in Græciam expeditur 40 ille annos habuisse ferebatur. Xerxis expeditio cœpta est vere Ol. 74. 4. desit pugna Plataica Ol. 75. 2. Si Pindarus Ol. 65. 3. initio Munychionis natus statuetur, in fine illius expeditionis habuerit annos 38 menses quinque, initio autem 37 annos. Quo magis Suidæ convenit Pindari natales in Ol. 64. 3. referri; quod ubi posueris, incipiente bello Pindarus annos 40 plenos habuerit prope absoluto etiam 41°. Atque huic sententiæ congruum quod Pyth. X. Pythiade 22. Ol. 69. 3. hortante Thorace scriptum est, qui, si tum Pindarus annos 20 natus erat, potuit ad scribendum invitare, vix potuerit puerum 16 annorum.—De obitu ejus varia et ambigua traditio: Thom. Mag. τέθνηκε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐξ καὶ ἐξηκόντα ἐτῶν γεγονὼς [ἦ, ὥς τινες, ὀγδοήκοντα] ἐπὶ Ἀβίωνος ἀρχontos κατὰ ἕκτην καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. Vita versibus scripta: κάτθανεν ὀγδώκοντα τελειομένων ἐνιαυτῶν.—Verum etiam apud Thomam ubi pro Ol. 86 restitueris Ol. 80 et pro Abione Bionem Ol. 80 $\frac{2}{3}$ archontem, erunt ab ipso initio Ol. 64. 3. usque ad finem Ol. 80. 3. non plures anni quam 65, quum tamen rectius instituto calculo Ol. 64. 3. ultimi tantum tres menses ætati Pindari annumerandi sint, nec Bionis magistratus usque ad Ol. 80. 3. extremum sed ad medium tantum producat, incipiente tum archontum munere a Gamelione. Ita ut si Bione archonte Pindarus defunctus fuerit non ultra annos 63 et menses novem potuerit habere. Quod si Ol. 65. 3. demum natum statueris, difficultas augebitur.—At qui 80 poëtæ annos tribuerunt, ii, si natum Ol. 65. 3. censebant, mortem ejus Ol. 85 assignaverint, a quo non multum abludit lectio Thomæ vulgata κατὰ πέν' ὀλ. Rursum ubi Ol. 64. 3. natus annum 80^{um} vel attigerit vel absolverit, diem supremum obierit Ol. 84. 3. Many of these testimonies are by no means in favour of Mr. Boeckh's proposition. In the first place, the expression of Suidas, κατὰ τὴν ξέ' ὀλ., although it admits of being qualified by other testimony, yet, taken by itself, undoubtedly agrees better with Ol. 65 than with Ol. 64. It will express Ol. 65. 3, as κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐνεμήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδων in Dionys. Ant. I. p. 11. expresses Ol. 193. 2. In the next place, Mr. Boeckh, by fixing the *Pythia* to the tenth Olympic month *Munychion*, instead of the second or third, has cut off seven or eight months from the space which ended at the expedition of *Xerxes*. These months being supplied, we shall find 38 years complete from the *Pythia* in the autumn of Ol. 65. 3 to the middle of the expedition of *Xerxes* in the autumn of Ol. 75. 1, but 42 years complete from the *Pythia* of Ol. 64. 3 to the same period. Now in round statements of numbers it is more usual to include the actual space than to fall short of it: especially with the Greeks, who are apt to reckon inclusively. The statement, then, in Suidas, κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου στρατείαν ὧν ἐτῶν μ', is not in favour of Ol. 64 for the birth of the poet. Thirdly, Mr. Boeckh justly prefers eighty years for the age of *Pindar* at his death, and quotes in confirmation προήκων ἐς γῆρας Pausan. IX. 23, 2. But the period of eighty years terminating in Ol. 86 will place his birth in Ol. 65 rather than in Ol. 64. For from the autumn of*

Ol. 65. 3. eighty years are completed in the autumn of Ol. 85. 3, but the same period computed from Ol. 64. 3 will expire in the autumn of Ol. 84. 3. Now it is obvious that the description κατὰ πς' ὀλ. better consists with the 85th Olympiad than with the 84th. The term 66 years ending in the year of *Bion* will agree with neither computation. The year of that archon indeed began six months later than Mr. Boeckh had reckoned, since he follows Corsini in dating the office of *Bion* from *Gamelion*. But this archon entered office at *Hecatombæon*; and Mr. Boeckh himself, it appears, has now altered his opinion upon this point: see the remark at p. 218. The year of *Bion*, then, coincided with Ol. 80. 3; and the term from the autumn of Ol. 64. 3 to the year of *Bion* inclusive would be 64 years complete or 65 current. Mr. Boeckh's remaining argument founded on Pyth. X will be considered below.

§. 17. B. C. 488. "Pindar Ol. IX." *At vide Boeckh. ad Pindar. tom. IV. [tom. II. part. 2] p. 186 hanc victoriam Ol. 81 assignantem. KR.*

I subjoin Mr. Boeckh's argument, that the reader may see on what reasons he has so assigned it: *Cod. Vrat. pro tricesima Pythiade præbet λγ'. Pythia igitur aut Pyth. 30. aut Pyth. 33. vicisse dicitur, sed in priori scholio Pythia victoria non Olympica, ut vulgo statuunt, in Ol. 73 refertur. Quæ quum inter se pugnare Hermannus videret, numerum corrigendum esse recte judicavit &c.—Verum postquam Pythiadem 33. ex Vrat. attuli, in promptu est corrigere καὶ Πύθια τριακοστῇ τρίτῃ Πυθιάδι, quæ conjectura non solum in tantis scholiorum vitiis non audax est, sed etiam certa: Olympiadis enim aliena in Pythia victoriæ mentio. Præterea multo probabilius est in altera lectione τὴν τριακοστὴν perisse vocem τρίτην atque emendandum esse aut τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν aut τὴν τριακοστὴν τρίτην, quam in altera illud γ' male additum esse. Quæ quum ita sint, non aliud statui potest nisi Pyth. 33. Ol. 80. 3. Epharmostum vicisse. Olympica igitur victoria probabili ratione Ol. 81 assignabitur. The date Ol. 73. 1 for Pindar. Ol. IX is erroneous. There is nothing, however, beyond conjecture for assigning Pyth. 33 rather than Pyth. 30, or for asserting that the Olympic victory followed the Pythian at the next Olympic games. The date, then, of that Olympic ode remains uncertain.*

§. 18. B. C. 472. "Pindar. Ol. II." *Secundum Boeckh. hoc carmen Ol. 76. 1. scriptum est. KR.*

Boeckh. p. 114. *Secundum Schol. ad Inscript. Ol. 77. Idem tamen ad 166 dubitanter ος' ἢ οζ' ἐνίκησεν, at confidentius ad 168 ἐνίκα οὖν ος'. Igitur dijudicandum argumentis est Ol. 76 an 77.—Verum autem numerum habendum Ol. 76 finis hujus introductionis docebit. P. 119. After relating the dissensions of Hiero and Theron, he concludes, Dubitari non potest hanc odam eamque quæ ea celebratur Olympicam victoriam non Ol. 77 sed Ol. 76 tribuendam esse, qua incipiente variis casibus quos carmen significat Thero vexatus est; quas vero turbas Diodorus initio Ol. 76. 1. narrat eas jam antea exeunte 75. 4. cœptas esse nihil impedit quominus statuas. Ea vero tempestate qua inter Hieronem et Theronem discordia fuisset scriptum carmen esse significant scholia, nec quatuor annis post aptum videri poterat has res carmini immisceri quæ Ol. 76. 1. aptissime a poëta commemorabantur. Accedit quod Ol. 77. 1. incipiente non solum Thero jam defunctus sed etiam filius Thrasydæus tyrannide privatus erat, quanquam hæc Diodorus in ipsum Ol. 77. 1. retulerit: ut proinde hoc et sequens carmen ante Ol. 77. 1. compositum necessario sit.*

Nothing in Diodorus XI. 48. 49 indicates that the transactions of *Thero* are to be thrown back to the spring of Ol. 75. 4 rather than carried forwards to the spring of Ol. 76. 1, the year in which Diodorus relates them. Pindar v. 29—39. alludes to these troubles, but intimates that they had ceased, and had been happily adjusted: *λάθα δὲ πότμω σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένου' ἄν.* These troubles Diodorus places in Ol. 76. 1. and we have no reason in the absence of any testimony to throw them back into the preceding year. But if they occurred in Ol. 76. 1 and were terminated before this ode was written, we cannot well ascribe the ode to that Olympiad. Diodorus XI. 53. in relating the death of *Thrasydæus* anticipates, as in the next chapter he anticipates in relating the adventures of *Themistocles*; and as in c. 49. he anticipates in relating the settlement of Himera. And it may be remarked, that he more frequently relates the sequel of an event under the year in which it commenced than the contrary. The narrative, then, of Diodorus does not determine that Olympic victory to Ol. 76 rather than to Ol. 77. The account in Schol. ad v. 166. is consistent with Ol. 77. *Ἀκράγας πεντηκοστῇ ὀλυμπιάδι ἐκτίσθη, ὃ δὲ Θήρων 55' ἢ 56' ἐνίκησε. γίνεται οὖν τὰ μεταξὺ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἕως τοῦ Θήρωνος νίκης 58' ἔτη.* The Scholiast here reckons exclusively, *τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον.* and 104 years are the interval between Ol. 50 and Ol. 77.

§. 19. B. C. 472. "Pindar. Ol. XII." *Ex Boeckhii computatione hoc carmen Ol. 76. 1. compositum est. Vide Explicc. p. 205. KR.*

Mr. Kruger has misrepresented Mr. Boeckh, who assigns Ol. XII with my Tables to Ol. 77. 1. about which there never was any doubt: p. 20. *Victor Ol. 77. p. 206. carmine Ol. 77. 1 scripto p. 209. Ol. 77. 1. quum vinceret Ergoteles.* And upon this very date Ol. 77. 1 for the Olympic victory of *Ergoteles* Mr. Boeckh founds an argument for fixing the 29th *Pythia* to Ol. 76. 3.

The other Olympic odes mentioned in my Tables agree with the dates assigned by Mr. Boeckh.

§. 20. The original plan of the Tables was to insert no fact without giving the testimony, and no conjectural date without adding the arguments upon which that date was founded. The translator has departed from this rule by inserting in many instances conjectures without supplying the reasons; as in the following out of many others. 549. 3. *Circiter hoc anno Hecataum natum esse cum Larchero statuit Creuzerus.* 492. 3. *Circa hunc annum Zenonem natum esse suspicatur Meiners.* 465. 3. *Hac fere Olympiade Lysidem Pythagoreum natum esse statuit Boeckh.* 413. 3. *Antiphontis orationem περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ aliquot annis ante Ol. 92. 2. scriptam esse posse censet Boeckhius.* 340. 3. *Hoc anno Isocratem Epistolam II. ad Philippum scripsisse censet Weisk.* 497. 4. *Hoc anno aut insequenti Sophoclem natum esse cum Lessingio et Hermanno probare instituit Reisig.* 494. 4. *Pindar. Pyth. XII. aut hoc anno Pyth. 24. aut Ol. 72. 3. Pyth. 25. Boeckhio scriptum videtur.* 479. 4. *Pindar. Isthm. VII. aliquot mensibus post Plataensem pugnam scriptum esse cum Boeckhio statuit Dissen.* 473. 4. *Pindari Nem. I. hoc anno scriptum esse suspicatur Boeckh.* 470. 3. *Hoc anno Boeckh. primum Eumenidas doctam esse suspicatur.* 461. 4. *Pindari Nem. VII. hoc anno scriptum esse conjiciunt.* 458. 4. *Pindari Isthm. I. post Isthmia Ol. 80. 3, scriptum esse suspicatur Dissen.* 456. 4. *Pindari Isthm. VI. hoc anno scriptum esse suspicatur Boeckh.* 430. 4. *Sophoclem Ol. 87. 2. 3. Œd. Col. mediatum esse censet Reisig.; quod Boeckh. refutare instituit.* 418. 4. *Eur. Andromacham hoc anno datam esse suspicatur S. Petitus.* 417. 4. *Eur. Heraclidas huic anno assignat Boeckh.* 414. 4. *Platonis Hyperbolum hoc anno actam esse suspicatur*

Meineke. It is true that in these places he gives the references, but in none of them does he give the arguments. Sometimes the translator introduces into the Tables passages which in the original work were already discussed elsewhere. The following are examples: 546. 2. After the quotation from Dionys. p. 820. he inserts, *Sed p. 774. διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι, quod Scaliger defendit.* Noticed in the Appendix p. 296. h. [310. Lips.] 499. 3. *Gorgias floruit Ol. 70. secundum Plin. H. N. XXX. 4. quem sequitur Ruhnken. de Antiph. p. 798. Reisk. KR.* This was omitted in the Tables because it was reserved for discussion in the Append. c. 21. p. 377. where I have shewn that Ruhnkenius is in error, and where the translator p. 388. Lips. observes, *Ruhnkenii sententiam etiam impugnavit Foss. in dissert. de Gorgia &c. 361. 2. εἰς Σάμον ἐπεμψαν κληρούχους Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Νικοφύμον. Schol. Æschin. p. 731. Conf. Boeckh. KR.* Now this passage is quoted by me at the year 352, where the date is shewn to be erroneous, and where the translator with apparent acquiescence quotes Mr. Boeckh in confirmation of my opinion ^h.

NOTE B.

Mr. Schneidewin in his edition of the fragments of Ibycusⁱ remarks p. 17. 18 as follows: *Suidas: εἰς Σάμον ἦλθεν ὅτε αὐτῆς ἦρχε Πολυκράτης ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πατήρ. Quæ verba adeo torserunt magnum Bentleium ut in hac historiæ parte se cæcutire profiteretur ipse—De patre illustris tyranni Polycratis Polycrate et Lilius Gyraldus olim cogitaverat, nec falsum id esse Clinto odoratus est, qui F. H. Ol. 58. 2. ex uno hoc Suidæ articulo majorem Polycratem commentus sit. Errori superstruxit errorem idem Clinto in Philolog. Museo Vol. I. p. 89—quum enim Apollodorus (Laërt. II. 2) Anaximandrum testetur ἀκμάσαι κατὰ Πολυκρ. τὸν Σάμον τυρ. seniore Polycratem intelligit quem ante alterum Polycratem floruisse dicit annos 32. At cur adeo negligentes fuerunt in notatione temporum et distinctione hominum tum alii Scriptores Græci tum intelligentissimus illius disciplinæ Apollodorus, ut integrum relinquerent quem cuique collibisset intelligere? Ut hic certe locus non recte in ætate Anaximandri terminanda a Clintone usurpatus sit. Omnino nunquam profecto Samiorum rempublicam major Polycrates administravit.—patrem autem tyranni Polycratis Æacem constat fuisse. Constat Polycratem demum ex cive in tyranni gradum evectum. Constat eum incensum fuisse tanto ardore ut poëtarum commercio frui pulchrum arbitraretur. Quibus reputatis, neminem dubitaturum confido quin verba quæ apud Suidam sunt corruptelam traxerint. Quod qui primus vidit non feliciter ei cessit emendatio. Panofka Rerum Samiarum p. 30. πατήρ in ποιητῆς mutato, commate incidens*

^h In Mr. Kruger's translation are some errors (perhaps typographical) which are not noticed in his table of *emendanda*, and which sometimes obscure the meaning. As for example, at B. C. 546, 3. he has 20, 21. for 90, 91. B. C. 376, 2. *Laconici* for *Lamiaci*. At p. 231. *Areus* for *non Areus*. At p. 368. c. No. I. he omits the word *Priscian*. Pag. 385. note col. 1. *rationes* for *orationes*. Pag. 393. l. 21. *aut* for *autem*. Pag. 397. note col. 2. *Ctesicles* for *Scaliger*. Pag. 420.

levis armaturæ for *gravis armaturæ*. At B. C. 431, 2, the translator has *Solis defectionem notat Thuc. II. 28. [die tertio Augusti KR.]* But this information which the translator thus supplies had been already given in the original, where it is expressed thus: "An eclipse is noticed Thuc. II. 28. which happened Aug. 3."

ⁱ *Fr. Guil. Schneidewin Phil. doctor Helmstadiensis Ibyci Rhegini reliquiarum: Questionum lyricarum lib. I. 8vo. Gottingæ 1833. pp. 223.*

post Πολυκράτην, poetam aulicum extulit.—*Lenissimo usi remedio sensum suum reddimus loco ita: ὁ τοῦ τυραννικοῦ πρ. id est, πρῶτος. ut suppleatur κράτους, sive mavis aliud. Quod si improbaveris, τῶν τυράννων reponas auctor sim.*

Polycrates is son of *Æacus* and rises from a private station in Herodotus III. 39. Πολυκράτεια τὸν Αἰάκειος, ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς. and Polyænus I. 23, 2. gives the same account of his rise from a private station, aided by *Lygdamis* of *Naxos*. And these testimonies refute *Suidas*, who calls the celebrated *Polycrates* son of a former *Polycrates*. Mr. Schneidewin's emendation, expressing *tyrannorum Samiorum princeps*, is ingenious, but not quite convincing. For *Polycrates*, *Pantagnostus*, and *Syloson*, at first held joint tyrannies, τριχῇ δασάμενοι τὴν πόλιν. At this period he could not be said to rule *Samos* when there were three joint and contemporary tyrants: nor would this be the time at which the poets resorted to his court. And when he had slain or expelled his brothers and ruled alone, there were no other tyrants. Nor does the time of the celebrated *Polycrates* fall within the time of *Cræsus*, to which he is referred by Mr. Schneidewin's emendation.

Schneidewin thus gives the date of *Polycrates*: p. 14. *Verum est floruisse Polycratem Ol. 54.—omnibus momentis pensiculate exactis certum est tyrannidem Polycratis fere inde ab Ol. 53. 3 usque ad 61. 1 [B. C. 566—536] ponendam esse. Et ita cum Bentley statuit Panofka Rerum Samiarum p. 30.*

Bentley examines the time of *Polycrates*, Diss. Phal. p. 44. 45. whom he inclines to place on one account at Ol. 53. 3—64. 1 B. C. 566—524. But he admits that the time of the tyrant *Lygdamis* (who helped him in Polyænus) was after the third usurpation of *Pisistratus*. Bentley then quotes many authorities that illustrate the times of *Polycrates*, and also quotes that passage of *Suidas* v. Ἰβυκος in Diss. Phal. p. 45.

Polycrates was slain in B. C. 522.^k He is first mentioned by Herodotus (III. 39) at B. C. 525, being then in the height of his power. His naval power is referred by Thucydides to B. C. 529^l: which is the very date given by Eusebius for the naval empire of the Samians^m. *Syloson* brother of *Polycrates* participated in the government at the first rise of *Polycrates*: Herodot. III. 39. and yet was still living and restored to *Samos* at the time of the siege of *Babylon*: Herodot. III. 149. 150. Placed by Larcher at B. C. 513. Perhaps not before B. C. 516. *Polycrates* acquired naval power soon after his rise: Herodot. III. 39. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα. therefore not long before B. C. 529. He was assisted in his rise by *Lygdamis*, who had assisted *Pisistratus* in his third usurpation: Herodot. I. 61. in B. C. 537.ⁿ The elevation, then, of *Polycrates*, must be placed after B. C. 537.

Bentley p. 44 places the elevation of *Polycrates* at B. C. 566, because "Aristoxenus "makes *Pythagoras* 40 years old when the tyranny of *Polycrates* was becoming violent." But this is no reason at all. For, on comparing *Jamblichus*, we find that *Pythagoras* was born in B. C. 570 by the account which *Aristoxenus* himself adopted^o. He was therefore

^k See the Tables p. 14.

^l See the Tables p. 14.

^m See the Tables B. C. 529, 2.

^o See below, Appendix c. 2.

^o See the Tables B. C. 539, 3.

40 in B. C. 530, and in B. C. 530 the tyranny of Polycrates was becoming daily more "violent p."

Upon all these accounts we must place the rise of *Polycrates* at about B. C. 532 with Eusebius q. And, although the father was *Æacus* and in a private station (and therefore Suidas is wrong in this point), yet there might be an earlier *Polycrates* who ruled Samos in Ol. 54 and in the time of *Cræsus*.

NOTE C.

Miltiades son of *Cypselus* probably occupied the Chersonese in the beginning of the tyranny of *Pisistratus*, in B. C. 559. The facts are these. Being disgusted with the government of *Pisistratus* and desirous to withdraw from Athens he occupied the Chersonese: Herodot. VI. 35. After his occupation he was captured by the Lampsacenes: Idem VI. 36. 37. and was delivered by the intervention of *Cræsus*: c. 37. At the time of this intervention then *Cræsus* still possessed influence with the cities on the coast. It occurred therefore before B. C. 554; for after that date there never was a conjuncture when it could have happened that *Pisistratus* was in power and that *Cræsus* had authority at Lampsacus together. During the second tyranny *Cræsus* had no influence at Lampsacus; in the third he had ceased to reign. But if the capture of *Miltiades* by the Lampsacenes preceded the year 554, (and some time must be allowed between the planting of the colony and that event,) we shall be carried back to about the year 559 for the settlement of *Miltiades*. The two successive reigns or governments of *Miltiades* and *Stesagoras* will occupy 44 years at the most; B. C. 559—516. since the appointment of the second *Miltiades* could not have happened later than 515.^r

The history of the death of *Cimon*, brother of the first *Miltiades*, is given by Herodotus VI. 103. Larcher (ad locum) knows not in what three Olympiads *Cimon* gained his victories. Palmerius Exercit. p. 201 gives a *Stemma* of the family, and supposes his first victory to be granted to his brother *Miltiades*. But *Cimon* was banished by *Pisistratus* after B. C. 537, and therefore obtained his first and second prizes after that year; since the first was obtained in his exile, and the second produced his return: Herodot. VI. 103. The third victory was shortly followed by his death: Ibid. The first, then, was probably Ol. 62 B. C. 532; the second, Ol. 63 B. C. 528; the third, Ol. 64 B. C. 524, after the death of *Pisistratus*—οὐκέτι περιέοντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου Herodot. VI. 103. The death of *Cimon* might follow in 524 or 523; the three periods might possibly have been Ol. 61. 536, Ol. 62. 532, Ol. 63. 528, that is, the three Olympic victories were either within B. C. 536—528, or within 532—524. and not beyond those limits. The latter period is the most probable.

Miltiades, the founder of the Chersonese, was still living at the death of his brother *Cimon*: Herodot. VI. 103. thirty-two or thirty-six years after his first occupation of the Chersonese.

p On his cruelties, see Philo tom. VIII. p. 147.
sc. de Providentia II. 5.

q See the Tables B. C. 532. 2.
r See the Tables 515, 2.

NOTE D.

Mr. Kruger ad 490. 2 p. 26 ed. Lips. observes on the day of the battle of Marathon, *Boeckhius docere instituit pugnatum esse* 18 (*MS.* 16 aut 17) *Metagitnionis die*. Mr. Boeckh's opinion is adopted by Mr. Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece* Vol. II. p. 395, who gives a short extract from his treatise, which "contains a new and ingenious argument in favour of the opinion of Fréret and Larcher, that the battle was fought in the month *Carneus* or *Metagitnion*, and that the Spartan usage of waiting for the full moon, which Herodotus represents as applying to all months, related in fact only to the *Carnea*, and perhaps some other festivals which ended with the full moon, as the *Hyacinthia*." It is argued, "that the tribe *Æantis* occupied the right wing; that this station must have belonged to it in the order of the tribes. But in their regular order *Æantis* stood ninth. The order followed therefore must have been that fixed annually by lot. But the decree for marching to Marathon was carried under the presidency of the *Æantis*, or the first *prytania*, ending 5th or 6th *Metagitnion*: Plutarch. *Sympos.* I. 10. and it is very improbable that the battle should have been postponed to the 6th *Boëdromion*, and that the Spartans should have withheld their succours for a whole month. And as Plato *Leg.* III. p. 698. e. says "that they arrived the day after the battle, supposing them to have reached the field on the 4th day after the full moon, which would fall on the 13th or 14th, we should have the 16th or 17th *Metagitnion* for the battle."

The whole argument of Boeckh rests upon Plutarch *Sympos.* I. 10. that the tribe *Æantis* occupied the right wing in this battle, and that the decree for marching was carried under the presidency of the *Æantis*. Therefore the *Æantis* was the first tribe in the year, and the decree was passed before the 6th *Metagitnion*. But it does not follow that because *Æantis* was posted on the right, it was therefore the first presiding tribe in that year. It was the tribe of the polemarch *Callimachus*; and on that account might have the post of honour in the action. This argument, though rejected by Mr. Boeckh, has in my opinion considerable force. Moreover Marathon was in the tribe *Æantis*: δῆμος ὦν ἐκείνης τῆς φυλῆς Plutarch. *Ibid.* p. 628. D. and that tribe might therefore take the post of honour upon its own ground; according to the practice in Grecian armies. Thus the Mantineans in Thucydides V. 67 have the post of honour on the right of the line, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο. Nor is it certain that the order of the tribes annually fixed by lot for civil purposes had any reference to their station in the field of battle.

We are not to reject without good reason the account of Herodotus VI. 106. that the Spartans waited for the full moon in *every* month. Confirmed by Pausanias I. 28, 4. Lucian de Astrolog. tom. V. p. 228. Larcher, who quotes these testimonies, never thought (as Mr. Thirlwall represents him to do) of limiting the custom to the *Carnea* and *Hyacinthia*. Larcher tom. IV. p. 452, quoting Fréret *Mém. Acad.* tom. XVIII. p. 135. merely argues against Plutarch's date on the erroneous assumption that the 14th day of the month was the 14th day of the moon. But if the Lacedæmonian month had been *Carneus*, this would not prove the Attic month to be *Metagitnion*. For, although *Carneus* sometimes corresponded to *Metagitnion* (Corsini F. A. tom. II. p. 452), yet in the two lunar years, the Spartan and the Attic, these two months, being annually moveable, would never coincide for two years together; and it must often happen that *Carneus* by an intercalary would be carried down

into *Boëdromion*. This argument, then, founded on a supposed mistake in Herodotus (to whom we must add Pausanias and Lucian), would prove nothing.

NOTE E.

Themistocles archon: Mr. Thirlwall Hist. of Greece Vol. II. p. 401 with Mr. Boeckh places the archonship of the celebrated *Themistocles* at B. C. 493, from Philochorus p. 48. 49. and takes for granted that *Hybrilides* was the true name of the archon in that passage of Philochorus. But *Themistocles* at the time of the battle of Marathon B. C. 490 was still a youth, or young, *νέος ὧν ἔτι* Plutarch. Themist. c. 3. and it is not likely that he should be *Themistocles* the archon three years before. And this is confirmed by the age of *Themistocles*, who was 65 at his death: Plutarch. Themist. c. 31. But from Plutarch Ibid. it appears that he lived to see a Grecian fleet under *Cimon* attacking Cyprus: Ἑλληνικαὶ τριήρεις μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀναπλεύσασαι, καὶ Κίμων θαλασσοκρατῶν. But this happened in B. C. 449; whence Dodwell Ann. Thucyd. p. 100 rightly assigns the death of *Themistocles* to that year. But if he was 65 in the year 449, he was born in B. C. 514. and was only 21 years old at the archonship of *Themistocles* in 493, and 24 at the battle of Marathon; which agrees with the account that he was then a youth. The celebrated *Themistocles*, then, was not, as Mr. Boeckh supposes, the archon in 493. That Κέβριδος in Philochorus should be Ὑβριλίδου B. C. 491 is a mere conjecture of Boeckh's; and, as four years in that period, namely, 487, 486, 482, 481, are without archons (the names of the archons being lost), the archon in Philochorus (whatever was his true name) might belong to one of those four years. The fragment then in Philochorus does not prove an earlier date for the beginning of the walls. It would only prove at the most that *Themistocles*, though one of the nine archons, was not the *eponymus* upon that occasion.

Sir L. Bulwer in his History of Athens, Vol. II. p. 250 note, has, in my opinion, taken a just view of this question, and has shewn by sufficient arguments that Mr. Boeckh is mistaken in this matter.

NOTE F.

In B. C. 426. 4. upon the correction κδ' for κε' Mr. Dindorf remarks as follows: fragm. Aristoph. p. 56. *Photius*—ἔτεσι πρὸ τοῦ Εὐκλείδου καὶ ἐπὶ Εὐκλέους. *Eadem Suidas*:—*Communis utrique corruptela καὶ pro κε'.* *Minus accurate κδ' corrigit Clintonus in Fastis p. 67.* Mr. Dindorf, who prefers κε', has not adverted to the difference between complete and current years. The archon *Euclides* B. C. 403 was twenty-four years after the archon *Eucles*, for twenty-three archons came between them. The description then must be either ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ, the twenty-fifth year current, or ἔτεσι τέσσαρσι καὶ εἴκοσι, twenty-four years complete. Mr. Dindorf's correction expresses one year too much.

NOTE G.

In B. C. 422. 2. the correction proposed, ἐκ πολλῶν instead of ἐκ πολλοῦ, has appeared to some unnecessary. But the term ἐκ πολλοῦ would express *from an early period*, and is equivalent to ἐκ παλαιοῦ. Dionys. Ant. VII. p. 1342. οὐκ ἐκ πολλοῦ προεῖδοντο—not long before.

Idem p. 1403. *καλύουσιν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα*. Polybius X. 4. *ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμα*. Idem II. 3. *ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου*. Schweighæuser in Lexico Polyb. rightly renders these by *multo ante*: *ante*: *initio*. Diodorus XVIII. 22. has *εὐδαίμονος ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων*, which also means *from an early period*. Now the expressions of the Scholiast—*ἐκ πολλοῦ φαίνεται περὶ τοσούτου ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλῆθος προΐστασθαι καὶ Δημοσθένους γὰρ φησιν, “Εἰσὶ δ’ ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι”*—(if my interpretation be just) will mean “the number assigned by Aristophanes appears to have been the amount for a long preceding period; for Demosthenes, a hundred years after him, attests the same number.” An inconsistency, which will be removed by reading *ἐκ πολλῶν*, in the sense of *from many proofs*. As in Xenophon Cyrop. VIII. 7, 6. *Ἐκ πολλῶν τοῦτο σαφῶς γινώσκω, I know this from many symptoms*.

NOTE H.

B. C. 410. 2. *Mindarus slain at Cyzicus*: The evidence for this date is to be found in Xenophon; who enumerates three winters between the defeat of *Mindarus* and the return of *Alcibiades* to Athens, which he fixes to the Πλυντήρια of the archon *Euctemon*, or the beginning of June B. C. 407. And this is the point from which we are enabled to fix the preceding transactions, and from which we ascend to the defeat of *Mindarus*. We proceed from the return of *Alcibiades* through a winter B. C. 407 to the capture of *Selymbria*: thence through another winter B. C. 406 to the expedition of *Thrasyllus*. And the intervention of another winter B. C. 405 throws back the defeat of *Mindarus* to B. C. 410. This date is also confirmed by Philochorus, who fixes a negotiation for peace (which we learn from Diodorus was after the death of *Mindarus*) to the archonship of *Theopompus*. All these several steps in the proof are recorded in the Tables B. C. 410—407. From Xenophon and Philochorus the proof to the times of *Mindarus* and *Thrasyllus* is sufficient and complete. To these testimonies may now be added a collateral proof from the Choiseul Marble, which I had omitted, and for which I am indebted to the suggestion of others.

The Choiseul Marble gives the following particulars: *τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας* [*Pryt.* 6 = Feb. 4 B. C. 409] *τὰ ἐκ Σάμου ἀνωμολογήθη Ἑλληνοταμία Ἀναίτῳ Σφηττίῳ καὶ παρέδρῳ Πολυαράτῳ Χολαργεῖ* ΙΔΙ ΙΤΙ TTX—And again: *ἐκτῇ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας* [*Pryt.* 9 = May 27] *τὰ ἐκ Σάμου ἀνωμολογήσα* *vs στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σάμῳ Δεξικράτει Ἀγυλιεῖ* ΔΔΤΧ, Πασιφῶντι Φρεαβρίῳ ΙΤΙΤ, Ἀριστοκράτει ... ΙΤΙ, Εὐ ... Εὐωνυμεί ΙΤΙ XXX ΙΒΙ ΗΗΗ ΙΔΙ ΔΔΔΔ ΓΤ, Νικηράτῳ Κυδαντίῳ τριηράρχῳ XXX, Ἀριστοφάνει Ἀνα.....ραρ... These passages do not indeed name *Thrasyllus*, nor afford any means of knowing for what particular services at Samos these sums were destined: but by the help of Xenophon we are enabled to explain them. When the command of *Thrasyllus* at Samos is fixed by his testimony (as produced in the Tables) to this very year of *Glaucippus*, the spring of B. C. 409, we can then apply these passages to the expedition of *Thrasyllus*.

NOTE I.

At B. C. 368. 3. *omisit Heynius*: Heyne was perhaps misled by the expression *φησὶν Εὐδοξος ἐν γῆς περιόδῳ* which had preceded; and which misled Usher *de Macedon. anno solari* c. 7. p. 110. who ascribes that date to *Eudoxus* himself: *Circa illam Olympiadem claruisse*

Eudoxum ex ipsius γῆς περιόδῳ confirmat Laërtius. But it is evident that ὁ δ' αὐτός φησι refers to Ἀπολλόδωρος φησιν in the former sentence.

NOTE K.

At B. C. 330. 3. l. 18. *Rightly interpreted:* Dobree ad Porsoni Aristophanica: Plut. p. 129 reports the opinion of Porson and Burney, that the Characters of Theophrastus were spurious; *antiquos tamen.* And he subjoins an interpretation of τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην similar to that which has been here followed; supplying an example of this use of μάχην from Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 108, 4.

APPENDIX.

I.

PYTHIAN GAMES.

IN the war of the Amphictyons against Cirrha, according to the narrative of the Scholiasts upon Pindar which is exhibited in a former volume^a, Cirrha was taken in the archonship of *Simon*, and the war was ended in the sixth year after that event in the archonship of *Damasias*. Callisthenes is quoted by Athenæus^b to the following effect: καὶ ὁ Κρισαῖκος δὲ πόλεμος ὀνομαζόμενος, ὥς φησι Καλλισθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου, ὅτε Κιρραῖοι πρὸς Φωκεῖς ἐπολέμησαν, δεκαετὴς ἦν, ἀρπασάντων Κιρραίων τὴν Πελάγοντος τοῦ Φωκέως θυγατέρα Μεγιστῶ καὶ τὰς Ἀργείων θυγατέρας ἐπανιούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πυθικοῦ ἱεροῦ. δεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει ἐάλω καὶ ἡ Κίρρα. This account is somewhat inconsistent with that of the Scholiast. For if Cirrha was taken in the tenth year, and the war was prolonged to the sixth year afterwards, the whole duration would have been extended to the fifteenth year. It is therefore not improbable that the city was taken in the fifth year, and that the ten years of Callisthenes include the whole duration of the war^c. *Eurylochus*, who commanded the Amphictyonic forces, was assisted by *Clisthenes* tyrant of Sicyon^d, who led the quota of troops from Sicyon, and by *Solon*^e, and forces from Athens commanded by *Alcæon*^{ee}.

The Cirrhæan or Crissæan war^f is mentioned by the Parian Marble, which determines

^a F. H. I. p. 224. B. C. 595. 2.

^b Athen. XIII. p. 560. c.

^c See F. H. I. p. 226.

^d Pausan. II. 9, 6. X. 37, 4. Polyæn. III. 5, 1.

^e Æschin. Ctes. p. 69. Plutarch. Solon. c. 11.

^{ee} Plutarch. Ibid.

^f According to Strabo IX. p. 418. 419. (whom Mr. Mitford follows, vol. VIII. p. 8. 9.) there were two wars: *Cirrha* was first destroyed by *Crissa*, and the Amphictyonic general, *Eurylochus*, retaliated upon *Crissa* the destruction of *Cirrha*: ἡ Κίρρα καὶ ἡ Κρίσσα κατεσπάρσθησαν· ἡ μὲν πρότερον ὑπὸ Κρισσαίων· αὕτη δ' ἡ Κρίσσα ὕστερον ὑπ' Εὐρυλόχου τοῦ Θετταλοῦ κατὰ τὸν Κρισσαίων πόλεμον. Id. p. 421. μετὰ τὸν Κρισσαίων πόλεμον οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἱππικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπ' Εὐρυλόχου διέταξαν στεφανίτην, καὶ Πύθια ἐκάλεσαν. But there is no mention of this war between Cirrha and Crissa in any other ancient writer; and the terms *Cirrha* and *Crissa* are often used indiscriminately to express the same place: Steph. Byz. v. Κρίσα.

—τινὲς τὴν αὐτὴν [sic leg.] τῇ Κίρρα φασίν. Etymol. v. Κρίσα.—ἡ αὕτη Κρίσα καὶ Κίρρα. Eustath. ad II. β'. p. 273. Κόλπος Κρισσαῖος. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ Κιρραῖος. διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν Κρίσσαν διπλάζουσιν κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους τὸ σ Κίρραν λέγεσθαι.—ὁ δὲ γεωγράφος [sc. Strab. IX. p. 418] λέγει ὅτι Κρίσσα τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἰδρυμένη τῆς θαλάσσης, κ. τ. λ.—ὥστε κατ' αὐτὸν ἑτέρα ἡ Κρίσσα καὶ ἑτέρα ἡ Κίρρα. implying that the opinion of Strabo differed from that of others. Pausan. X. 37, 4. λέγεται δὲ ἐς τὴν Κίρραν [λόγος] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κίρρας τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τεθῆναι τῷ χωρίῳ φασίν. Ὁμηρος μέντοι Κρίσσαν ἐν τε Ἰλιάδι ὁμοίως καὶ ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνόματι τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν. Callisthenes apud Athen. I. c. uses both the terms: and describes by the name of the *Crissæan* war that in which *Cirrha* was destroyed by the Amphictyons. Two Scholiasts upon Pindar, already quoted, call the enemy *Cirrhaeans*; but a third has the name of *Crissa*: πολλὰ τῶν Κρισσαίων ἐργαζομένων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀποσυλόντων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον

the capture of Cirrha and the archonship of *Simon* to B. C. 591^h: οντες Κύρραν, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὁ γυμνικὸς ἐτέθη χρηματίτης ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων, ἔτη HH[H]ΔΔΠΙΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Σίμω [v]os. The periods of the Marble terminate in B. C. 264, being reckoned exclusive of the year of *Diognetus* and of Ol. 129. 1 B. C. 26 $\frac{2}{3}$, and express all the time that had elapsed before July B. C. 264^l. Consequently this period of the Marble will express $327 + 264 =$ B. C. 591 = Olymp. 47. 2.

The institution of the Pythian games is marked in the next epoch of the Parian Marble. The numbers of this epoch^j are exhibited by Mr. Boeckh^k in this manner: ἀφ' οὗ . . . ἀνίτης ἀγὼν πάλιν ἐτέθη ἔτη HHHΔΠΙΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίου τοῦ δευτέρου. It had been so represented by Corsini^l after Prideaux's copy of the Marble. Mr. Boeckh in his critical notes upon the text^m marks no variety in these numbers, and hints no suspicion that they are not entire. And yet Chandler's edition, which Mr. Boeckh himself considered of superior authorityⁿ, gives a very different representation of the numbers of this epoch: . . . ἀνίτης ἀγὼν πάλιν ἐτέθη, ἔτη HHHΔ.Π with a *lacuna* at the fifth number, which Chandler himself supplies by reading HHHΔ[Δ]Π^o.

There was no authority, then, but conjecture, for making these numbers 318 years; and the conjecture of Chandler, which makes them 322 years, is far more probable; because the Marble by these numbers precisely agrees with the Scholiasts on Pindar in the space between *Simon* and *Damasias*—between the capture of Cirrha and the first στεφανίτης ἀγὼν, which was ἔκτω ἔτει—in the sixth year current, according to the Scholiasts, and five years complete according to the Marble. This term of 322 years will place the first Pythian games at $322 + 264 =$ B. C. 586 = Ol. 48. 3, and at that Olympic year the first games are placed by Pausanias^p: τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀδόης, ἣν Γλαυκίας Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησε^q,

βαδίζοντας, οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν Κρίσσαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, κ. τ. λ. Frontinus has *Crisæi*; Æschines, Plutarch, the Parian Marble, and Polyænus, have *Cirrheans*. The following facts are stated, in the account which is given of the war by the son of Hippocrates: Thessali πρεσβευτικ. p. 937—942. tom. II. ed. Linden.—that the *Crissæans* had formerly acquired great power: (ἦν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ὅτ' ἦν Κρίσαιον ἔθνος) that, by their exactions, they excited an Amphictyonic war against them; that in the course of this war they stood a siege, and that after an obstinate resistance their town was taken: that Eurylochus commanded the Amphictyonic forces: that the Amphictyons, after they had captured the town, ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν πρότερον οὐ τιθέντες νῦν τιθέασιν: τὴν τε τῶν Κρισαίων χώραν ἅπασαν καθιερώσαντο. The name of *Cirrha* does not occur in this narrative. Pausanias X. 37, 4. has *Cirrha*; where, speaking of the war, and of Clisthenes, he adds—πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Κυρραίους ἔδοξεν Ἀμφικτύοσι, καὶ Κλεισθένην τε Σικωνίων τυραννοῦντα προσέστησαντο ἡγεμόνα εἶναι, καὶ Σόλωνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπηγάγοντο συμβουλευεῖν. This is not to be understood of a former war, distinct from that which Eurylochus conducted (as some have understood it;

cf. Tzschuck. ad Strab. tom. III. p. 499); there was only *one* Amphictyonic war, and only *one* in which Solon assisted. And the stratagem which Pausanias ascribes to *Solon*, on the occasion on which he assisted Clisthenes, Polyænus VI. 13. ascribes to *Eurylochus*; Frontinus Strateg. III. 7, 6. to *Clisthenes*; and Thessalus πρεσβ. p. 941 to *Nebrus* in the war which *Eurylochus* conducted. The same war therefore is spoken of; and Pausanias has inaccurately described Clisthenes as *general*, when (as it may be collected from Pausan. II. 9, 6) he only cooperated with, or served under, Eurylochus.

^h Epoch 38. ⁱ See F. H. III. p. 11.

^j Ep. 39 = 38 Boeckh.

^k Corp. Inscr. Gr. No. 2374.

^l F. A. tom. III. p. 83.

^m Inscr. Gr. tom. II. Var. Lect. p. 298. not. crit. p. 317.

ⁿ Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 294. Nos *textum ex fontibus constitutum damus iis qui soli in censum veniunt, Seldeno, Bentleio, CHANDLERO.*

^o So in Roberts, Hales, Wagner, who all give the text of Chandler.

^p X. 7, 3.

^q See F. H. I. p. 228.

ταύτης ἔτει τρίτῃ ἄθλα ἔθεσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες κιθαρωδίας μὲν, καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλωδίας ἀγώνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν[†].—ἔθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄθλα τότε ἀθληταῖς πρῶτον, τὰ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, πλὴν τεθρίππων, καὶ αὐτοὶ νομοθετήσαντες, δολίχου καὶ διαύλου παισὶν εἶναι δρόμον. δευτέρῃ δὲ πυθιάδι [Ol. 49. 3] οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄθλοις ἐκάλεσαν ἔτι ἀγωνίζεσθαι στεφανίτην δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τούτου κατεστήσαντο κ. τ. λ.[§]. Pausanias proceeds to deduce other Pythiads from that epoch in Ol. 48. ὁγδόῃ δὲ πυθιάδι [Ol. 56. 3 B. C. 554] προσενομοθέτησαν κιθαριστὰς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κρουμάτων τῶν ἀφώνων· καὶ Τεγεάτης ἔστεφανοῦτο Ἀγέλαος. τρίτῃ δὲ πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι [Ol. 70. 3 B. C. 498] προστιθέασιν ὀπλίτην δρόμον· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τιμαίνετος ἐκ Φλιοῦντος ἀνείλετο τὴν δάφνην ὀλυμπιάσιν ὕστερον πέντε ἢ Δημάρετος Ἡραιεὺς ἐνίκησεν [sc. Ol. 65^{ss}]. ὁγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πυθιάδι [Ol. 95. 3 B. C. 398] καὶ συνωρίδα εἶναι κατεστήσαντο δρόμον· καὶ Ἐξηκεστίδου Φωκέως ἐνίκησεν ἢ συνωρίς.

The Scholiast upon Pindar computed the Pythiads from the *second* celebration of the games, in the 49th Olympiad; as is manifest from the following specimens[†]: κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομηκοστὴν ἔκτῃ ὀλυμπιάδᾳ, τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὁγδοῆς πυθιάδος συγχρόνου οὔσης. But if the 28th Pythiad fell within Ol. 76, the first was at Olymp. 49. Again^v: ἐβδομηκοστὴν ἐβδόμῃ ὀλυμπιάδᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς πυθιάδᾳ εἰκοστὴν ἐνάτῃ. The 29th Pythiad in Ol. 77 will suppose the first at Ol. 49. Eusebius adopted the same computation and placed the institution of the *Pythia*—*Pythia primum acta*—in the 49th Olympiad^x. These authorities have been followed by Dodwell and Corsini.

Mr. Boeckh argues^y that the epoch of Pausanias Ol. 48 is the true era^z, because it solves a difficulty in the Pythian victory of *Ergoteles* Ol. XII. and because this era agrees better with the Pythian odes of Pindar: *Omnes Pythiades in scholiis allatæ integro quadriennio prius ponendæ sunt quam a Corsino secundum Scholiastam ipsum factum est; quod quam eximie Pythiis carminibus conveniat in illarum odarum præmiis docemus*. This last argument is of no weight, as will be seen by a survey of the Pythian odes. PYTH. I^a. *Hieronî vincenti Pythia 29. hoc est Ol. 76. 3*. The ode alludes to a naval victory of *Hiero ipso carminis anno*. *Carmen enim post Pythia mense Attico decimo scriptum est, pugna prioribus acciderat mensibus*.

[†] For the victors, see F. H. I. p. 229.

[§] See F. H. I. p. 230.

^{ss} See the Tables 520. 2.

[†] Schol. Pindar. Pyth. III. 1.

^v Schol. Pindar. Ol. XII. I.

^x See F. H. I. p. 228. Syncellus p. 239. A. probably preserves the original expression: Ἰσθμία καὶ Πύθια πρῶτον ἤχθη μετὰ Μελικέρτῃ.

^y In his edition of Pindar, tom. II. P. 2. p. 206.

^z Boeckh l. c. *Post Scaligerum Dodwellum et Corsinum plerique omnes sibi persuaserunt primam quæ numerata est Pythiadem in Ol. 49. 3 incidisse: quæ sententia ut idoneis argumentis subnixæ est ita nunc monstrabo aliam usitatam fuisse Pythiadum computandarum rationem, quam inter æquales unum Gulielmum Humboldt probasse intellexi, ipso mōnente et commonstrante. Hic computus cum altero commistit illam quæ nos in Ergotele tenet difficultatem genuit; quæ expedita, quibus Olympiadibus Pythiades in Pindaricis scholiis nominatæ assignandæ sint simul patebit.—Demonstrabo in Py-*

thionicarum catalogis, qui soli genuini hujusmodi rerum fontes sunt, Pythiadas ab Ol. 48. 3 numeratas esse. Nam Pausanias post memoratam Pythiadem Ol. 48. 3 celebratam, cujus ludos recte pecuniarios putat, eam quæ proxime secuta est secundam diserte appellat X. 7. 3. τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς &c.—Hæc omnia ex Pythionicarum catalogis desumpta manifeste sunt: intelligis autem initium ludi coronarii Ol. 49. 3 poni prorsus ut in Marmore Pario, disertisque eam verbis secundam vocari Pythiadem. Pergit deinde Pausanias alias Pythiades enumerare quas ab eadem epocha computatas neque aliunde quam ex Pythionicarum catalogis ductas esse vel me non monente liquet: si tamen dubites, demonstrare id in his licet: τρίτῃ δὲ Πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι—ὀλυμπιάσιν ὕστερον πέντε ἢ Δημάρετος Ἡραιεὺς ἐνίκησεν. Quod si ab Ol. 48. 3 calculus deducitur, Pyth. 23 incidit in Ol. 70. Igitur Demaratus debet Ol. 65 vicisse. Et ecce vicit Ol. 65 eodem Pausania auctore V. 8, 3. VI. 10, 2.

^a Boeckh. p. 224.

Boeckh. *ibid.* But, as the *Pythia* occurred in the beginning of that Olympic year, and not in the tenth month, it is less probable that *Pindar* should in that year celebrate a naval victory which might have happened after the Pythian games, and more probable that he should mention it in an ode written four years after, in Ol. 77. 3.—PYTH. II. is of uncertain date.—PYTH. III^b. *Hiero vicit Pyth. 26. 27. Sed carmen hoc longo tempore post scriptum, quod ipse Pindarus significat v. 74. estque Hiero jam Syracusarum rex, quam dignitatem Ol. 75. 3 occupavit, atque adeo Ætnæus, quo nomine non ante Ol. 76. 1 vocari potuit. Carmen transmissum intelliges imminentibus Pythiis Ol. 76. 3.* It is evident that this does not decide the era of the *Pythia*; for these propositions would equally stand if Pyth. 26 and 27 had fallen Ol. 74. 3 and 75. 3.—PYTH. IV^c. discovers no indication of the time.—PYTH. V^d. Before Ol. 80, but nothing more.—PYTH. VI^e. Nothing marks the era.—PYTH. VII^f. *Victoria quando contigerit dubitari et triplex ratio proponi potest. Aut enim Pyth. 25. aut Pyth. 26. aut 28. reportata dicitur. Tertius numerus colligitur e lectione vet. Schol. τὴν ὀγδοήκοστην ὀγδοὴν Πυθιάδα. pro qua post Meursium εἰκοστήν ὀγδοὴν restituit Corsinus. Sed hæc nonnisi conjectura est; nec pro Pyth. 26. quidquam afferri poterit nisi varia lectio πς' in Cod. Gott. Ego acquiesco Cod. Gott. scripturæ τὴν κέ Πυθιάδα quam ille in priore scholiorum loco tenet: unde eam etiam altero loco reposui. Itaque carmen Pyth. 25 Ol. 72. 3 hoc est in annum pugne Marathonice refero.* The question of the era of the *Pythia* is not decided by this ode; for, if Pyth. 25 was the true date (which still remains perhaps somewhat doubtful), yet there is no internal evidence to fix Pyth. 25 at Ol. 72. 3 rather than at Ol. 73. 3.—PYTH. VIII.^g *Aristomenes Pythiis lucta vicit, secundum scholia Pyth. 35. quem numerum etiam in inscriptione carminis aliquot libri præbent. In Gott. Gerhardus refert legi λή', in edita tamen ejus cod. collatione λε' habetur. Mr. Boeckh thinks however that it was written while Ægina was yet free: therefore before Ol. 80. 3. Igitur apud Schol. non λβ' ut in notis ad Schol. dixi sed λγ' scribendum est, mutato ΛΕ' in ΛΓ'.* He makes this upon conjecture the 33d *Pythia* because he places it in Ol. 80. 3. But ΛΕ' might also have been a corruption of ΛΒ'. As the date of the Pythian victory is here assigned upon conjecture, this ode will not assist in determining from what epoch the *Pythia* were computed.—PYTH. IX. Celebrating Pyth. 28. But nothing urged by Mr. Boeckh^h to mark when Pyth. 28 fell.—PYTH. X. In Pyth. 22. But it is not determined by any circumstances at p. 330 whether this fell in Ol. 69 or in Ol. 70.—PYTH. XI. In Pyth. 28. But nothing here indicates when Pyth. 28 occurred.—PYTH. XII.^{hh} *Midas victor Pyth. 24 et 25. Dicat aliquis priorem nunc victoriam celebrari quod de duabus nihil in hoc carmine dicatur: Sed tale argumentum probabile in oda ubi id singulares quædam rationes efficacius reddant hoc loco parum firmum est. Hæc oda libera republica ante Theronis principatum composita est, qui incipit ab Ol. 73. 1.* This ode does not determine the question. It celebrates the first victory Pyth. 24 (Mr. Boeckh admits that only one is mentioned), and Pyth. 24 might have occurred in Ol. 72. 3 autumn B. C. 490, two years before the reign of *Theron*. In the whole series, then, of Pythian odes there is none which establishes that the *Pythia* were reckoned from Ol. 48, and Pyth. I. rather establishes that they were computed from Ol. 49. Mr. Boeckh's proposition therefore rests upon the other two arguments. The Pythian victory of *Ergoteles* is explained by

^b Boeckh p. 254.
g P. 308.

^c Boeckh p. 266. 267.
h P. 321. ^{hh} P. 343.

^d P. 282.

^e P. 296.

^f P. 305.

his arrangement. Pindar in Olymp. XII. 20. alludes to two Pythian victories of *Ergoteles*. But he obtained only twoⁱ: and the second was at the 29th *Pythia*ⁱⁱ. The 29th *Pythia* then preceded the 77th Olympic games, which Pindar celebrates in that ode: consequently they fell within Ol. 76, which fixes the first *Pythia* to Ol. 48. It might be urged indeed that Ol. XII. was written three years after the Olympic victory; an interval, of which we have seen an example in the third Pythian ode. But Mr. Boeckh's arrangement is by much the most natural and easy solution of the difficulty. The argument founded upon Pausanias is further confirmed by another argument to which Mr. Boeckh has not adverted. According to Mr. Boeckh^k the Parian Marble reckons the *Pythia* at Ol. 49: but (as already observed) the date of the second epoch in Chandler's edition fixes the στεφανίτης ἀγών and the archonship of *Damasias* at the 48th Olympiad, five years after the archonship of *Simon*; agreeing with the Scholiasts in these particulars. The Marble then agrees with Pausanias in a point in which Mr. Boeckh assumes that they differed, and differs in a point in which he

ⁱ Pausan. VI. 4. 7.

ⁱⁱ Schol. Pindar. Ol. XII. initio.

^k Mr. Boeckh ad Pindar. tom. II. 2. p. 206. argues thus: *Veteribus Chronologis tradentibus Pythiorum χρηματίτης ἀγών institutus est archonte Simone sive Simonide Ol. 47. 3. Marmor Par. Ep. 38. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀμφικτύονες ἐνίκησαν ἐλόντες Κύρραν, καὶ ὁ ἀγών ὁ γυμνικός [debebat esse μουσικός] ἐτέθη χρηματίτης ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων ἔτη ΗΗΗΔΔΠΠ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Σίμωνος. ubi ab Ol. 47. 3 incipiente usque ad Ol. 129. 1 recte computantur anni 327. Sed ab illo initio veterum nemo Pythiadum deduxit numeros. Post sex fere annos, ut Scholiastes putat, Damasia archonte institutus ἀγών στεφανίτης, auctoribus iisdem. Is Damasia, si Scholiastes recte annorum numerum edidisset, deberet archon Ol. 49. 1 fuisse: eundem tamen Corsinus in Ol. 48. 3 retulit. Scholiastæ quidem quamvis incorrupto fidem adhibere in sex quos computat annorum spatio putidum fuerit, si ab illo numero recedere argumentis cogamur: neque tamen Corsinus id effecit ut Damasiam archontem Ol. 48. 3 statuere debeamus, quippe rationibus prorsus inanibus usus.—Sola superest Marmoris Parii gravissima auctoritas, quod et Damasiam ad Ol. 49. 3 revocat et coronarium Pythiorum ludum eo anno institutum dicit Ep. 39. ἀφ' οὗ στεφανίτης ἀγών πάλιν ἐτέθη ἔτη ΗΗΗ ΔΠΠΠ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίῳ τοῦ δευτέρου, hoc est, Ol. 49. 3. a quo usque ad Ol. 129. 1 anni sunt 318. Et ex tali Chronico etiam Eusebius Pythiadum initium in Ol. 49. 3 definit, eademque epocha Pindari Scholiastes in Pythiadum atque Olympiadum comparatione utitur.—Eusebii igitur et Scholiastæ his auctoritatibus Scaliger, Dodwellus, Corsinus, Pythiadum initium ab Ol. 49. 3 deducunt. Scaliger is not rightly classed with the other two; for although in *Emend. Temporum* he had followed the scholiasts*

and placed the *Pythia* in Ol. 49, yet in his notes upon Eusebius num. 1435 p. 92. he coincides with Mr. Boeckh: *Prima Pythia instituta fuerunt anno tertio Olymp. 48. non autem 49, ut hic*. Mr. Boeckh has himself adverted to this in a later work, *Inscr. Gr. tom. II. p. 336*. We have shewn that the numbers given by Mr. Boeckh in the second epoch here quoted are founded upon conjecture. But when he would place the archon *Simon* at Ol. 47, 3, he is inconsistent both with the computation of the Marble, and with his own reckoning. The practice of the Marble is to reckon the periods exclusive of Ol. 129. 1, and to make them terminate at July B. C. 264. This has been shewn in F. H. III. p. 11. from some genuine periods where the numbers are entire, and where the stations of the archons are ascertained and known. Mr. Boeckh himself adopts this method of computing in the second epoch, and reckons his 318 years from Ol. 48. 3 to Ol. 128. 4 both inclusive. The same method is therefore to be adopted in the first epoch; and the 327 years also terminate at the same point, at Ol. 128. 4 inclusive, or July B. C. 264. But if the last term in the series is Ol. 128. 4, the first is Ol. 47. 2, and the 327 years commence in B. C. 591. If the 318 years begin at B. C. 582 Ol. 49. 3, the 327 began at B. C. 591 Ol. 47. 2; the difference between 318 and 327 being 9 years and not 8 years. Those who attempt to extract a cycle of eight years from these two epochs of the Marble will find nothing in the numbers of the Marble to justify their opinion. There appears no reference in these passages to an octennial cycle, but simply to the interval between the end of the war and the institution of the Games.

supposes them to agree. They agree in reckoning the *Pythia* from Ol. 48 : they differ in the date of the first στεφανίτης ἀγών, which was added according to the Marble at the first *Pythia*, but according to Pausanias at the second.

These combined considerations may be admitted to outweigh the authority of the Scholiasts and of Eusebius, and to fix the era where Mr. Boeckh has placed it. To adapt Pindar Pyth. I. to this arrangement we must suppose that ode to have been written some time after the games : of which we have an example in Pyth. III. and which might have occurred in other cases. Mr. Boeckh raises the date of *Pindar's* birth four years, because in his opinion Pyth. X. would not have been composed by a youth of sixteen. I do not think this alteration necessary. The three testimonies already examined are in favour of the 18th Pythiad B. C. 518 for the birth of *Pindar*. We are not informed how long after the victory that ode was composed ; and it is not incredible or without example that a youth of genius in his 17th or 18th year should have produced it¹.

- 196 From the 48th Olympiad the Pythian games were held every four years, like the Olympic. But different opinions have been advanced as to the exact period at which they occurred. Scaliger and Meursius held that they were celebrated every *third* Olympic year. Petavius, Dodwell, and Petitus¹¹ maintained that they returned every *second* Olympic year. And Dodwell, after Petitus, places them in the end of the year ; but in the month Munychion, the tenth month of the year. Corsini supposed with Scaliger that they returned in the third Olympic year, but argued with Dodwell that they were held in the tenth month, the month Munychion : or, as he expresses it^m, *Pythicos ludos non secundis, sed tertiis solum Olympiadum annis constantissime peractos esse : idque non tertiis ipsis ineuntibus, ut Scaligero videbatur, sed exeuntibus contigisse*. Wesselingⁿ agrees with Dodwell : Barthélemy^o and Larcher^p follow Corsini^q.

- 197 An unanswerable weight of evidence exists in favour of the *third* Olympic year, rather than the *second*. 1. Pausanias already quoted^r : τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ὀγδῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτει τρίτῳ. [Ol. 48. 3.] 2. Hieronymus^s : *Ol. 49. 3. Pythia primum acta*. 3. Diodorus^t : Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Δυσκίηντος. [Ol. 102. 3.] Ἰάσων δὲ ὁ Φεραῖος ἐδολοφονήθη.—ἐπιόντων πυθίων Xen. Hel. VI. 4, 29. 4. Demosthenes^v : Χαβρίαν—ὅτε ἐνέκα ἐπὶ Σωκράτιδου ἀρχοντος τὰ Πύθια τῷ τεθρίππῳ. [Ol. 101. 3.] 5. Dionysius^x : ὁ περὶ στεφάνου εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελήλυθεν ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος. [Ol. 112. 3.]—γῆμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίνεσθαι. 6. The *Pythia*

¹ The tale in Pausanias IX. 23, 2. Πίνδαρον δὲ ἡλικίαν ὄντα νεανίσκον—κόπος καὶ ὕπνος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατελάμβανεν, κ. τ. λ. implies that *Pindar* cultivated poetry in early youth.

¹¹ Petitus Leg. Att. p. 134. places them in the second year of each Olympiad, and in the month Elaphebolion.

^m Agon. Pyth. s. VI. p. 39.

ⁿ Ad Petiti Leg. Att. p. 135.

^o Anacharsis tom. II. p. 376. note.

^p Chron. Hérodote tom. VII. p. 556.

^q Corsini p. 38. 39. enumerates the different opinions : *Petavius Doctrin. Temp. I. c. 33. Dodwellus Diss. V. s. 2. Annal. Thucyd. ad Ol. 89. 2. Petitus ad leges Att. alique plurimi, Pythicos ludos*

exeunte potius secundo anno Olympiadum peragi consuevisse contendunt.—*Scaliger, qui Pausania Diodoriqué vestigiis institerat, ineuntibus solum tertiis Olympiadum annis Pythia consignavit*. In this last particular he seems to have misrepresented the opinion of Scaliger, who thus expresses himself Emend. temp. lib. I. p. 51. *Cæpit primus agon Pythiorum στεφανίτης anno Iphiti Olympiadico 195 [Ol. 49. 3], sexta mensis qui apud illos Βόσιος, apud Athenienses Θαρηγλιών dicitur :—tempore veris præcipitati*.

^r X. 7, 3. ^s Apud Euseb. Chron. No. 1435.

^t XV. 57. 60. ^v Near. p. 1356.

^x Ad Amm. p. 746. ^y Æschin. Ctes. p. 89, 42.

which followed the occupation of Phocis by Philip were in Olymp. 108. 3.^z 7. The Games, which followed the battle of Coronea, were in Olymp. 96. 3.^a

These testimonies are successfully urged by Corsini ^b against Dodwell, who does not notice some of them at all, and gets rid of the others, by supposing either that they lived in an age too late to know what the practice was, as Eusebius; or that they made the Pythian year conumerary with the *third* Olympic year rather than the *second*, because it was in fact conumerary with *both*; extending from the tenth month of the second to the tenth month of the third ^c.

This is fallacious, because there is no proof that the Pythian games *were* celebrated in the tenth month of the year; and the arguments of Dodwell and Corsini to this purpose are insufficient.

Dodwell produces two arguments, founded upon Thucyd. IV. 117. V. 1. and upon Dionys. Perieget. 528.

1. Thucydides ^d: ἅμα ἡρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς ἐκεχειρίαν ἐποίησαντο,—αἱ δὲ σπονδαὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἔσονται—τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ ἐλαφηβολίωνος μηνός. [March B. C. 423 Ol. 89. 1.] The termination of this armistice is thus expressed ^e: τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους, αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι σπονδαὶ διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων. which Dodwell ^f interprets thus: *The truce expired, which had been made for one year, ending at the Pythia.* And he infers that the year of the truce having ended in Elaphebolion Ol. 89. 2 the *Pythia* were celebrated in Elaphebolion or Munychion Ol. 89. 2. They occurred, therefore, in the tenth month of every second Olympic year. But Corsini ^g has well answered this argument by another and a juster interpretation. “The truce, made in Elaphebolion Ol. 89. 1 [March B. C. 423] expired in “Elaphebolion Ol. 89. 2 [March B. C. 422]. Then followed an interruption of the truce, a “renewal of hostilities, which lasted till the Pythia:”—διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων. The Pythia, then, are not asserted to have immediately followed the truce, but to have been the boundary of that hostile interval which ensued after the truce. Thucydides, therefore, does not prove the Pythia to have been celebrated in the tenth month of Olymp. 89. 2.

2. Dodwell quotes the testimony of Dionysius Periegeta to the following effect: *Dionysius Pythia ἀρχομένου νέον εἶαρος ἀγὶ solita testatur*^h.—*Dionysius hirundinis adventui ludos illos tribuit* ⁱ.—ἀρχομένου γλυκεροῦ νέον εἶαρος. *sic enim loquitur Dionysius* ^k. These references are 198 an example how little Dodwell is to be trusted, when he is labouring a new hypothesis. The verses of Dionysius are as follow ^l:

αἱ δ' [the Cyclades] Ἀσίης πρώτην αἶσαν λάχον, ἀμφὶς ἰοῦσαι
Δῆλον ἐκυκλώσαντο, καὶ οὖνομα Κυκλάδες εἰσὶ
ῥύσια δ' Ἀπόλλωνι χοροὺς ἀνάγουσιν ἅπασαι
ἀρχομένου γλυκεροῦ νέον εἶαρος, εὖτ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν
ἀνθρώπων ἀπάνευθε κύνει λιγύφωτος ἀηδών.

Not one word of Delphi, or the Pythian games: Corsini, although his object is to place the games in the spring, and his inquiry leads him to examine the reasonings of Dodwell much at length, prudently omits all notice of the poet Dionysius.

^z See the Tables B. C. 346, 2.

^a See the Tables B. C. 394, 2.

^b Pyth. p. 39. 40.

^d IV. 117. 118.

^c Dissert. V. s. 2.

^e Thucyd. V. 1.

^f Dissert. V. s. 1. Annal. Thucyd. p. 152, 157.

^g Pyth. p. 44.

^h Dissert. V. 1.

ⁱ Dissert. V. 2.

^k Annal. Thucyd. p. 153.

^l 525—529.

Dodwell, then, has not proved these games to have been celebrated in the spring. Corsini, on the authority of those testimonies which have been already produced, establishes that the games were in the third Olympic year, and not in the second. But he holds with Dodwell that the season was the *spring*: the tenth month of the Attic year^m. He advances two arguments.

1. The cause of the Crown was pleaded Olymp. 112. 3 a few days before the *Pythia*. But we learn from Harpocratio that ἐν τῷ Ποσειδεῶνι μηνί ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνες. Therefore the cause of the Crown was pleaded in that month, the sixth of the Attic year. *Ergo perspicue apparet Pythia circa Gamelionem vel Anthesterionem peragi consuevisse*ⁿ. This argument of Corsini proves rather too much for his purpose. If the cause was tried in *Posideon*, how could it be true that the Pythian games, which followed in a few days, were celebrated one or two months after *Posideon*? But he must have quoted from memory; as the terms of the lexicographer do not assert so much as he has ascribed to them. Harpocratio^o: Μέτρον τι ὕδατος. ἐμετρεῖτο δὲ τῷ Ποσειδεῶνι μηνί. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο [τὸ ὕδωρ] ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ μέγιστοι ἀγῶνες. Suidas:—ἐμετρεῖτο δὲ Ποσειδεῶνι μηνί. ὥς δὲ τούτῳ ἡγωνίζοντο.—where Kuster corrects from Harpocratio πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο. It is asserted that the water by which the pleadings were conducted was measured out in *Posideon*. It is not asserted that all great causes were tried in that month. And we have evidence to the contrary, upon better authority than that of Harpocratio: Demosthenes^p: ἦν μὲν ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ μὴν ἐν ᾧ τὰς γραφὰς ἤττηντο ἐκέλευι. The cause in question was a γραφή παρανόμων directed against *Euctemon* by *Androtio*, *Glaucetes*, and *Melanopus*. Here, then, is an example of a public cause, similar to that of the Crown, heard in the month *Scirophorion*. *Timotheus* was prosecuted by *Callistratus* and *Iphicrates* in the month *Mæmacterion*^q. An example of another public cause, equal in importance to that of the Crown, which was not tried in *Posideon*. We shall see presently a reason why the cause of the Crown could not be in that month.

2. Corsini, having justly interpreted the phrase διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων in Thucyd. V. 1., against Dodwell, to mean that hostilities intervened between the truce and the games, proceeds to argue that this interval of renewed war extended from the end of the truce, *Elaphebolion* Ol. 89. 2, till the truce for fifty years was concluded. That treaty was made ἐλαφηβολιώνος μηνὸς ἕκτη φθίνοντος ἄρχων Ἀλκαῖος. Thucyd. V. 19. [March B. C. 421.] The renewed war, then, lasted till the *Pythia*; and the *Pythia* coincided with the fifty-years 199 truce, in March B. C. 421. And this passage *perspicue demonstrat Pythicos ludos circa Elaphebolionis finem peractos esse*^r. We may remark, that the games have now shifted their place. By the first argument, they were *circa Gamelionem vel Anthesterionem*: now, they are *circa Elaphebolionis finem*. And they must doubtless have fallen at the end of *Elaphebolion*, if this second argument is valid. His two arguments consequently destroy each other; since, if the games were at the end of *Elaphebolion*, the cause of the Crown, which preceded the games only a few days, must have been in *Elaphebolion* too, and the support which he seeks from Harpocratio wholly fails him.

But all this reasoning upon the passage of Thucydides is merely conjecture. The more

^m See *Pyth.* s. VII—XII. p. 40—45.

ⁿ *Pyth.* s. VIII. p. 41. ^o V. διαμεμετρημένη.

^p *Timocrat.* p. 704.

^q See the Tables B. C. 373, 2, 3.

^r *Pyth.* s. XII. p. 45.

natural interpretation is this. Hostilities would not be actively prosecuted during the winter. They would be confined to the ordinary season of military action, the summer. The phrase τοῦ ἐπιγιννομένου θέρους αἱ σπονδαὶ διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων therefore means, *In the summer which followed the expiration of the armistice, hostilities recommenced, and were carried on till the season of the Pythian games.* The expressions of Thucydides limit the meaning of his words to the *summer following*. The Pythian games, at the distance of three or four months, interposed another cessation of hostilities, which was followed up by negotiation in the winter, and finally perfected into the fifty-years truce. That this was the actual state of things, other passages of the historian demonstrate. After having related that hostilities were resumed till the *Pythia*, he describes the hostile operations of that summer; the expedition of Cleon; the battle of Amphipolis; the deaths of Brasidas and Cleon. These were the operations of the summer which followed the expiration of the truce. Cleon set out μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν^s. That battle happened about the *end of the summer*^t. The historian then proceeds^u: ξυνέβη τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μάχην, ὥστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἀψασθαι μηδετέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον. Here, therefore, was the limit of the renewed hostilities. The passage which Corsini has quoted, so far from demonstrating that the Pythian games were celebrated in spring, rather proves the contrary.

One other argument, which Corsini^x has adopted from Dodwell^y, hardly deserves to be mentioned, and does not require an answer: "The Delphian oracles were delivered in spring, *veris initio*: therefore the games were celebrated at that season; *ut optime accurateque conjecit Dodwellus*."

As to the season, then, of those games, there has been no proof produced that they were celebrated in Munychion. And the tenor of history, in the Pythian games of Olymp. 96. 3, 99. 3, 108. 3, 112. 3, points out the *autumn*, or the *commencement* of the Attic year, as the undoubted season of the games.

1. B. C. 394 Olymp. 96. 3. It has been shewn in the Tables, in the annals of this year, that the battle of Coronea happened in August: and that Agesilaus was carried wounded to Delphi immediately after the battle. But he was conveyed there at the season of the *Pythian games*: εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπεκομίσθη, Πυθίων ἀγομένων^z. The games, therefore, were celebrated in August or September. In the Tables, at B. C. 394, an abstract is given of the positions of Corsini^a. It is there assumed, that he placed the battle of Coronea at the *beginning* of

^s Thucyd. V. 2.

^t See the Tables B. C. 422, 2. ^u V. 14.

^x Pyth. p. 45. ^y Dissert. V. 2.

^z Plutarch. Agesil. c. 19.

^a He has managed to conceal the inconsistency, by omitting to specify in express terms the date of Coronea.—Ol. 96. 3. EUBULIDES.—Navale prælium, quo Conon Lacedæmonios prope Cnidum superavit, hujus archontis anno contigerat. Certe victoria illa paulo ante solis eclipsim Agesilao nunciata fuit. Itaque quum eclipsis 14 Augusti die contigerit, victoria illa ineunte Ol. 96. 3. parata fuit.—Ol. 96. 3. DEMOSTRATUS.—Anno tertio hujus Olympiadis propemodum exeunte, quum Agesilaus

Spartanorum rex ad Coroneam victoriam reportasset, Delphos vulneribus saucius transferri voluit Πυθίων ἀγομένων. Quem quidem perspicuum alioqui disertumque Xenophontis Hel. IV. 3. [immo Plutarchi Agesil. c. 19.] locum ita explicandum esse contendit Dodwellus, non quod post victoriam illam vere Pythia agerentur, sed quod eodem anno celebrata jam fuerant; quum Pythia ipsa secundis Olympiadum annis peragi existimaret. At ostendi Pythicos ludos exeuntibus solum tertiis Olympiadum annis adscribendos esse. We must either suppose that Corsini designed; by this parenthetical mention of Coronea, to conceal the inconsistency of eight or nine months between that battle and the removal to

200 Olymp. 96. 3. since the season, and almost the day, of that battle is determined by the *battle of Cnidus* and the *eclipse*; the dates of which he specifies; and it is demonstrated, that, if the games were held in the month Munychion, a space of nine months would be supposed to intervene between the battle in which Agesilaus was wounded, and his removal to Delphi. This manifest impossibility is conclusive against that date for the games.

2. B. C. 382 Ol. 99. 3. Phœbidas seized the Cadmea in the *summer season*; in the beginning of the year of Evander. And this transaction happened at the time of the Pythian games^b. Whence we collect, that the *Pythia* were celebrated in that season, and in the *beginning* of the Attic year.

3. B. C. 346 Ol. 108. 3. From the facts and dates specified under this year in the Tables, it is proved, that the Phocian towns were dismantled about the beginning of July, in the month of Scirophorion. And the reference which Demosthenes makes to the Pythian games shews that they were near at hand: τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων οὕτω δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἡγουμένων τοὺς ταλαιπώρους πάσχειν Φωκέας, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς θεωροὺς μήτε τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὰ Πύθια πέμψαι,—οὗτος εἰς τὰ πινύκκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθνον, εἰσιῶτο ἐλλθὼν, καὶ σπονδῶν μετείχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὅπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν εὔχετο ἐκεῖνος^c. These expressions are natural and intelligible, upon the supposition that the *Pythia* were celebrated in August or September, the beginning of Olymp. 108. 3. but they are at variance with the scheme of Corsini, which would place the games nine or ten months after the occupation of Phocis. Demosthenes, to the same purpose, in another passage^d: οὐ μᾶλλον ταῦτ' ἐμελεν αὐτῷ (Φιλίππῳ) ἢ τὰς παρόδους λαβεῖν ἢ βούλετο καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δοκεῖν δι' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν εἰληφέναι, καὶ τὰ Πύθια θεῖναι δι' ἑαυτοῦ. It is here also implied that the *Pythia* followed close upon the termination of the war in Phocis.

4. B. C. 330 Ol. 112. 3. The cause of the Crown was pleaded a few days before the Pythian games. Corsini supposes that cause to have been tried in the month *Posideon*. It has been shewn that Harpocratio does not establish this: and it has been farther shewn, that, if the reasoning of Corsini be just, with respect to the season of the *Pythia*, the cause of the Crown would necessarily be placed in *Elaphebolion*. But, from the internal evidence of the oration of Æschines, it is manifest that the cause cannot be referred to the *sixth* or the *ninth* month of that Attic year. For from Æschines^e we may gather that intelligence of the death of Darius had not yet reached Athens: οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς—νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἐτέρων εἶναι διαγωνίζεται, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας; But Darius was slain in the first month of the archon Aristophon. It is not credible, then, that the cause should have been pleaded in the sixth month after that event, *Posideon*: it is still less credible that this celebrated action should have been tried in *Elaphebolion*, the *ninth* month after. As if so important an event, when the attention of the Greeks was anxiously fixed
201 upon the progress of Alexander in Asia, would not be known at Athens nine months after it had happened! The *Pythia*, then, and the prosecution of Ctesiphon, must be placed in the *beginning* of the year of Aristophon, in August or September B. C. 330, before the news of the death of Darius could have arrived in Greece.

Delphi; or we must impute to him the still greater absurdity of imagining eight or nine months between the *eclipse* and the *battle of Coronea*.

^b See the Tables B. C. 382.

^c Fals. Leg. p. 380.

^d De Pace p. 62.

^e P. 72, 25—30.

The *Pythia* are determined to the autumn by these four arguments. The history of *Jason of Pheræ* also affords a presumption that the autumn was the season of the games, and not the spring: *Jason*, who was assassinated ἐπιόντων Πυθίων, had made extraordinary preparations for the festival^f. Among other orders, παρήγγειλε καὶ ὡς στρατευσομένοις ἐς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον Θεσσαλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι^g. The autumn then would be the season of the festival; and the Thessalians would be required to be in readiness for a campaign which was to terminate in the autumn. But, upon the hypothesis of *Corsini*, they were to prepare for a campaign, which was to be conducted through the winter, and would terminate in March; contrary to the usual practice of military operations.

A Delphic inscription, published by Mr. Boeckh^h, confirms the arguments that the *Pythia* were in autumn. The month *Bucatus* was the month of the *Pythia*ⁱ: Πύθια δὲ ἀγόντων τοῦ Βουκατίου μηνὸς τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, τοὺς δὲ Π. . . . Δελφοὶ τοῦ Βυσίου μηνός. This order indicates that *Bucatus* preceded *Bysius* in the Delphian year. But *Bysius* was in the spring^k: ὁ δὲ Βύσιος μὲν—ἔαρος ἄρχει. and in the second half of the year^l: μηνὸς Βυσίου, βουλευόντων κατὰ τὰν δευτέραν ἐξάμηνον. It would follow from hence that *Bucatus* and the *Pythia* were in the autumn.

From these facts of history, then, the autumn is pointed out as the season of the Pythian festival, and not the spring: the games would be celebrated in the second or third month of every third Olympic year. Mr. Boeckh, in his valuable edition of Ancient Greek Inscriptions^m, dissents from the opinion expressed in these pages which places the games in autumn, and adheres to the date of *Corsini* who refers them to the spring. He examines each of the texts upon which my opinion is founded.

Mr. Boeckh imputes error to *Aristides* and *Plutarch*ⁿ, and remodels the passage in *Æschines* to adapt it to his argument^o. He admits however that the sole argument of *Corsini* lies in the passage of *Thucydides*: for, after a somewhat strained exposition of *Demosthenes*^p, he subjoins, *Hæc ut ita constituam cogit me Thucydidis indutiarum computus, a quo non arbitror discedi posse, quod et verba ejus aperta sunt, et ille scriptor omnium dili-*

^f Xen. Hel. VI. 4. 29.

^g Xen. Hel. VI. 4. 30.

^h Inscr. Gr. tom. I. p. 805. No. 1688.

ⁱ Boeckh. Ibid. l. 45. 46.

^k *Plutarch*. Quæst. Gr. p. 292. E.

^l Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. tom. I. p. 828. No. 1704.

^m Tom. I. p. 812—814.

ⁿ P. 813. a. *Anne hic* [sc. *Aristides* tom. I. p. 258] *memoriæ vitio Pythia posuit, quum in Thesmophoriis Thebanis occupatam Cadmeam e Xenophonte liqueat? Anne Pythia fortasse duxit e scriptore qui de sollemnibus dixerit in Πυλαίᾳ (ὁπωρῶν, æstate adulta) habitis?* p. 813. b. *Sane statim post pugnam Delphos profectus est Agesilaüs: Pythia tamen statim post celebrata esse Plutarcho, recentiori scriptori, non debet continuo credi.*

^o P. 812. b. *Æschinis verba hæc sunt: οὐχ ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς &c. Speciosum est quod vivus representari Darius dicitur, sed speciosum*

tantum. Prioribus temporibus recentia opponit Æschines. Recens acta tempore præsentis extulit, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, non ut adhuc vivum Darium repræsentaret sed ut nuperrime acta antiquis opponeret.—Poterat sic scribere: νῦν οὐ περὶ τοῦ κύριος ἐτέρων εἶναι διαγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας: ὃν ἔναγχος ἡκούσατε ἀπεσφάχθαι. If *Æschines* had added these words, his assertion in the latter part of the sentence would have contradicted his assertion in the former. Mr. Boeckh proceeds to observe, *Præterea locus Æschinis ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δέιν πάσης μεθεστήκει non potest nisi ad septentrionalem Alexandri expeditionem referri quæ post obitum Darii suscepta est.* But this is to be explained as a similar allusion of *Dinarchus* has been explained in the Appendix p. 234.

^p P. 813. a. *Pythios theoros Delphos mittere quidni noluerint Athenienses etiam novem mensibus post Phocenses victos? &c.*

gentissimus. Quod nisi videretur, vincere dicerem Clintoni eam rationem, quam de tempore occupatæ Cadmeæ repetiit. With respect to Thucydides, Mr. Boeckh follows the interpretation of Corsini^q as I have described it at p. 198.

I still retain the opinion which was formerly expressed. Aristides and Plutarch could not have been ignorant of so notorious a fact as the season of the Pythian games; and it appears to me that they would not have mentioned the games in connexion with the occupation of Thebes and the battle of Coronea, if the season had not corresponded. The testimonies which have been produced from Aristides, Plutarch, Æschines, Demosthenes, and Xenophon, guide us in the interpretation of Thucydides. We collect from them that the Pythia were in autumn, and, applying this fact to the narrative of the historian, we find this date for the games agree with his account of renewed war, commencing at the expiration of the truce, and ending at the death of *Brasidas*. The facts in Thucydides, when laid together, are these^r: τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιννομένου θέρους αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι σπονδαὶ διελέλυντο μέχρι Πυθίων.—Κλέων δὲ Ἀθηναίους πείσας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν.—Βρασιδᾶς ἐτελεύτησε—τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα. ξυνέβη τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μάχην καὶ τὴν Ῥαμφίων ἀναχώρησιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας, ὥστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἄψασθαι μηδετέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον. With this point of time, according to those other testimonies, the *Pythia* coincided. Thucydides therefore defined the limits of this interval of renewed war by a reference to the *Pythia*.

Mr. Boeckh observes^s, that the expression of Thucydides denotes a cessation of *σπονδαὶ* till *σπονδαὶ* again. But the *ἐνιαύσιοι σπονδαὶ* were never renewed. These were an armistice, *ἐκεχειρία*, a truce for a year. The *σπονδαὶ* of Elaphebolion B. C. 421 were a measure of a different character; a peace for fifty years. And it seems to have been in the mind of Thucydides not to define the space between the armistice and the peace, but to express how long the hostile operations lasted.

Dr. Arnold^t on the main question nearly agrees with me. Preceding writers had fixed the games to the spring; I had assigned them to the second or third month of every third Olympic year. Dr. Arnold^v determines them to the first month; which is entirely at variance with the old opinion^w, but approaches my time within a few weeks. Four of the testimonies on which I had founded my opinion, and which are reexamined by Dr. Arnold, agree no better with his date, the first month, than with mine, the second or third. The testimony from Plutarch stands in his way, and he rejects it altogether. But in his note^x, where he endeavours to fix a charge of great inaccuracy upon Plutarch, there can be little doubt that the word *δέκατον*, on which the whole charge depends, is corrupt^z.

^q P. 812. a. *Locus ille sic exponendus est, "Se-
" quente vero æstate indutiæ annuæ dissolutæ erant
" usque ad Pythia:" hoc est, peractis annuis indu-
" tiis—nullæ fuerunt indutiæ usque ad Pythia Ol. 89.
3. Jam Ol. 89. 3. Elaphebolionis 25^o. iterum factæ
indutiæ sunt. Unde quidem colligitur Pythia fuisse
diei Elapheb. 25^o. proxima.*

He adds from Thucydides V. 12 that war was continued in the winter, although he admits that nothing was done: *Accedit quod Thucydides belli narrationem non cum fine ætatis concludit, sed diserte narrat hieme insequenti Spartanæ copias ad Pierium progressas esse et deinde redisse V. 13*

quanquam posthac nihil jam gestum sed de pace cogitatum est. But *χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου εὐθὺς* in that passage, according to the division of Thucydides κατὰ θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, means no more than the autumn.

^r Thucyd. V. 1—14.

^s P. 812. a.

^t Thucyd. tom. II. Appendix p. 413—422.

^v P. 418.

^w Against which he argues p. 420—421.

^x P. 415.

^z See below p. 240. s. and compare the Tables B. C. 315. 2. 305. 2.

He objects^a to my conclusion that the games followed immediately after the end of the Phocian war, and yet^b comes himself to the conclusion that the games followed in the very next month after the surrender of Phocis. The expedition of *Cleon* is quite at variance, as Dr. Arnold himself^c shews, with the old date, the spring; but coincides with his date no better than with mine. The difficulties in interpreting *διελέλυντο* are not diminished by placing the *Pythia* in *Hecatombæon*, four months after the truce ended, rather than (as I had done) five or six months after. His interpretation I do not quite comprehend. He pronounces that passage in Thucydides to mean that "the truce instead of expiring in "*Elaphebolion* had been continued four months longer." But how can *διελέλυντο* mean "continued?"

The passage from Pindar, which Dr. Arnold quotes^d, is of no moment. It is not clear to what Athenian festival Pindar alluded. There were *Metagitnia* in *Metagitnion*, and *Boëdromia* in *Boëdromion*; at both of which gymnastic exercises might be given. The considerations drawn from "youthful prime," and the reference to *Apollo*^e, seem rather too fanciful. Nor is there any great force in the argument that the *Pythia* were on the 11th of July because the *ludi Apollinares* at Rome were on that day.

Mr. Boeckh interprets the phrase in Xenophon—*παρήγγειλε δὲ ὡς στρατευσομένοις εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον*—"He commanded an expedition which was to commence after the "*Pythia*." Dr. Arnold agrees in this interpretation, and gives^f four or five examples in which *εἰς τὸν χρόνον* means "against the time." Doubtless that is the meaning in those passages, and in many others. But I cannot accede to this interpretation in that passage of Xenophon. The interpretation assigned by Dr. Arnold is not the *only* meaning of *εἰς τὸν χρόνον*. This phrase may also mean, and very frequently does mean, "until the time." So it is explained by the Scholiast on Eur. *Hec.* 554: *εἰς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔως. καὶ παρὰ Δημοσθένει* [Fals. Leg. p. 411]. "*τοῖσι φιλανθρώπως ἐχρώμην εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.*" ἀντὶ τοῦ, μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας. And in this manner we must interpret such passages as the following: *ἐς ἑμέ* Pausan. I. 1, 2. X. 38, 4. *ἐς ἡμᾶς* Idem VII. 17, 3. *ἐς δ'* Idem I. 23, 1. IV. 1, 2. Herodot. VI. 99. 140. And *ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου* in Thucyd. I. 13. In all these texts *εἰς* is equivalent to *μέχρι*, and in this last passage is so explained by Thucydides himself, who gives immediately afterwards *μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου*. Hence *εἰσόκεν* in Homer means *donec*. This meaning of *εἰς* I ascribe to Xenophon in the passage in question.

Mr. Kruger in the season of the Pythian games is inclined to agree with me^h. In the interpretation of *εἰς τὸν χρόνον* he concurs with Mr. Boeckhⁱ.

^a P. 416. ^b In p. 419. ^c P. 419.

^d P. 419. ^e In p. 419.

^f Inscr. Gr. tom. I. p. 812. b. *Si vere acta Pythia, ait, Jason hibernum parasset bellum vere terminandum; sin autem autumnno, æstivum; quod unice consentaneum. Immo contra, opinor; Si autumnno acta Pythia Jason Thessalus hibernam prædixit expeditionem; si vere acta statuimus, vere expediturus* POST PYTHIA erat.

^g P. 418.

^h He observes very justly (p. 215 note 4) upon Mr. Boeckh's interpretation of Æschines, which I have given above at p. 249. *ὁ ἐνάγχος ἡκούσατε.*

Hoc, opinor, facilius est affirmare quam credere: equidem qui crederet adhuc repperi neminem nec puto multos repertum iri. Præterea quum Æschines demonstrare vellet sua ætate οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνελπίστων καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτων οὐ γεγονέναι, hanc fortunæ vicissitudinem aliquanto aptius Darii mortis et Persarum regni eversione quam solo regis periculo proposito declaraturum fuisse arbitror. And again in his note 5): *Etiam si verba ἔξω τῆς ἀρκτου significant quod Boeckhius putat, inde tamen certi quidquam colligere non licet, propterea quod oratoris consilio accommodatum erat rem exaggerare; nisi forte* *Dinarcho in Demosth. 34. p. 27. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ἰν-*

II.

PISISTRATIDÆ.

THE testimonies referred to in the Tables B. C. 560 are to the following effect: Aristotle^a: Δις ἔφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν ὥστε ἐν ἔτεσι τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τοῦτων ἐτυράννησεν· ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες. ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Thucydides^b: Τυραννεύσας ἔτη τρία Ἰππίας ἔτι Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πανσθεὶς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν, ἐχώρει ἔς τε Σίγειον, καὶ παρ' Αἰαντίδην ἐς Λάμψακον· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὅθεν καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐς Μαραθῶνα ὕστερον ἔτει εἰκοστῷ, ἥδη γέρων ὢν, μετὰ Μήδων ἐστράτευσεν. These numbers give,

Pisistratus	33 years
His sons	18
To the battle of Marathon (complete)	19
	<hr/> 70

Herodotus: Οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίξωσε τὴν τυραννίδα·—οἳ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι—ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον, ἄρξαντες Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα^d.—ἐπεὶ Ἰππαρχον—κτείνουσι Ἀριστογέλτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἔτεα τέσσαρα οὐδὲν ἡσσαν^e. The Scholiast^f: δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ τυραννὶς καταστήναι, ὥς φησιν Ἐρατοσθένης, ἐπὶ ἔτη ν', τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς διαμαρτάνων Ἀριστοφάνους μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐν φήσαντος, Ἡροδότου δὲ ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα. Isocrates^g: τετταράκοντα δ' ἔτη τῆς στάσεως γενομένης.

The Scholiast idly criticises the opinion of Eratosthenes. The statements of Eratosthenes, Aristotle, and Herodotus, may be reconciled with each other, and with the numbers of Isocrates and Aristophanes the grammarian. 1. Aristotle reckons the government of *Pisistratus* seventeen years, and of his sons, eighteen; making a total of thirty-five; equivalent to the thirty-six years of Herodotus: the one reckoning *complete*, the other *current* years. They
202 were expelled in the thirty-sixth year of their sovereignty. 2. Aristotle also computes thirty-three years from the first attempt of *Pisistratus* [B. C. 560] to his death. Adding the eighteen years of his sons, we have *fifty-one* years: doubtless the period expressed by Eratosthenes as *fifty* years, in round numbers. 3. But Aristophanes the grammarian calls the period *forty-one* years: equivalent to the *forty* years of Isocrates. To explain this, we must deduct from the accounts the second exile of *Pisistratus*; the duration of which is expressed by Herodotus to have been eleven years current, or ten years complete: διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτους ἀπλόκοντο ὀπίσω^h. Out of the whole period, then, of fifty-one years, there is a space of ten

dois ἦν, *Alexandrum jam tum in India fuisse probari posse censet*. The reader will compare what I have said below at p. 234.

Mr. Kruger concludes note 6), *Quæ Boeckhius de Demosthenis et Plutarchi locis disputavit, quam acute excogitata, facile tamen videas, per se minus probabilia esse quam quæ de eisdem locis Clinto statuit: cujus rationes in dubium vocari non poterunt si vera sunt quæ de Thucydidis et Æschi-*

nis locis annotavi.

ⁱ He observes p. 212. h. ed. Lips. *Itaque Clinto eis interpretatus est "usque ad:" quod Græce hac præpositione exprimi potuisse non puto.*

^a Polit. V. 9, 23. Schneid. ^b VI. 59.

^c I. 64. [conf. c. 59—63.] ^d Id. V. 65.

^e Id. V. 55. ^f Aristoph. Vesp. 500.

^g De Bigis c. 10. p. 351. d.

^h I. 62.

years complete, during which *Pisistratus* was in exile, and the adverse party held possession of the government. Isocrates, then, and Aristophanes, leaving these ten complete or eleven current years out of the account, reckon the period during which the Pisistratidæ disturbed the commonwealth to have been forty years. Deducting the *eleven* years (the current number) from 51, we have 40, the amount of Isocrates; deducting *ten* (the complete number) from the 51, we have 41, the amount of Aristophanes.

Pisistratus had three distinct periods of government, interrupted by two exiles. Both Aristotle and Herodotus agree in this. And the term of one exile being ten or eleven years, the duration of the other must have been five or six. These facts we know. But the duration of his three periods of government, and especially of the first and third, is not so clearly ascertained. Chronologers have adopted various schemes for the arrangement of the periods, as in the following examples.

	Corsini.	Barthélemy ⁱ .	Larcher ^k .	Blair.	Clavier ^l .	Du Fresnoy ^m .
First tyranny.....	1.....	1.....	1.....	2.....	10.....	(1)
First exile	1.....	2.....	5.....	1.....	5.....	(5)
Second tyranny..	4.....		1.....	1.....	2.....	1
Second exile	14.....		11.....	11.....	11.....	11
Third tyranny	12.....		15.....	18.....	5.....	(15)
	<u>32</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33</u>

Those who make the first exile less than five years, as Corsini, Blair, and Barthélemy, are at variance with the authorities. Corsini is inconsistent in his dates. His periods are thus stated: *Ol. LV.†. Pisistrati tyrannis. Ol. LV½. Pisistratum ejectum. Ol. LV¾. Pisistratum rediisse. Ol. LVI¾. Pisistratus, quum 4. in tyrannide annos exegisset, expulsus. Ol. LX.†. Pisistratus in Atticam irrupisse videtur.—Post reditum 12. annos imperavit.* And yetⁿ he notices the duration of the second exile to be *eleven* years; which will not accord with his own arrangement.

Larcher, Clavier, and Du Fresnoy, rightly give the two exiles at $5 + 11 = 16$ years. They differ materially in the duration of the first and last tyranny. The testimony of Herodotus is as follows: 'Ο Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων,—μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον—ἐξελαύνουσί μιν.—οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες αὐτὸς ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλῆς ἐπεκηρυκέτο Πεισιστράτῳ.—ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέους τὴν θυγατέρα. He is shortly expelled again; and withdraws for ten years to Eretria. The first usurpation, then, was not long. But that it was longer than a single year may be concluded from the age of *Hippias*: who could hardly have been more than seventy at the battle of Marathon, when he is described as advanced in years indeed,—ἤδη γέρων ὢν^p—but, although πρεσβύτερος ἔων, he yet looked forward to the expectation of recovering his power;—καὶ τελευτήσειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός^q. *Hippias*^r, then, could not

ⁱ Anachars. tom. VII. p. 128.

^k Hérodote tom. VII. p. 545. 546.

^l Des premiers temps de la Grèce tom. II. p. 331—342.

^m Tablettes tom. I. p. 317—320.

ⁿ P. 114. ^o I. 59—64.

^p Thucyd. VI. 59.

^q Herodot. VI. 107.

^r His mother was named Myrrhinē: Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 447. Πεισιστράτου γυνὴ ἔγεγενε ἡ Μυρρίνη Ἰππίου καὶ Ἰππάρχου μήτηρ. But his wife had this name, according to Thucydides VI. 55.

have been born earlier than the first usurpation of *Pisistratus*. And yet the sons of *Pisistratus*, at his marriage with the daughter of *Megacles*, were already young men: *παίδων οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νενηνέων*^s. But, by the schemes of Corsini, Larcher, Du Fresnoy, and others, *Hippias* could not have been more than seven years of age at the period of that marriage; which is inconsistent with the description *νενηνέων*. Larcher himself translates that expression, *il avoit des fils déjà grands*. Clavier^t has seen this difficulty, and has provided for it, by placing the marriage and the second usurpation sixteen years after the first.

One other circumstance incidentally arises out of the narrative of Herodotus. When *Cræsus* sent into Greece for alliances against *Cyrus*, *Pisistratus* was in possession of Athens. As the date of this transaction is evidently not later than the sixth year of the reign of *Cræsus*, where it is placed by most chronologers, or about B. C. 554, it must have happened either during the first or the second tyranny. The first is the most probable, from the age of *Hippias*.

We may assume, then, the first tyranny to have been about six years, the first exile six more; the marriage with the daughter of *Megacles* might take place when *Hippias* was thirteen years of age. The second exile would be ten complete years. These numbers leave ten years for the third and final establishment; as in the following table.

Year.	Years.	B. C.
1... <i>Pisistratus</i> usurps the tyranny ...	6.....	560
—...Birth of <i>Hippias</i>		(560)
7...First exile	6.....	554
13...Second tyranny	1.....	548
14...Second exile	10.....	547
24...Third tyranny	10.....	537
34...Death of <i>Pisistratus</i>		527

These computations, however, are only *probabilities*; and must not be considered as equivalent to dates that are supported by testimony.

As *Pisistratus* died in the beginning of B. C. 527, [*Olymp.* 63. 1 *exeunte*,] and as *Hipparchus* was slain in August B. C. 514, the actual duration of the reign of *Hipparchus* would be about thirteen years and a half. And as *Hippias* finally withdrew from Athens about September B. C. 510, the government of the sons of *Pisistratus* may be computed at seventeen years and eight months, or eighteen years current, corresponding to the description of Aristotle^u.

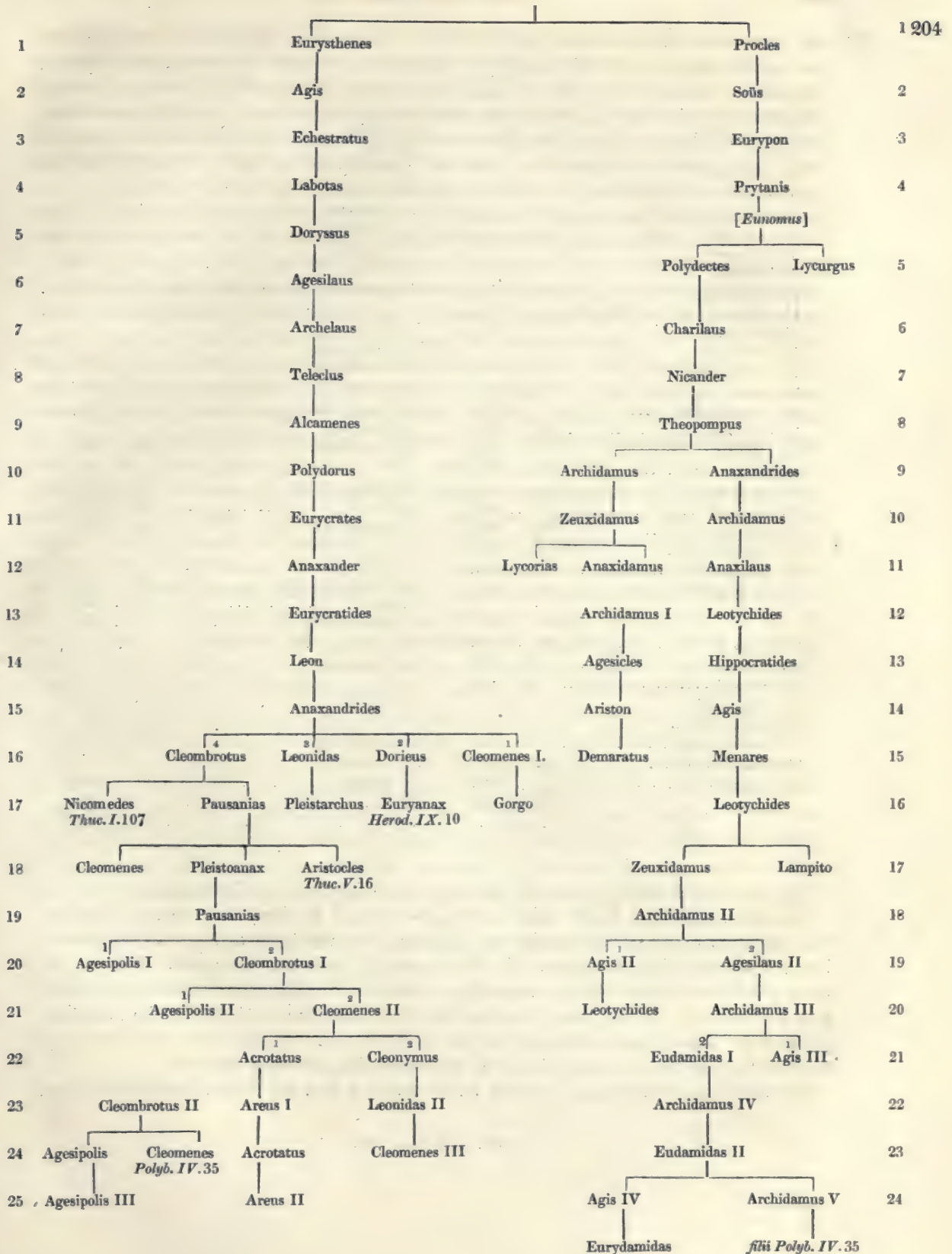
^s Ἰππίου δὲ παῖδες πέντε, οἱ αὐτῷ ἐκ Μυρρίνης τῆς Καλλιῶ τοῦ Ὑπερχίδου θυγατρὸς γέγοντο. We may therefore suspect the Scholiast of error.

^s Herodot. I. 61.

^t Tom. II. p. 332.

^u See the Tables B. C. 514, 2. 510, 2.

III. KINGS OF SPARTA.



			(Hercules)		
			(Hyllus)		
			(Cleodæus)		
			(Aristomachus)		
			1. Aristodemus		
2. Eurysthenes				2. Procles	
3. Agis				3. Solis	
4. Echestratus				4. Eurypon	
5. Labotas				5. Prytanis	
6. Doryssus				[<i>Eunomus</i>]	
7. Agesilaus				6. Polydectes	
8. Archelaus				7. Charilaus	
9. Teleclus				8. Nicander	
10. Alcamenes				9. Theopompus [cir. B. C. 770—720]	
11. Polydorus [cir. B. C. 742—710]					
12. Eurycrates				10. Zeuxidamus	
13. Anaxander				11. Anaxidamus	
14. Eurycratides				12. Archidamus I.	
15. Leon	Y.	B.C.		13. Agesicles	Y. B.C.
16. Anaxandrides		[560.]		14. Ariston	[560.]
17. Cleomenes I.	30.	520.		15. Demaratus	
18. Leonidas	11.	491.		16. Leotyichides	22. 491.
19. Pleistarchus	22.	480.			
20. Pleistoanax	50.	458.		17. Archidamus II.	42. 469.
21. Pausanias	14.	408.		18. Agis II.	29. 427.
22. Agesipolis I.	14.	394.		19. Agesilaus II.	37. 398.
23. Cleombrotus I.	9.	380.			
24. Agesipolis II.	1.	371.		20. Archidamus III	23. 361.
25. Cleomenes II.	61.	370.		21. Agis III.	8. 338.
				22. Eudamidas I.	330.
26. Areus I.	44.	309.		23. Archidamus IV	
27. Acrotatus	[1.]	265.		24. Eudamidas II	
28. Areus II.	8.	[264.]			
29. Leonidas II.				25. Agis IV.	4. 244.
30. Cleombrotus II.					
<i>Leonidas again</i>		240.		26. Eurydamidas	
31. Cleomenes III.	16.	236.		27. Archidamus V	
32. Agesipolis III.		219.		<i>Lycurgus</i>	219.
			<i>Machanidas</i>		210.
			<i>Nabis</i>	14.	206.

The reasons for omitting *Eunomus* have been given in another Volume ^a.

One of the preceding Tables exhibits the *genealogy* of the Eurysthenidæ and Proclidæ, the other, the *reigns* of the double race of kings. In the table of reigns *Aristodemus* is inserted as first king of Sparta. In the genealogy he is not computed. But, to give every possible advantage to the computation of time by the generations, *Aristodemus* should also be inserted. In that case, *Cleomenes* the *third* who died B. C. 220 is the 25th from *Aristodemus*; and *Eurydamidas* who was put to death by *Cleomenes* about B. C. 224 is (if we omit the doubtful *Eunomus*) the 26th, *Aristodemus* himself being included.

The first reigns of this race, to which we can assign a date, are those of *Anaxandrides* and

^a See F. H. I. p. 144.

Ariston; who are made contemporary with each other, and with *Cræsus*, by Herodotus. The time of *Cræsus* is known. That of *Anaxandrides* may be probably fixed by many incidents. But the duration of the reigns of the fifteen predecessors of *Anaxandrides*, and of the thirteen predecessors of *Ariston*, is left to the conjectures of chronologers. *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* 206 are known to have been contemporary, and to have reigned through the long period of the first Messenian war. But the exact time of that war is not perhaps determined upon irresistible evidence. Nor is it consistent with the usual length of generations, that *Theopompus* and his four successors should have reigned 210 years;—*Polydorus* and his four successors, 182 years: that is to say, ten reigns in 392 years, nearly 40 years to each.

The Chronology which fixes the date of the "Return" to B.C. 1104 allows about 540 years to the fifteen predecessors of *Anaxandrides*, and as many to the thirteen or fourteen predecessors of *Ariston*. Larcher's Chronology enlarges this amount: he assigns 620 years to the fifteen reigns of one line, and 616 years to the fourteen reigns of the other^a. In the times of known chronology, ten generations and sixteen reigns, from *Anaxandrides* to *Cleomenes III* both inclusive, fill 340 years: and twelve generations and fourteen reigns, from *Ariston* to *Archidamus V* occupy the same period. Larcher extends it to 350 years. These 350 years would give for ten generations 35 years each; and for twelve generations 29 years each: for the sixteen reigns 22 years nearly; and for the fourteen, 25 years. In the preceding periods, Larcher and the Vulgar Chronology assume reigns and generations to be equivalent. The Vulgar Chronology, in 540 years, assigns 36 years each to the fifteen reigns or generations, and 38 years each to the fourteen. Larcher's calculation leaves to the fifteen reigns 41 years each, and upwards;—to the fourteen reigns, 44 years each. The inferences to be drawn from this wide diversity between the times of known chronology and the times of conjecture and hypothesis do not belong to the present inquiry. It may be sufficient here to state shortly this general result from the preceding computations. In the times of known chronology, the reigns of the Spartan kings are found to be from 22 to 25 years each on an average, and the generations from 29 to 35 years. If we take the mean of these two last numbers, 32 years, and suppose reigns to be equivalent to generations, and if we compute fifteen predecessors of *Ariston* before B.C. 560 instead of thirteen, the result, $32 \times 15 = 480$, will nevertheless be an amount, 150 years below the date of Larcher for the Return of the Heraclidæ, and 64 below the date of the Vulgar Chronology.

But the predecessors of *Anaxandrides* and *Ariston* belong to another period^b. It is proposed at present to collect the testimonies which remain, concerning the reigns and history of those kings in either line, who fall within the era of *Pisistratus*; namely, *Anaxandrides* and his descendants, in the one line, and *Ariston* and his successors, in the other.

^a He assumes for the date of the *Return* B. C. 1190, for the accession of *Anaxandrides* B. C. 570, and for the accession of *Ariston* B. C. 574. Hérodote tom. VII. p. 500. 501. 584.

^b For these see F. H. I. p. 330.

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ACIDÆ.

16. ANAXANDRIDES. The sixteenth king of Sparta, and the fifteenth from *Eurysthenes*, both extremes included. Contemporary with *Cræsus*: Herodotus I. 67. κατὰ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον, καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιλῆτην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. *Anaxandrides* reigned long; for *Cleomenes* was not born till a considerable time after the accession of his father. Herodot. V. 39—41. And yet *Cleomenes* had attained maturity when he succeeded. Even his younger brother *Dorieus* was grown up, at the death of *Anaxandrides*. Herodot. V. 42. And, as *Cleomenes* was king as early as B. C. 520, *Anaxandrides* came to the throne, probably, in B. C. 560. about the period at which *Cræsus* began his reign. Herodotus V. 39—41. and Pausanias III. 3. relate the two marriages of *Anaxandrides*. By his second marriage, he had *Cleomenes*, his eldest son: by his former wife, he had *Dorieus*, *Leonidas*, and *Cleombrotus*. *Dorieus*, the second son, upon the death of his father, οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύσθαι, withdrew with a band of adventurers to seek a foreign settlement. He was slain a few years after in Sicily, with most of his followers. His adventures are related by Herodotus V. 42—47. Pausanias III. 3, 8. Δωριεύς μὲν δὴ, οὗ γὰρ ἡνείχετο ὑπακοῦναι Κλεομένει μένων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἐς ἀποικίαν στέλλεται. *Cleombrotus*, youngest son of *Anaxandrides*, was father of Pausanias, who commanded at Platæa: and from him the future kings of this branch descended. In the reign of *Anaxandrides*, the Spartans were successful in a war with the Tegeans. Herodot. I. 67. 68. Pausanias III. 3, 5. speaks of this war, following Herodotus. The Lacedæmonians had concluded that war,—ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ καταπέρτεροι,—when *Cræsus* sent into Greece for succours against the Persians. Herodot. I. 65—69. That embassy may be fixed with probability at about B. C. 554. These incidents suppose *Anaxandrides* and *Ariston* to have been already kings of Sparta as early as B. C. 560.

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14. ARISTON. The fourteenth king of Sparta, the fourteenth from *Procles*, and the seventh from *Theopompus*: (including both extremes.) Pausan. IV. 15, 2. Θεοπόμπου Ἀρίστων ἀπόγονος ἑβδομος. *Ariston*, like his colleague, had a long reign: for he married three wives successively, and remained long without issue, after he was king. And *Demaratus*, son of the third wife, was grown up when he succeeded his father. Herodotus VI. 61—66. relates the marriage of *Ariston*, and the birth of *Demaratus*, under peculiar circumstances. Pausanias III. 7, 7. abridges the narrative of Herodotus. *Ariston* was king as early as B. C. 560, on account of the Tegean war, which was carried on in his reign, and was yet concluded before B. C. 554. (See ANAXANDRIDES.) He was eminent among the kings of Sparta: Herodot. VI. 63. πανδημεὶ Σπαρτιῆται Ἀρίστωνι ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκίμεοντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλῆων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποιήσαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι. This was not for want of heirs to the family of the Proclidæ (as appeared the case with his colleague, of the house of the Eurysthenidæ,—οὐ περιοπτέον γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθένεος γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον Herodot. V. 39), since another branch of the descendants of *Theopompus* was then living at Sparta. As *Ariston* was king as early as B. C. 560, from the date of the war with Tegea, and as *Demaratus* was deposed in B. C. 491, the reign of *Ariston* must have been long, since the two reigns of the father and son were equal to seventy years; of which the son *Demaratus* might reign twenty.

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17. CLEOMENES. The seventeenth king. Was king when the Platæans put themselves under the protection of Athens: Herodot. VI. 108. *ἔδιδονσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοῖς.* This happened in B. C. 519. (See the Tables.) He commanded the forces sent to expel the Pisistratidæ B. C. 510. Herodot. V. 64. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλῆα Κλεομένεα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδῳ.* Cleomenes was king when Darius sent to demand earth and water of the Æginetans. Herodot. VI. 49. 50. And, after those transactions at Ægina, Demaratus was deposed through the influence of Cleomenes. VI. 61. Those transactions happened in B. C. 491, the year before the battle of Marathon. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κλεομένεα ἐπάϊστον γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάργητον δαίμα ἔλαβε Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. ἐνθούτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα.—μαθόντες δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι—κατήγον αὐτὸν ἐς Σπάρτην.—κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίῃ νοῦσος.* Herodot. VI. 74. 75. Cleomenes therefore died about B. C. 491. Between the first mention of Cleomenes and the last is a space of 29 years.

I have supposed with Dodwell Ann. Thuc. p. 42. that Cleomenes was king at the first mention of him by Herodotus, in B. C. 519, although he is not absolutely called so in that narrative. He was certainly king in B. C. 510, which implies that he reigned at the least 19 years. And, in the beginning of the reign of Darius, when Syloson was restored, *Μαιάνδριος, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου, ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα.—ὁ δὲ ἂν τῷ Κλεομένει ἐν λόγοις ἐὼν, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προηγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, κ. τ. λ.* Herodot. III. 148. These things happened at least as early as B. C. 519, the third year of Darius (cf. Herod. III. 140): which confirms Dodwell in understanding Herodotus VI. 108. to speak of king

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15. DEMARATUS. The fifteenth king of 208 the house of the Proclidæ. Herodot. VI. 64. *χρόνον δὲ προϊόντος Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε Δημάργητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλείην.* He was king in B. C. 510, at the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ: Pausan. III. 7, 7. *Δημάρατον βασιλεύοντα καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδοκίμουντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Κλεομένει συνελυθερώσαντα Ἀθηναίους.* He was joined in command with Cleomenes soon afterwards (about B. C. 507) in an expedition into Attica, which Demaratus disapproved: Herodot. V. 75. *(ἀπαλλάσσετο) Δημάργητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ συνεξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διάφορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ Κλεομένει.* His dissensions with his colleague in the affairs of Ægina are related Herodot. VI. 50. 51. 61. Pausan. III. 4, 3. [B. C. 491.] And Cleomenes immediately afterwards procured his deposition. Herodot. VI. 65. 66. Pausanias in his account of this matter (III. 4, 4) merely follows Herodotus. Demaratus withdrew to the court of Persia. Herodot. VI. 67. He was well received by Darius, and accompanied Xerxes, about ten years after, in B. C. 480. His descendants were said to have continued long in Persia: Pausan. III. 7, 7. *τοῦ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐλθόντος ἐς Πέρσας ἐπὶ πολλὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ χρόνον διαμεῖναι τοὺς ἀπογόνους φασί.* Xenophon Hellen. III. 1, 6. mentions *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, descendants of Demaratus, as possessing Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarna, the gift of the king of Persia to their ancestor Demaratus. The Cyrean army found *Procles* at Teuthrania in B. C. 400. Xenoph. Anab. VII. 8, 17. According to an anecdote in Plutarch Themist. c. 29. Demaratus was still living, when Themistocles was in exile in Persia, in B. C. 465. So that this king of Sparta survived his deposition almost thirty years. He reigned at least nineteen years; B. C. 510—491. and, as he was grown up at his accession, he might be

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Cleomenes. And yet Herodotus observes (V. 48) οὐ γὰρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης. A description hardly consistent with the space of 29, or even of 19 years. Pausanias III. 4, 1—5. briefly relates the events of the reign of Cleomenes.

The attempt of Cleomenes, in conjunction with Isagoras, to seize Athens is alluded to by Aristophanes Lysist. 273—282. Gorgo, the only daughter of Cleomenes, who was eight or nine years old when Aristagoras visited Sparta in B. C. 500: Herodot. V. 51. and was therefore born about B. C. 509, was married to her uncle Leonidas. Herodot. VII. 239.

18. LEONIDAS, the third son of Anaxandrides, succeeded a little before the battle of Marathon. His genealogy is given by Herodotus VII. 204. 205. He was the twenty-first from Hercules, including both extremes. He was slain at Thermopylæ in about the eleventh year of his reign. Pausanias III. 4, 5—6. mentions the reign of Leonidas, and Diodorus relates the action at Thermopylæ: XI. 4—11.

In *Leonidas* we arrive at an exact chronology, which we have gradually approached in the two preceding reigns. We can determine the beginning of the reign of Anaxandrides within a very few years, by the incidents of the Tegean war, and the reign of Croesus: we can fix the death of Cleomenes, perhaps, within a year: but the actual period of the death of Leonidas is determined with precision; and this is, properly speaking, the first epoch in this series of reigns, the date of which is established upon good evidence.

19. PLEISTARCHUS.—*Cleombrotus*, youngest son of Anaxandrides, died B. C. 479, when the Peloponnesians fortified the Isthmus: Herodot. IX. 10. ἐγένετο μὲν νυν ἡγεμονίῃ Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὃ δὲ (Πανσανίας) τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ, ὁ Πανσανίεω μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς, οὐκέτι περιῖν.

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upwards of seventy when Themistocles arrived at the Persian court.

This king was distinguished for being the only king of Sparta, to the time of Herodotus, who had gained an Olympic victory with the chariot of four horses: Herodot. VI. 70. ἀλλὰ τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισι τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα σφι ἀνελόμενος τεθρίπῳ προσέβαλε, μούνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλῆων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

16. LEOTYCHIDES, the successor of Demaratus, was of a collateral branch of the Proclidæ: the common ancestor of Demaratus and Leotychides being *Theopompus*. *Demaratus* was the eighth, and *Leotychides* the ninth, from *Theopompus*. His descent is given by Herodot. VIII. 131. Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω, τοῦ Ἱπποκρατίδεω, τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω, τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω, τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου, τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, τοῦ Θεοπόμπου. In Herodot. VI. 65. he is called Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἄγιος. The grandfather is *Agis* in one passage, and *Agesilaus* in the other: which is right, can hardly be pronounced. The text in VIII. 131. is corrupted in what follows. See Wesseling and Larcher ad VIII. 131.

Leotychides succeeded by the management of Cleomenes, and Demaratus was deposed, about B. C. 491. He commanded jointly with Xanthippus the father of Pericles at Mycalæ in B. C. 479: Herodot. VIII. 131. IX. 98—104. He afterwards went into exile for taking bribes in Thessaly: Herodot. VI. 72. ἐστράτηγσε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην. παρεὼν δὲ αἱ ὑποχείρια πάντα ποιήσασθαι, ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολύ. ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλόους ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης—ἐς Τεγέην, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ. Pausan. III. 7, 8. Λευτυχίδης ἀντὶ Δημαράτου γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετέσχε μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Μυκάλῃ, ἐστράτευσε δὲ ὕστερον τούτῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλεωνάδας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν· καὶ δῶρα ἔλαβεν.—ὑπαγόμενος δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐς δίκην ἔφυγεν ἐθελοντὴς ἐς Τεγέαν. The time of the

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ἀλλὰ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δέμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἵνα βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. Pausanias, therefore, succeeded to the command as regent: he commanded at Platæa. Herodot. IX. passim. His ambitious views are noticed by Herodotus V. 32. ἔρῳτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. VIII. 3. ὥς γὰρ δὴ, ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσέα, περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πανσανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ἀπειλοῦντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. Pausanias commanded the confederates for one year after the retreat of Xerxes, and was then recalled. See Appendix c. 6. His death, which happened a few years afterwards, is related by Thucydides I. 128—135. At the time of his death he was still regent: Thucyd. I. 132. Πλείσταρχον τὸν Λεωνίδου, ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι, ἀνεψιὸς ὦν ἐπετρόπευε. Pausanias is sometimes called *king*, though improperly. Aristot. Polit. V. 1, 5.—φασὶ τινες Πανσανίαν τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιχειρήσαι καταλῦσαι τὴν ἐφορίαν. Id. VII. 13, 13.—ἐγκαλοῦσιν οἱ Λάκωνες Πανσανίαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, κ. τ. λ. In another place Aristotle speaks of him as general: V. 6, 2. Πανσανίας ὁ στρατηγὴς κατὰ τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον. Demosth. Neer. p. 1378. Πανσανίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, κ. τ. λ. Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 84. μετὰ τὴν Ξέρξου φυγὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι προδοσίας κρίνουσι καὶ φονεύουσι Πανσανίαν τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα, Κλεομβρότου καὶ Ἀλκαθέας υἱόν. Suidas: Πανσανίας, Κλεομβρότου καὶ Ἀγχιθέας, βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων. The term *king* was sometimes applied improperly in other cases. Thus the legislator *Lycurgus* is called king by Themist. or. 19. p. 226. a. 227. b. *Cleonymus* was called king, though only general in the lifetime of his father. See below, CLEOMENES II.

Nicomedes, brother of Pausanias, and younger son of Cleombrotus, commanded during the minority of Pleistoanax at the

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exile of Leotychides is determined by the first year of his successor Archidamus; whose 4th year was completed at the time of the earthquake in B. C. 464. Leotychides, then, went into exile in B. C. 469. This 210 corresponds with the duration assigned to his reign by Diodorus XI. 48. Λεωνυχίδας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας ἑτη εἴκοσι καὶ δύο. although its termination is erroneously placed in the year of Phædon B. C. 476. But Diodorus himself enables us to correct his error: he adds, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Ἀρχέλαος (Ἀρχιδάμος) ἐβασίλευσεν ἑτη τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο. The two reigns, then, are equal to 22 + 42, or 64 years. But Archidamus died in B. C. 427, as we know from Thucydides: precisely 64 years after the date which is fixed by circumstances for the commencement of the reign of Leotychides, B. C. 491. We obtain, then, B. C. 469 for the banishment of Leotychides and the accession of Archidamus, upon the concurrent testimony of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, and Diodorus himself, when corrected. Diodorus is consistent in his error, from whatever cause it originated. "Leotychides dies, and Archidamus succeeds B. C. 476." XI. 48.—"Archidamus dies, having reigned 42 years, B. C. 434." XII. 35.

Zeuxidamus, son of Leotychides, died before his father: Herodot. VI. 71. Ζευξίδημος οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λεωνυχίδου γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν παῖδα Ἀρχιδάμω. Λεωνυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην.—ἐκ τῆς οἱ γίνεται θυγάτηρ Λαμπιώ. τὴν Ἀρχιδάμος ὁ Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει, δόντος αὐτῷ Λεωνυχίδου. Pausan. III. 7, 8. Λεωνυχίδου ὁ μὲν παῖς Ζευξιδάμος ζῶντος ἔτι Λεωνυχίδου, καὶ οὐ πεφνευγὸς πω, τελευτᾷ νόσῳ.

17. ARCHIDAMUS II. eighteenth from *Procles*, and eleventh from *Theopompus*, succeeded on the deposition of his grandfather. Diodorus twice states his reign at 42 years, XI. 48. XII. 35. although he places these 42

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battle of Tanagra, in B. C. 457. Thucyd. I. 107.

Pleistarchus reigned but a short time; Pausan. III. 5, 1. Πλείσταρχος ὁ Λεωνίδου νεωστὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρείληφώς ἐτελεύτησε. But from the date of the accession of his successor in Diodorus, B. C. 458, his reign extended to 22 years. We may perhaps understand Pausanias to speak of the period of 211 his majority; which he would survive but a few years. He left no issue.

20. *PLEISTOANAX*. Diod. XIII. 75. Πλειστονάξ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη πεντήκοντα. In the year of Euctemon B. C. 408. His accession, therefore, was in B. C. 458. *Pleistoanax*, son of *Pausanias*, and grandson of *Cleombrotus*, and the eighteenth from *Eurysthene*s, was a minor at his accession: in B. C. 457, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Πανσανίου, νέον ὄντος ἔτι, ἡγουμένον, ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν. Thucyd. I. 107. Twelve years afterwards, in B. C. 445, *Pleistoanax* commanded in person, in the invasion of Attica, fourteen years before the Peloponnesian war. (See the Tables B. C. 445, 2.) After that expedition, he was banished, on a suspicion of having been bribed to retire. Thucyd. II. 21.^a He was nineteen years in exile. Thucyd. V. 16. χρόνῳ δὲ προτρέψαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φεύγοντα αὐτὸν ἐς Λύκαιον [in Arcadia]—ἔτει ἐνδὸς δέοντι εἰκοστῷ—καταγαγεῖν, κ. τ. λ. He was still in exile in B. C. 427, when his son *Pausanias*, a minor, reigned in his stead: Thucyd. III. 26. ἡγεῖτο Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Πανσανίου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος νείος βασιλέως ὄντος καὶ νεωτέρου ἔτι, πατρὸς ἀδελφὸς ὢν. And he

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years about seven years too high: that is, B. C. 476—434 instead of B. C. 469—427. His reign is determined to forty-two years by Plutarch and Thucydides. It appears from Thucydides, that *Archidamus*—Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμον Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς—led the first expedition into Attica in the Peloponnesian war [B. C. 431], and the second [B. C. 430], and the third [B. C. 428]. In the fourth, *Cleomenes* commanded [B. C. 427]; and in the fifth [B. C. 426] *Agis* son of *Archidamus*. This king, therefore, died between the third and the fifth expedition: about B. C. 427. Plutarch *Cimon*. c. 16. mentions the fourth year of his reign as coincident with the earthquake at Sparta in B. C. 464. But B. C. 464—427 will give thirty-eight years, both extremes included. And four being added will make the forty-two years reckoned by Diodorus. His accession, then, was in B. C. 469, and his death towards the end of B. C. 427. In B. C. 464, at the period of the earthquake, his fourth year would be completed, and his fifth year current.

Archidamus and his reign and chief transactions are briefly touched upon by Pausanias III. 7, 9—10. His daughter *Cynisca* gained an Olympic victory: Pausan. III. 8, 1. πρώτη ἵπποτρόφῃσε γυναικῶν, καὶ νίκην ἀνέλειτο Ὀλυμπιακὴν πρώτη. She had the name of *Cynisca* after her grandfather *Zeuxidamus*. Conf. Herod. VI. 71.

18. *AGIS II*. Diod. XII. 35. τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Ἄγισ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἰκοσιεπτά. Pausan. III. 8, 2. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀγίδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου—ἄλλα τε ἐγένετο ἐς Ἡλείους ἐγκλήματα, καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰρ-

^a According to Plutarch *Pericles*. c. 22. he was fined; and not being able to pay the fine withdrew from Sparta. *Cleandrides*, his counsellor, who was also involved in the charge, was sentenced to death: οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, ὃν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἔχον ἐκτίσαι μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος: τοῦ δὲ Κλεανδρίδου φεύγοντος θάνατον κατέγνωσαν: οὗτος δ' ἦν πατὴρ Γυλίσπου [cf. Thucyd. VI. 93] τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμήσαντος. Plutarch probably followed Ephorus: Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 857. φησὶ δὲ Ἐφωρος ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κλεανδρίδην μὲν ἐδήμευσαν [*alios Scholiastes* ἐφόνευσαν] Πλειστιάνακτα δὲ ἐ' τάλαντοις ἐζημίωσαν. The concise expressions of Thucydides—ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ἐκ Σπάρτης—are not inconsistent with the account of Ephorus and Plutarch.

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had returned before B. C. 421, the date of the fifty years' truce. Thucyd. V. 16. His exile, then, seems to have continued from B. C. 444 to B. C. 426, and was included in his reign of fifty years.

Wesseling ad Diod. XIII. 75. (tom. V. p. 600. ed. Bipont.) well defends the number of Diodorus, *fifty* years, against the criticism and correction of Dodwell.

21. PAUSANIAS, son of Pleistoanax, had reigned, though a minor, during his father's exile. After the death of Pleistoanax, in B. C. 408, διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν Πausanias ἤρξεν ἑτη δεκατέσσαρα. Diod. XIII. 75. The same number is repeated by Diodorus XIV. 89. Πausanias ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐγκαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔφυγεν, ἄρξας ἑτη δεκατέσσαρα. in the year of Eubulides B. C. 394. His exile was soon after the death of Lysander: Pausan. III. 5, 5—6. Λύσανδρος ἔπεσε· Πausanias δὲ ὑστέρησε τοῦ ἀγῶνος.—οὐχ ὑπέμεινε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς δικαστήριον, Τεγεᾶται δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἰκέτην ἐδέξαντο τῆς Ἀλέας. Xenoph. Hel. III. 5, 7—25. ὁ δὲ Πausanias, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, καθεζόμενος ἐν τῇ Τεγῇ τοὺς ξεναγοὺς διέπεμπε.—ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος ἔφθη τὸν Πausanias ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενος.—ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθάνοντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι—ἐδίωκον οἱ Θηβαῖοι.—ὁ δὲ Πausanias—ἐβουλεύετο πότερον μάχην ξυνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τὸν Λύσανδρον ἀναιροῦτο.—ὁ μέντοι Πausanias, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου.—καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐς Τεγᾶν καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. Plutarch. Lysand. c. 30. τοιαύτης τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ τῆς τελευτῆς γενομένης, παραχρῆμα μὲν οὕτως ἠνεγκαν βαρέως οἱ Σπαρτιάται, ὥστε τῷ βασιλεῖ κρίσιν προγράψαι θανατικήν. ἣν οὐχ ὑποστὰς ἐκεῖνος εἰς Τεγᾶν ἔφυγε. Lysander was slain

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γόμενοι μάλιστα ἤχθοντο. Agis was already king early in the year B. C. 426. Thucyd. III. 89. τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους [B. C. 426] Πελοποννήσιοι—ἦλθον ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντες, Ἀγίδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἡγουμένου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως. And he survived the war with Elis: Xen. Hel. III. 3, 1. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἀγίς ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρων ἤδη ὢν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα—ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησεν. As that war lasted till the summer, θέρους, B. C. 399, Agis consequently 212 reigned twenty-eight years instead of twenty-seven^b. In the Table of Reigns p. 205, the reign of Agis II. is stated at twenty-nine years *current*, and the reign of Agesilaus II. at thirty-seven years *complete*: the one reigned something more than twenty-eight years, the other, something less than thirty-eight.

The son of Agis, *Leotychides*, was excluded from the succession, and *Agesilaus* was preferred, through the interest of Lysander. The history is related by Pausan. III. 8, 4—5. Plutarch. Lysand. c. 22. Agesil. c. 3. and by Xenophon Hel. III. 3, 1—4.

19. AGESILAUS II. younger son of Archidamus, and nineteenth from Procles, succeeded his brother Agis. He passed into Asia with an army in B. C. 396, was recalled when he had already completed the second year in Asia, and gained the battle of Coronea in

^b Mr. Kruger p. 228. ed. Lips. remarks upon this passage, *Hac ratione confirmatur quod ad annum 400, 2. docui.* But it has been shewn that Mr. Kruger there rejects my date for the death of Agis, placing his campaign in B. C. 398, and by consequence his death in 397. Which is quite at variance with the present observation.

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towards the close of B. C. 395, which sufficiently confirms the date of Diodorus for the deposition of Pausanias.

Pausanias was still living in B. C. 385, when Mantinea was besieged by his son Agesipolis. Conf. Xen. Hellen. V. 2, 3—6.

22. AGESIPOLIS I. Diod. XIV. 89. Πανσανίας ἔφυγεν, ἄρξας ἔτη δεκατέσσαρα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ υἱὸς Ἀγησίπολις ἤρξε τὸν ἴσον τῷ πατρὶ χρόνον. Id. XV. 23. Ἀγησίπολις ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα. In the year of Pytheas B. C. 380. This date is confirmed by incidents in Xenophon. He died, κατὰ θέρους ἀκμῇν, in the third campaign of the Olynthian war, of a fever. Hellen. V. 3, 19. He was a minor at his accession. The victory at Corinth B. C. 394 was gained by his guardian Aristodemus: Pausan. III. 5, 7. Ἀριστόδημος ἐπε-
213 τρόπευε γένους ἐγγύτατα ὧν καὶ τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατόρθωμα Ἀριστοδήμου ἐγένετο ἡγουμένον. Xen. Hel. IV. 2, 9. οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφαινον ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστόδημον, τοῦ γένους ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς πρόδικον, ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. Plutarch Agid. c. 3. enumerates the descent from Pausanias to Agesipolis: Πανσανίας (ὁ νικήσας ἐν Πλαταιαῖς) υἱὸν ἔσχε Πλειστώνακτα, Πλειστώναξ δὲ Πανσανίαν, οὗ φυγόντος εἰς Τεγέαν ὁ πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἀγησίπολις ἐβασίλευσε.

23. CLEOMBROTUS I. Diod. XV. 23. τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Κλεόμβροτος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἐννέα. The nine years are determined by the battle of Leuctra, in which he fell July B. C. 371. Pausanias III. 6, 1. Ἀγησιπόλειδος ἄπαιδος τελευτήσαντος εἰς Κλεόμβροτον περιήλθεν ἡ ἀρχή. καὶ ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι τούτῳ ἡγωνίσαντο ἐν Λεύκτροις.

24. AGESIPOLIS II. Diod. XV. 60. Ἀγησίπολις ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς μετήλλαξεν, ἄρξας ἐνιαυτόν. In the year of Dyscinetus B. C. 370. Pausan. III. 6, 1. Κλεόμβροτον ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων Ἀγησίπολις

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August B. C. 394. He continued to possess the chief direction of the affairs of Lacedæmon to the period of the death of Epaminondas, which happened in June B. C. 362. After that, he undertook the Egyptian expedition, when he was past eighty: ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη. Plutarch. Ages. c. 36. and died on his return home, βιώσας μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη βασιλεύσας δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐνὶ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα πλέον, καὶ τούτων ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα πάντων μέγιστος γενόμενος. καὶ σχεδὸν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς νομισθεὶς, ἄχρι τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης. Plutarch. Ages. c. 40. Diodorus XV. 93. relates the death of Agesilaus among the transactions of the year after the battle of Mantinea B. C. 361, placing it in the same year in which the Egyptian expedition was undertaken. But the war in Egypt must have occupied at least a year, and he could not have set out upon it till the spring of B. C. 361, seven or eight months after the battle of Mantinea. Xenophon Ages. c. 2, 28—31. gives the following circumstances: ἤδη μὲν ἐγεγόνει ἔτη ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα κατανενοηκὼς δὲ τὸν Αἰγυπτίῳν βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν, — ἄσμενος ἦκουσεν ὅτι μετεπέμπετο αὐτόν. — ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀγησίλαος — τὸν ἕτερον [of the Egyptian competitors] συγκαθίστησι, καὶ φίλον ποιήσας τῇ Λακεδαίμονι ἀποπλεῖ οἴκαδε, καί περ μέσου χειμῶνος ὄντος, σπεύδων ὥς μὴ ἄργος ἡ πόλις εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο. Plutarch. Ages. c. 40. ἀγαπῶν δὲ καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος (ὁ Νεκτάναβις) ἐδεῖτο μείναι καὶ συνδιαχεῖμασθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὁ δ' ὥρμητο πρὸς τὸν οἴκου πόλεμον. — χειμῶνος δ' ὄντος ἤδη, τῆς γῆς ἐχόμενος ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ παρὰ τὴν Λιβύην εἰς χωρίον ἔρημον κομισθεὶς, ὃ καλοῦσι Μενελάου λιμένα, ἀποθνήσκει. The winter noticed in these passages could not have been earlier than December B. C. 361 or January B. C. 360, which allows a single campaign for the

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παρέσχετο μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς μνήμην. Plutarch Agid. c. 3. thus continues the genealogy of the Agidæ: 'Αγησίπολις ἐβασίλευσε' καὶ τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀτέκνου Κλεόμβροτος ὁ νεώτερος. ἐκ δὲ Κλεομβρότου πάλιν ἄλλος 'Αγησίπολις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης. ὧν 'Αγησίπολις μὲν οὐτ' ἤρξε πολὺν χρόνον οὔτε παῖδας ἔσχε.

25. CLEOMENES II. Succeeded his brother: Diod. XV. 60. τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Κλεομένης ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τέτταρα. Id. XX. 29. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Δημητρίου [B. C. 309]—Κλεομένης ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη ἐξήκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα. The interval between his accession and his death, B. C. 370—309 = 61 years, corresponds with the larger number: and the circumstances of history confirm it. For *Areus*, the immediate successor of Cleomenes, was still living in B. C. 272, ninety-eight years after the accession of Cleomenes, when Pyrrhus invaded Laconia. Plutarch. Pyrrho c. 27. Wesseling, therefore, ad Diod. XV. 60. rightly prefers the larger number, and rejects the *thirty-four* years. Scaliger *ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ.* makes *Cleomenes* begin to reign in the year of *Asteius* B. C. 373. although immediately afterwards he himself states that *Cleombrotus* was slain at Leuctra in the year of *Phrasielides* B. C. 371. And he omits all notice of the reign of *Agesipolis II.* who came between them. In *Olymp.* 117. 4 [B. C. 309] he records the death of Cleomenes, in the archonship of *Demetrius*, after a reign of sixty years and ten months. (ἄρξας ἔτη ζ'. μῆνας ι'. an error of the press for ἔτη ξ'.) which is the true date for the death of Cleomenes.

Acrotatus son of Cleomenes died before his father: Pausan. III. 6, 1—2. Κλεομένης ὁ νεώτερος μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τελευτήσαντα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων 'Ακροτάτου καὶ Κλεωνύμου, κατήγαγε τὸ χρεὼν 'Ακρότατον ἔτι πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸν Κλεομένην. Καὶ ὡς Κλεομένης ἀπέθανεν—δικάζουσιν οἱ γέροντες

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Egyptian war. Diodorus in another place gives twenty-three years to *Archidamus*, who was slain in August B. C. 338, which places his accession after August B. C. 361. *Agesilaus*, then, reigned from B. C. 398 to B. C. 361 both inclusive; a space of thirty-eight years current, instead of forty-one ascribed to him by Plutarch; whose computation of more than thirty years to the battle of Leuctra is likewise inaccurate: that battle happened in B. C. 371, the twenty-eighth year of the reign of *Agesilaus*.

He began to reign in about the tenth year of *Pausanias*. His colleagues of the other house were *Agesipolis I.* *Cleombrotus I.* *Agesipolis II.* and *Cleomenes II.* in the ninth or tenth year of whose long reign *Agesilaus* died.

20. ARCHIDAMUS III. Diod. XVI. 63. ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. Id. XVI. 88. ἤρξε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔτη τρία καὶ εἴκοσιν. *Archidamus* is mentioned as a young man in B. C. 378, at the 214 time of the attempt of *Sphodrias*: Xenoph. Hel. V. 4, 25—33. He gained the *tearless battle*, ἄδακρυν μάχην, B. C. 367. See the Tables.

Archidamus supported the Phocians in the Sacred war, which began in the fifth year of his reign. He assisted *Philomelus* secretly at first: Diod. XVI. 24. ὁ Φιλόμηλος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις διελέχθη τῷ βασιλεὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων 'Αρχιδάμῳ. According to *Theopompus*, *Archidamus* was corrupted by bribes: Pausan. III. 10, 4. Θεόπομπος—τόν τε 'Αρχίδαμον μετασχεῖν τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸν, καὶ ἔτι Δεινίχαν τὴν 'Αρχιδάμου γυναῖκα παρὰ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἔφη λαμβάνουσαν δωρεὰν ἐτοιμότερον ποιῆν σφισιν ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν 'Αρχίδαμον. And the Messenians affirmed, ἦν ἵκα οἱ Φωκέων δυνάσται τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς κατελήφασιν, ἰδίᾳ τε κατὰ ἄνδρα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ἐν Σπάρτῃ [*Archidamus* and *Cleomenes*] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπ' ἀξιώματος, καὶ κοινῇ τῶν τε

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Ἄρεϊ τῷ Ἀκροτάτῳ καὶ οὐχὶ Κλεωνύμῳ πατρώαν εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν. Plutarch. Agid. c. 3. Κλεομένης δὲ βασιλεύσας μετ' Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον τῶν υἱῶν Ἀκροτάτῳ ἔτι ζῶν ἀπέβαλε, νεώτερον δὲ Κλεώνυμον κατέλιπεν, ὃς οὐκ ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀλλ' Ἄρευσ, υἱὸς δὲ Κλεομένων. Ἀκροτάτου δὲ υἱὸς Ἄρευσ. Acrotatus is erroneously supposed by Pausan. VIII. 27, 8. to have been slain in a war between Lacedæmon and Megalopolis. Pausanias has mistaken this Acrotatus for his grandson, Acrotatus son of Areus. See below, ACROTATUS.

Cleonymus younger son of Cleomenes is alluded to by Polyæn. II. 29, 1. by the title of Κλεώνυμος Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. He is described as opposed to the generals of Craterus, who was in Greece in B. C. 322, and who was slain in B. C. 321, towards the end of the reign of Cleomenes. Cleonymus, therefore, improperly called king, was the son of Cleomenes, and afterwards competitor for the kingdom with his nephew Areus.

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26. AREUS I. grandson of Cleomenes, and twenty-third in descent from Eurysthenes, began to reign B. C. 309. Diod. XX. 29. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Δημητρίου—τὴν βασιλείαν διαδέξαμενος ὁ Ἀρεὺς^b υἱὸς [υἱὸς] ἦρξεν ἔτη τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα. The correction, υἱὸς for υἱός, is obvious. But Wesseling ad loc. with his accustomed judgment observes—*Ego vero non mutavi, incertum arbitratus auctoris ne peccatum sit an librariorum*. A similar error, of Diodorus or his transcriber, may be remarked in his mention of the younger Sophocles. See the Tables B. C. 396, 4.

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ἐφόρων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν γερονσίαν, μετασχόντας τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. Pausan. IV. 5, 1.

Archidamus was slain in Italy in August B. C. 338. Diod. XVI. 63. συμμαχήσας τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐν τινὶ μάχῃ διαγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς ἐτελεύτησεν. As he is mentioned by Xenophon as a young man forty years before, he might be perhaps sixty years of age.

21. AGIS III. Diod. XVI. 88. τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ υἱὸς Ἄγης ἦρξεν ἔτη ἐννέα. Id. XVII. 63. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀριστοφώντος [B. C. 330]—κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἄρξας ἔτη ἐννέα. These numbers enable us to correct ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα in Diod. XVI. 63. Nine years, however, are too long for the reign of Agis. For he succeeded his father in August B. C. 338, the second month of the archon Chærondas. But the cause of the Crown was pleaded in the year of Aristophon, the ninth archon from Chærondas; and in the very beginning of the year of Aristophon. Only eight years, therefore, elapsed between the death of Archidamus and the cause of the Crown. And yet Agis was already dead at that time: Æschin. Ctes. p. 72, 33. Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ ταλαίπωροι—νῦν μέλλουσιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναπέμπεσθαι, τοῦτο πεισόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πατρίς ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ. cf. p. 77, 15—21. The action in which Agis fell happened about the time of the battle of Arbela; (see Appendix c. 4. ALEXANDER III.)—towards the end of B. C. 331. We may therefore place the death of Agis in the archonship of Aristophanes; and he reigned eight years instead of nine.

At the time of the battle of Issus B. C. 333, Agis was communicating with the Persian naval commanders in the Ægean, to obtain supplies for the war against the Macedonians: Arrian. Exped. II. 13. παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται Ἄγης ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μᾶς τριήρους χρήματα αἰτήσων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

^b This name is written Ἄρευσ in Plutarch, but Ἀρεὺς in Diodorus and Pausanias.

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Cleonymus, the uncle of *Areus*, being disappointed of the succession, brought *Pyrrhus* against Sparta: *Plutarch*. *Pyrrho* c. 26. Κλεωνύμου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου παραγενομένου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, προθύμως ὑπήκουσεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεώνυμος ἦν μὲν γένους βασιλικοῦ, δοκῶν δὲ βίαιος εἶναι—οὐτ' εὐνοίαν οὔτε πίστιν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' Ἄρευσ ἐβασίλευε, κ.τ.λ. *Pausan.* III. 6, 2. ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκοντο ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας Κλεωνύμος τε ὁ Κλεομένους καὶ Ἄρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου.—Κλεωνύμῳ δὲ ἀπελαθέντι τῆς βασιλείας περισσῶς δὴ τι ὁ θῦμος εἶλε.—τέλος δὲ—Πύρρον τὸν Ἀλακίδου σφίσις ἐπηγάγετο ἐς τὴν χώραν^c. This attempt of *Pyrrhus* was made B. C. 272; consequently in the 37th year of *Areus*, when his son *Acrotatus* was grown up: ὁ νεανίας Ἀκρότατος. *Plutarch*. *Pyrrho* c. 28. *Areus* assisted the Athenians in a war against *Antigonos* son of *Demetrius*, who began to reign B. C. 283. *Conf. Pausan.* III. 6, 3. This king of Sparta was slain at Corinth: *Plutarch*. *Agid.* c. 3. Ἄρεως πεσόντος περὶ Κόρινθον, υἱὸς ὧν Ἀκρότατος τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχευ. *Areus I.* was contemporary with *Onias I.* high-priest of the Jews: who died in the ninth year of the reign of *Areus*, and to whom the embassy was sent: 1 *Maccab.* xii. 20. which *Josephus* *Ant.* XII. 4, 10. improperly refers to the time of a later *Onias*, when no king *Areus* was reigning at Sparta.

27. *ACROTATUS*. *Plutarch*. *Agid.* c. 3.—Ἀκρότατος τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχευ. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπ' Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ τυράννου. *Aristodemus* lived in the times of *Aratus* of *Sicyon*, and

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22. *EUDAMIDAS I.* younger son of *Archidamus* succeeded his brother *Agis* in the year B. C. 330, in the 40th year of *Cleomenes II.* *Pausan.* III. 10, 6. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρχιδάμου τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτατον παῖδα Ἄγιν κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν Μακεδόσιν ἐναντία καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ μαχεσάμενον. Εὐδαμίδας δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐβασίλευσεν ἄγουσιν εἰρήνην. Among the sayings ascribed to *Eudamidas* in *Plutarch*. *Apophthegm.* p. 220. D.—221. A. are some which bespeak his peaceful character or policy. In that collection *Apophthegm.* θ'. refers to the decree made by *Alexander* in B. C. 324.

23. *ARCHIDAMUS IV.* son of *Eudamidas*, was already king in B. C. 296, when he was defeated by *Demetrius Poliorcetes*: *Plutarch*. *Demet.* c. 35. ἐχομένων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ περὶ Μαντίνειαν Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ, νικήσας μάχῃ καὶ τρεψάμενος εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐνέβαλε. This would coincide with the fourteenth year of *Areus I.*

24. *EUDAMIDAS II.* *Plutarch* *Agid.* c. 3. thus deduces his descent from the great *Agisilaus*: ἦν Ἀγησιλάου μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ περὶ Μανδόνιον τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Μεσσηπίων ἀποθανών. Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν υἱὸς Ἄγισ, Εὐδαμίδας δὲ νεώτερος^c ὅς, Ἀγιδος ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου περὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντος ἀτέκνον, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε· τοῦτον δ' Ἀρχίδαμος Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ἕτερος Εὐδαμίδας· Εὐδαμίδα δὲ Ἄγισ.

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25. *AGIS IV.* son of *Eudamidas II.* the twenty-fourth^{cc} from *Procles*, and the sixth from *Agisilaus II.* *Plutarch*. *Agid.* c. 3. Ἄγισ Εὐρυτιωνίδης καὶ Εὐδαμίδα παῖς, ἔκτος ἀπ' Ἀγη-

^c *Pausanias* I. 13, 3. gives a short account of *Areus* and his ancestors: Πανσανίου τοῦ περὶ Πλαταίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγησαμένου Πλειστονόου υἱὸς ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Πανσανίας· τοῦ δὲ Κλεομβρότος ὃς ἐναντία Ἐπαμινῶνδῃ καὶ Θηβαίοις μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν ἐν Λεύκτροις. Κλεομβρότου δὲ Ἀγησιπόλις ἦν καὶ Κλεομένης· Ἀγησιπόλιδος δὲ ἀπαίδος τελευτήσαντος Κλεομένης τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε. Κλεομένει δὲ παῖδες γίνονται πρεσβύτατος μὲν Ἀκρότατος νεώτερος δὲ Κλεώνυμος. Ἀκρότατον μὲν οὖν πρότερον κατέλαβεν ἡ τελευτή· Κλεομένους δὲ ἀποθανόντος ὕστερον, ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν κατέστησαν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἄρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου καὶ Κλεώνυμος· ὃς ὅτε δὴ τρόπῳ μετελθὼν ἐπάγει Πύρρον ἐς τὴν χώραν.

^{cc} That is, *Eunomus* being omitted. See above p. 205.

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was put to death by Ecdemus and Demophanes, who had studied under the philosopher Arcesilaus. Polyb. X. 25. This agrees with the time of *Acrotatus* son of *Areus*. Pausanias, relating the history of the death of *Acrotatus* in the war with *Aristodemus*, calls him by mistake the son of *Cleomenes*: VIII. 27, 8. He repeats his mistake VIII. 30, 3. ἡνίκα τὸ πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Ἀκροτάτῳ τῷ Κλεομένους—μαχασαμένῳ πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον. But *Acrotatus* son of *Cleomenes* died in the lifetime of his father, fifty years before the times of this *Aristodemus*, as *Plutarch* and *Polybius* testify. Nor could the son of *Cleomenes* have been slain in that former war between *Lacedæmon* and *Megalopolis*, which happened in B. C. 352. For that war was eighty-six years before the death of *Areus* his son. Pausanias, however, rightly gives the descent of his family: III. 6, 3. After relating that the kingdom was adjudged to *Areus*, in preference to *Cleonimus*, he adds, Ἀρέως δὲ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Ἀκρότατος τοῦ δὲ, Ἀρέως.

The valour of *Acrotatus* saved *Sparta* from *Pyrrhus* in B. C. 272, during the absence of his father *Areus* in *Crete*. *Plutarch*. *Pyrrhus* c. 28. This *Acrotatus* may perhaps be intended by *Plutarch* *Apophthegm.* p. 216. D.

Areus and *Acrotatus*, οἱ μικρὸν πρὸ Κλεομένους βασιλεύσαντες, [before *Cleomenes III.*] are accused by *Phylarchus* apud *Athen.* IV. p. 142. b. of having changed the mode of living, and corrupted the ancient simplicity of *Sparta*.

28. *AREUS II.* A posthumous son, died at eight years of age: *Plutarch*. *Agid.* c. 3. κατέλιπεν [*Acrotatus*] ἐγκύμονα τὴν γυναῖκα. παιδίου δ' ἄρρενος γενομένου, Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμου τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔσχεν. εἴτα πρὶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενέσθαι τελευτήσας, οὕτως εἰς αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλεία περιήλθεν. *Pausan.* III. 6, 3. Ἀρεὺς ὀκτὼ

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σιλῶν τοῦ διαβάντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. *Idem* *Agesil.* c. 40. ἡ βασιλεία διέμεινε τῷ γένει μέχρις Ἀγίδος, ὃν ἐπιχειροῦντα τὴν πατριὸν ἀναλαβεῖν πολιτείαν ἀπέκτεινε Λεωνίδας πέμπτον ἀπ' Ἀγσιλάου γεγονότα. *Agis* was the sixth in descent, both extremes being included.

He led an army against *Aratus*, after the liberation of *Corinth* by *Aratus*; and was worsted: *Pausan.* II. 8, 4. ἐλευθερώσαντος Ἀράτου Κόρινθον,—Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἄγης ὁ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεὺς ἐφθησαν μὲν Πελλήνην ἐλόντες, ἤκουτι δὲ Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ συμβαλόντι ἐκρατήθησαν. *Corinth* was liberated when *Aratus* was prætor the second time, the year before the defeat of the *Carthaginians* by *Lutatus Catulus*: *Polyb.* II. 43, 6. ταῦτ' ἐγένετο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἡττης ἐν ᾗ καθόλου Σικελίας ἐκχωρήσαντες πρῶτον ὑπέμειναν τότε φόρους ἐνεγκὼν Ῥωμαῖοις. That defeat fell within Ol. 134. 3. or March B. C. 241^d; which will place the liberation of *Corinth* in Ol. 134. 2. In the summer season: *Plutarch*. *Arat.* c. 21. ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἔτους ἡ περὶ θέρος ἀκμάζον ὥρα, τοῦ δὲ μηνὸς πανσέληνος. And, as *Aratus* entered on his second prætorship in May B. C. 243^e, he acquired *Corinth* in the summer following, about July B. C. 243, in the beginning of that Olympic year.

In a war between the *Achæan* league and the *Ætolians*, *Agis* joined his forces with *Aratus*: *Plutarch*. *Arat.* c. 31. συμβαλεῖν μὲν τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ὥρμημένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀγίδος ἀφικνουμένου μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ συνεργιστῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, (ὁ Ἀράτος) οὐ προήκατο τὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμόν. This war, by the course of the narrative, seems to have occurred after the liberation of *Corinth*, and before the death of *Antigonus*. Consequently between B. C. 243 and 239. This last expedition is again

^d See F. H. III. p. 22. 24.

^e See F. H. III. 243, 2.

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μάλιστα ἔτη γεγὼνως τελευτᾷ νόσφ. καὶ ἐλείπετο γὰρ τῆς Εὐρυσθέους οἰκίας γένος τὸ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Λεωνίδας ὁ Κλεωνύμου παντάπασιν ἤδη γέρων.

Areus II. the 28th king was the sixth from *Cleombrotus*, (who fell at *Leuctra* about 110 years before the birth of *Areus*.) and the 25th from *Eurysthenes*. *Leonidas*, who succeeded him, was only the twenty-third from *Eurysthenes*, and the great-grandson of *Cleombrotus*.

29. *LEONIDAS II.* After having been regent for eight years during the life of *Areus II.* he became king on the death of the infant. By the management of the party of *Agis* his colleague, *Leonidas* was deposed, and his son-in-law *Cleombrotus* made king in his stead. The first reign, therefore, of *Leonidas* continued to about the year B. C. 243.

30. *CLEOMBROTUS.* Pausan. III. 6, 4. ἐπαύθη Λεωνίδας βασιλείας, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Κλεόμβροτος ἔσχε τὴν τιμὴν.—ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς κατὰγουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐθις βασιλεία ἐποιήσαντο. Plutarch *Agid.* c. 11. relates the expulsion of *Leonidas* by the faction of *Agis*, and the election of *Cleombrotus*: Κλεόμβροτον ἔπειθε τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι γάμβρον ὄντα τοῦ Λεωνίδου, γένους δὲ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. Polyb. IV. 35. Κλεομβρότου.—τὸν δὲ συνέβαινε βεβασιλευκέναι καθ' οὗς καιροὺς ἐξέπεσε Λεωνίδης ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

During the absence of *Agis* upon a military expedition, *Leonidas* returned about B. C. 240 (see *AGIS IV*), and put *Agis* to death.

31. *CLEOMENES III.* the thirty-first king, the twenty-fourth in descent from *Eurysthenes*, and the eighth from *Pausanias* who fought at *Platea*, succeeded his father *Leonidas* about four years after the death of *Agis*. He reigned sixteen years: Plutarch. *Cleom.* c. 38. Κλεομένης ἑκκαίδεκα βασιλεύσας ἔτη κατέστρεψεν. His death happened the third year after his flight from Greece: Polyb. IV. 35.—σχεδὸν ἤδη τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς

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mentioned by Plutarch *Agid.* c. 13. στρατεία 217 συνέβη τῷ Ἀγίδι μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, συμμάχων ὄντων, βοήθειαν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος. Αἰτωλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπίδοχοι διὰ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐμβολοῦντες. This happened while *Cleombrotus* was his colleague. Plutarch. *Ibid.* The death of *Agis* followed immediately afterwards.

Pausanias VII. 7, 2. mentions that *Agis* captured *Pellenē*, and was driven out again by the Achæans; that he made an attempt upon *Megalopolis*, which nearly succeeded: VIII. 27, 9. and relates the particulars of a great battle between *Agis* and the Achæans and Mantineans, in which *Agis* was slain: VIII. 10, 4. a manifest error, and contrary to the known history of *Agis*. Larcher *Hérodote*. tom. VII. p. 511. has noticed this mistake. It is, however, the blunder of Pausanias himself, and not of a transcriber; for he alludes to the death of *Agis* in the battle in another passage. (VIII. 27, 9.) Perhaps he followed a tradition of the Mantineans, invented for the credit of their city. Scaliger *Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ.* p. 367. has been misled by the authority of Pausanias upon this occasion, and makes *Agis*, the last of the *Proclidæ*, fall in battle.

26. *EURYDAMIDAS.* Pausan. II. 9, 1. Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν Σπάρτῃ—βασιλεία τε τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας Εὐρυδαμίδαν παῖδα ἔτι ἀνελὼν φαρμάκῳ διὰ τῶν ἐφορευόντων ἐς Εὐκλείδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν μετέστησε τὴν ἀρχήν. Pausanias elsewhere (III. 10, 6) calls him Εὐρυδαμίδαν τὸν Ἀγίδος. This son of *Agis* is mentioned by Plutarch; παιδίον νεογνόν. *Cleomen.* c. 1.

27. *ARCHIDAMUS V.* son of *Eudamidas* and brother of *Agis IV.* reigned at the same time with *Cleomenes*, by whom he was put to death: Plutarch. *Cleom.* c. 1. Ἀποθανόντος Ἀγίδος, τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρχίδαμον οὐκ ἔφθη συλλαβεῖν ὁ Λεωνίδας εὐθὺς ἐκφυγόντα. Some time after the accession of *Cleomenes*, he was slain by those who had been parties to the

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μετὰ τὴν Κλεομένους ἔκπτωσιν οὐδ' ἐπενόησαν οὐδέποτε βασιλεῖς καταστήσθαι τῆς Σπάρτης· ἅμα δὲ τῷ τὴν φήμην ἀφικέσθαι περὶ τῆς Κλεομένους τελευτῆς, εὐθέως ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεῖς καθ-
 218 ιστάναι. He consequently died Olymp. 139. 4 B. C. 22½. Polyb. V. 39. from whence we obtain the date of his accession B. C. 236.

The war of Cleomenes, πόλεμος Κλεομενικός, had lasted three years when he fled. The first campaign is described Polyb. II. 51. 52. The second campaign Polyb. II. 54, 4—13. The third campaign and the battle of Sellasia II. 64. 65.

The death of Cleomenes is best described by Polybius: V. 35—39. Pausanias III. 6, 5. remarks that he was the last of the Agidæ that reigned at Sparta: γένους μὲν δὴ τοῦ Εὐρυσθένους, καλουμένων δὲ Ἀγιαδῶν, Κλεομένης ὁ Λεωνίδου βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ. probably not considering *Agesipolis III.* as entitled to be numbered among the kings of Sparta.

32. AGESIPOLIS III. After the death of Cleomenes, *Agesipolis III.* a minor, the grandson of Cleombrotus, was elected king, and was given to *Lycurgus* for a colleague. Polyb. IV. 35. ἅμα τῷ τὴν φήμην ἀφικέσθαι περὶ τῆς Κλεομένους τελευτῆς, εὐθέως ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεῖς καθιστάναι.—τὸν μὲν ἕνα νομίμως καὶ καθηκόντως, Ἀγησίπολιν, ὅντα μὲν παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, υἱὸν δὲ Ἀγησιπόλιδος τοῦ Κλεομβρότου.—ἐπίτροπον δὲ εἴλοντο Κλεομένην, Κλεομβρότου μὲν υἱὸν Ἀγησιπόλιδος δ' ἀδελφόν. He was soon deposed by his colleague. Among those who joined Flaminius in B. C. 195, *princeps erat exulum Agesipolis, cuius jure gentis regnum Lacedæmone erat, pulsus infans a Lycurgo tyranno post mortem Cleomenis.* Liv. XXXIV. 26. He was murdered by pirates about B. C. 183: Polyb. XXIV. 11. ἐξαπεστάλησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος φυγάδων πρέσβεις· ἐν οἷς ἦν—Ἀγησίπολις, ὃς ἐτι παῖς ὢν ἐγενήθη βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ. τούτους μὲν οὖν ληστοὶ τινες διέφθειραν. *Agesipolis*, who might be forty years of age at his death,

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death of Agis: Plutarch. Cleom. c. 5. Ἄρατος—ὤρμησε μεταπέμπεσθαι τὸν Ἀγίδος ἀδελφὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ᾧ βασιλεύειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας ἦν προσήκον, —οἱ δ' ἀνηρηκότες πρότερον τὸν Ἀγιν αἰσθόμενοι τοῦτο—ἐδέξαντο μὲν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς δ' ἀπέκτειναν· εἴτ' ἄκοτος τοῦ Κλεομένους, ὡς οἶται Φύλαρχος, εἴτε πεισθέντος. Idem Comp. Ag. et Cleom. cum Gracchis p. 689. (Κλεομένης) Ἀρχίδαμον, ᾧ προσήκον ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας ὄντι συμβασιλεύειν, ἔπεισε μὲν ἐκ Μεσσήνης κατελθεῖν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τὸν φόνον οὐκ ἐπεφελθὼν ἐβεβαίωσε τὴν αἰτίαν καθ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀναφρέσεως. Polyb. V. 37. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἔφυγε δέσας τὸν Κλεομένην, καὶ παρεγένετ' εἰς Μεσσηνίαν. — μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Κλεομένους ὑποδείξαντος ἐλπίδα καθόδου καὶ διαλύσεως πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, —ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην κατήει—ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης ἀπαντήσας τὸν μὲν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐπανέλειτο, κ. τ. λ. Idem VIII. 1. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ὑπιδόμενος τὴν Κλεομένους φιλαρχίαν ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν πεισθεὶς ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτόν. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βίου στερηθεὶς, κ. τ. λ.

Archidamus V. left sons, who were living at the death of Cleomenes in B. C. 220, but were passed over, and the kingdom was given to a stranger: Polyb. IV. 35. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκίας, ὄντων ἐκ τῆς Ἰππομέδοντος θυγατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμῃ δυοῖν παίδων, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Εὐδαμίδου, ζῶντος δὲ καὶ Ἰππομέδοντος—ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου,—τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας ὑπερείδον, Λυκούργον δὲ βασιλέα κατέστησαν. *Archidamus V.* was therefore the last king of the race of the Proclidæ.

Agesilaus and his son *Hippomedon* are mentioned by Plutarch Agid. c. 6. Ἀγησίλαον θεῖον ὄντα τοῦ βασιλέως [*Agidis*].—ὁ υἱὸς Ἰππομέδων ἐκίνει καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν. He seems to have been the son of Eudamidas I. and consequently great-uncle to Agis IV.

LYCURGUS, not of the royal family, bribed the Ephori to elect him king, about three years after the battle of Sellasia. His acces-

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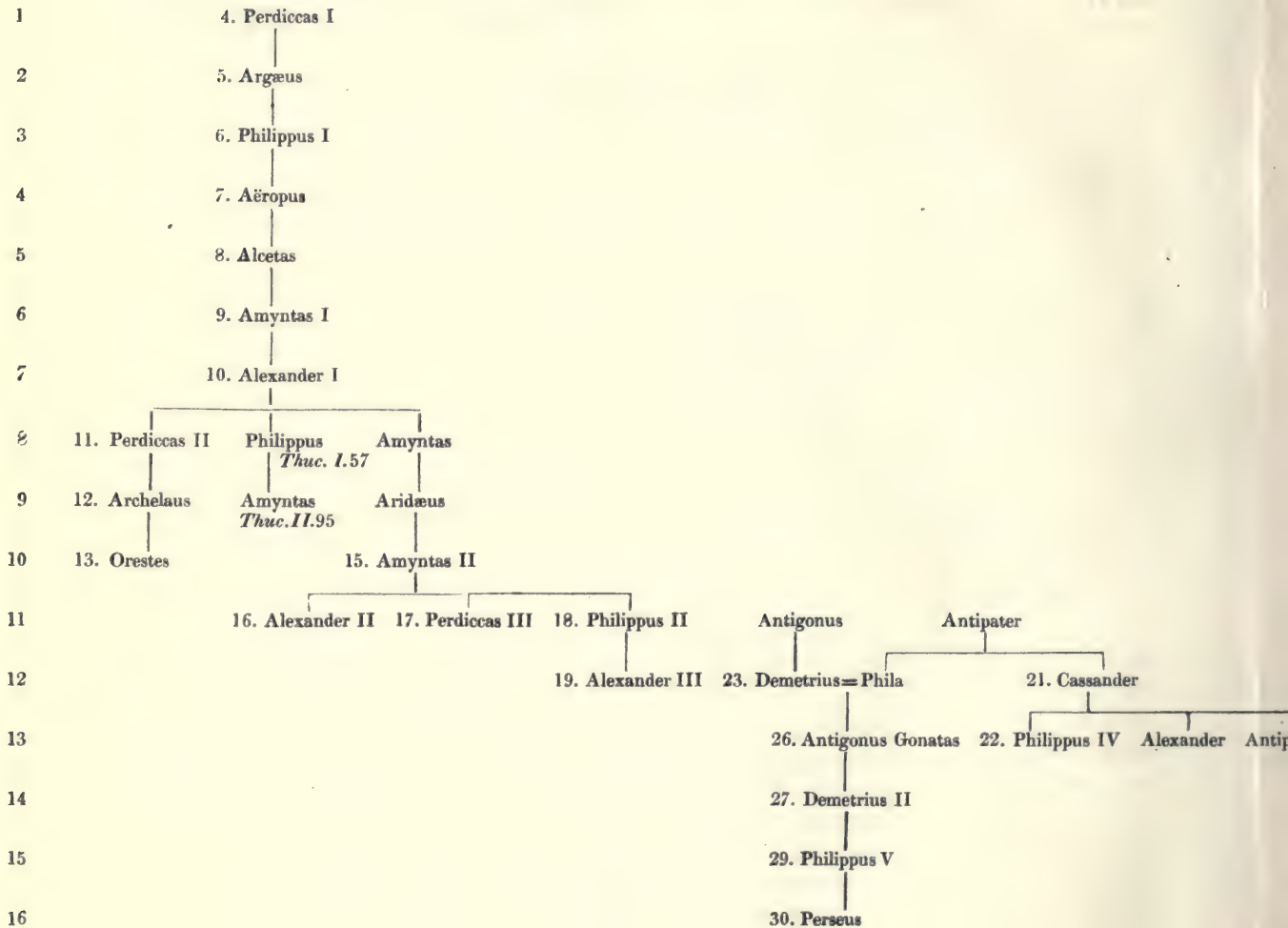
would be the twenty-fifth in descent from Eurysthenes, if his grandfather Cleombrotus was in the same generation with Leonidas II.

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sion is marked by Polybius IV. 2. He was followed by MACHANIDAS and NABIS. The last of these tyrants, *Nabis*, was slain in the consulship of *L. Quinctius Flaminius* and *Cn. Domitius* B. C. 192 : Liv. XXXV. 35.^f

^f See F. H. III. p. 62.

IV. KINGS OF MACEDONIA.



(1. <i>Caranus</i>)					
(2. <i>Coenus</i>)					
(3. <i>Thurimas</i>)					
4. <i>Perdiccas I.</i>					
5. <i>Argæus</i>					
6. <i>Philippus I</i>					
7. <i>Aëropus</i>					
8. <i>Alcetas</i>	Y.	B. C.			
9. <i>Amyntas I.</i> .....	..	[540]			
10. <i>Alexander I.</i> .....	..	[500]			
11. <i>Perdiccas II.</i> .....	..	[454]			
12. <i>Archelaus</i>	14. . .	413			
13. <i>Orestes and Aëropus (6.)</i>	5. . .	399			
14. <i>Pausanias</i>	1. . .	394			
15. <i>Amyntas II.</i>	24. . .	393			
16. <i>Alexander II.</i>	(1.) 2. . .	369	Y.	B. C.	
<i>Ptolemæus Alorites</i>	3. . .	367			
17. <i>Perdiccas III.</i>	5. . .	364			
18. <i>Philippus II</i>	23. . .	359			
19. <i>Alexander III</i>	13. . .	336			
20. <i>Philippus III. Aridæus.</i>	7. . .	323			
<i>Olympias</i> .....	..	..	316		
21. <i>Cassander</i>	19. . .	315			
22. <i>Philippus IV.</i>	[1.]..	296			
23. <i>Demetrius Poliorcetes</i> ..	7. . .	294			
24. <i>Pyrrhus.</i>	7. m. . .	287			
25. <i>Lysimachus (5. y. 6. m.)</i>	3. . .	286	Y.	M.	D.
<i>Ptolemæus Ceraunus</i>	[1. . .	5.]			
{ <i>Meleager</i>	(2.)				
{ <i>Antipater</i>	45.	Y.	B. C.		
{ <i>Sosthenes</i>	(2.)	3. . .	280—277		
{ <i>Ptolemæus</i>					
{ <i>Alexander</i>					
{ <i>Pyrrhus again</i>					
26. <i>Antigonus Gonatas</i>	44. . .	283			
27. <i>Demetrius II.</i>	10. . .	239			
28. <i>Antigonus Doson</i>	9. . .	229			
29. <i>Philippus V.</i>	42. . .	220			
30. <i>Perseus</i>	11. . .	178			

- 221 The first kings of Macedonia do not belong to the present subject. It will be sufficient to state the years which chronologers have pretended to assign to the first ten kings in the preceding list. The years of their reigns are specified in Eusebius, and, with some variation, in Dexippus^c.

EUSEBIUS.		DEXIPPUS.	
	Y.		Y.
1. Caranus . .	28.	Caranus . . .	30.
2. Coenus . . .	12.	Coenus	28.
3. Thurimas .	38.	Turimmas . .	45.
4. Perdiccas .	51.	[Perdiccas . .	48.]
5. Argæus . .	38.	Argæus . . .	34.
6. Philippus .	38.	Philippus . .	35.
7. Aëropus . .	26.	Aëropus . . .	23.
8. Alcetas . .	29.	Alcetas . . .	28.
9. Amyntas .	50.	Amyntas . . .	42.
10. Alexander.	43.	Alexander . .	44.
	353.		357.

These numbers are obviously manufactured by chronologers, upon no certain or positive testimony, since none existed. In Dexippus, *Perdiccas* seems omitted by corruption of the text^d.

It is well known that Herodotus and Thucydides omit all notice of the three first kings, and make *Perdiccas* the first king of Macedonia; at least of the dynasty founded by the Temenidæ.

AMYNTAS, the ninth king, (or the sixth according to Herodotus,) was king of Macedonia at the time of the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ from Athens in B. C. 510^e. He was already advanced in years, and his son *Alexander* arrived at manhood, when Megabazus, the Persian general, subdued Thrace, and sent ambassadors to Amyntas to require his submission: Herodotus^f. 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, ἄτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθὴς, οὐδαμῶς ἐτι κατέχειν οἷός τε ἦν· ὥστε—εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντεα τάδε· “Σὺ μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ ἀπιὼν τε ἀναπαύεο, κ. τ. λ.” These transactions happened about the year B. C. 507. Our knowledge of the chronology of the early kings of Macedonia is confined to these few particulars. Of the predecessors of Amyntas, with respect to the times in which they reigned, nothing is known.

ALEXANDER son of *Amyntas*, (the tenth king according to chronologers,) who was king at the Persian invasion in B. C. 480, was still living in B. C. 463, when *Cimon* recovered Thasos:

^c Apud Syncell. p. 262. 263. Scalig. Euseb. p. 57.

^d In the Paris edition of Syncellus, *Perdiccas* is supplied in the marginal list entitled *Marginale interculum e MS. Regio*. In this the kings are thus given:

Κάρανος ἔτη λ'.
Κοῖνος . . . κη'. ὁμοῦ νη'.
Τυριμμάς . . . μέ'. . . ργ'.
Περδίκκας . . . μη'. . . ρνα'.
'Αργαῖος . . . λδ'. . . ρπέ'.

Φίλιππος ἔτη (λέ.) ιε'. ὁμοῦ σ'.
'Αεροπᾶς . . (κγ.) ιγ'. . . σιγ'.
'Αλκέτας κη'. . . σμα'.
'Αμύντας μβ'. . . σπγ'.
'Αλέξανδρος . (μδ') μγ'. . . τκς'.

From the variation in the numbers of the 6th, 7th and 10th reigns, there is a deficiency of 31 years in the total.

^e See the Tables.

^f V. 19.

Plutarch^g (Κίμων) ἐκεῖθεν ῥαδίως ἐπιβῆναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμεῖσθαι παρασχόν, ὥς ἐδόκει, μὴ θελήσας, αἰτίαν ἔσχε δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεπείσθαι. According 222 to Justin^h, Alexander succeeded Amyntas soon after the events related by Herodotusⁱ: *Post discessum Bubaris Amyntas rex decedit: cuius filio et successori Alexandro cognatio Bubaris non Darii tantum temporibus pacem præstitit verum etiam Xerxen conciliavit.* If Alexander succeeded soon after B. C. 507, and was still alive in B. C. 463, he might reign something more than forty years.

According to Herodotus^k, he presented himself at the Olympic games as a competitor, and made out his title to be admitted as a Greek by descent^l.

11. PERDICCAS II. Athenæus^m has the following account: Περδίκκας πρὸ Ἀρχελάου βασιλεύει, ὥς μὲν ὁ Ἀκάνθιος φησι Νικομήδης, ἔτη μα'. Θεόπομπος δέ φησι λέ'. Ἀναξιμένης, μ'. Ἱερώνυμος, κη'. Μαρσύας δὲ καὶ Φιλόχορος, κγ'ⁿ. Dexippus^o: Περδίκκας ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη κγ'. The Parian Marble^p: ἀφ' οὗ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Περδίκκας Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευεν ἔτη Η[Δ]ΔΔΔΠ . . . ἄρχοντος Ἀθήγησιν Εὐθίππου. [B. C. 461.] ἡ ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρχέλαος Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσε Περδίκκου τελευτήσαντος ἔτη Η οντος Ἀθήγησιν Ἀστυφίλου. [B. C. 420.]

The variations, then, respecting the years of *Perdiccas* are these:

Nicomedes, and the Parian Marble,	41 years.
Theopompus	35.
Anaximenes	40.
Hieronymus	28.
Marsyas, Philoch. and Dexipp. . .	23.

Perdiccas was living at the latter end of B. C. 414^r, at least *eighty-six* years after the accession of his father *Alexander*, and about *ninety-three* years after the transactions in B. C. 507, when *Alexander* was already a young man. The shorter date for his reign, twenty-three years, which places his accession at B. C. 437, is consequently the less probable, because it would extend the reign of *Alexander* to more than sixty years [B. C. 500—437], and would suppose him to have lived seventy years after a period at which he was already grown up to manhood. Dodwell^s, therefore, with reason supposes the longer periods to be nearer the truth, and assumes the accession of *Perdiccas* to have fallen within B. B. 454. This date for *Perdiccas* would suppose the two reigns to have been 45 + 41 = 86 years. From the uncertainty which prevails in writers so near the times as Theopompus, Anaximenes, Marsyas, and Hieronymus, with regard to the reign of *Perdiccas*, we may form some judgment with what degree of credit we ought to receive the numbers which chronologers

^g Cimon. c. 14. ^h VII. 4. ⁱ V. 17—22.

^k V. 22. ^l Compare Justin VII. 2.

^m V. p. 217. d. e.

ⁿ The lacuna in Athenæus V. p. 217. e. is thus supplied by Casaubon:—ἄρχοντος Ἐπαμείνονος, ἐφ' οὗ τελευτᾷ [Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Περδίκκας διαδέχεται, ὅς ἐβασίλευεν ἕως Καλλίου, ἐφ' οὗ τελευτᾷ] Περδίκκας—. But both these dates are incompatible with history. The first, equivalent to B. C. 429, would give to *Alexander* a reign of more than

seventy years; and is contrary to Thucydides I. 57. who mentions *Perdiccas* as king in B. C. 432. The other, B. C. 406, is contrary to Diodorus XIII. 49. who describes *Archelaus* as already reigning in B. C. 410.

^o Apud Syncellum p. 262. D.

^p No. 59. ^q No. 62.

^r See the Tables 414, 2.

^s Annal. Thucyd. p. 92. 93.

have undertaken to assign to the reigns of the preceding kings. In *Amyntas I.* and *Alexander I.* we gradually arrive at greater certainty; and are enabled nearly to determine their times and periods. But the first epoch in this series of reigns, of which we can fix the year, 223 is the last year of *Perdiccas*; whose death may be placed, upon a comparison of *Thucydides* and *Dexippus*, in the archonship of *Pisander* [B. C. 414], the third year of the 91st Olympiad.

Demosthenes^t, by a singular oversight, has made *Perdiccas* king of Macedonia, instead of *Alexander*, at the Persian invasion: Περδίκκα τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατεῖαν βασιλεύοντι Μακεδονίας. The error is repeated in the oration (whether genuine or not) περὶ συντάξεως^u. *Reiske*^x attempts to justify *Demosthenes*, by supposing that *Perdiccas*, as the heir to the kingdom, might be properly said to reign, although in the lifetime of his father: *Quia Perdiccas regii generis et regni hæres erat, jam tum dici poterat βασιλεύων*. This excuse might have been valid, if *Perdiccas* had been grown up at that period, and capable of taking a part in affairs. But between the Median war B. C. 480 and the death of *Perdiccas* B. C. 414 is a space of sixty-six years; and this prince was either not yet born, or at least in infancy, at the expedition of *Xerxes*. Consequently the great orator cannot be absolved from the charge of negligence on this occasion.

12. *Archelaus* the ninth in descent from *Perdiccas I.* began to reign in the archonship of *Pisander*, the beginning of B. C. 413y. He reigned fourteen years: ἔμετὰ Περδίκκαν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιδ'. πρὸς δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης τραγωδιοποιὸς παραγεννηθεὶς πάντα τὸν χρόνον διῆξε τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτῷ. *Archelaus* therefore was assassinated B. C. 399, in the archonship of *Laches*; where *Diodorus*^a rightly places his death, although there is an error in the number of the years assigned to him: Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Λάχης—κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τινι κυνηγίῳ πληγὴς ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸν βίον μετέλλαξε, βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτά. The error of seven years is sufficiently refuted by *Diodorus* himself^b, who mentions *Archelaus* as king ten years before, in the year of *Glaucippus* B. C. 414c. The *Parian Marble*, as is well known, has committed an opposite error, placing the accession of *Archelaus* in B. C. 420, seven years too high.

Archelaus is recognised as the son of *Perdiccas* by *Thucydides*^c: Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς, βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὀκοδόμησε, καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε, καὶ τὰλλα διεκόσμησε τά τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσονι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὁκτὼ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι. But, according to *Plato*^d, he was of spurious birth, and usurped the kingdom: προσήκε μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐδὲν ἦν νῦν ἔχει, ὄντι ἐκ γυναικὸς ἢ ἦν δούλη Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Περδίκκου ἀδελφοῦ.—ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν δεσπότην καὶ θεῖον μεταπεμφόμενος ὡς ἀποδώσω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν Περδίκκας αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο, ξενίσας καὶ καταμεθύσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον—ἀπέσφαξε.—καὶ ταῦτ' ἀδικήσας ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν ἀθλιώτατος γενόμενος, καὶ οὐ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν γνήσιον, τὸν Περδίκκου υἱὸν, παῖδα ὡς ἐπταετῇ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον,—εἰς φρέαρ ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀποπνίξας, κ. τ. λ.^e *Ælian*^f preserves the name of his mother: Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς δούλης

^t In *Aristocrat.* p. 687.

^u P. 173.

^x In *Indice Historico* v. *Perdiccas*.

^y See the *Tables* B. C. 414, 2.

^z *Dexippus* apud *Syncellum* p. 263. A.

^a XIV. 35. 37.

^b XIII. 43. 49.

^c II. 100.

^d *Gorg.* p. 471. a.

^e *Athenæus* XI. 506. d. e. censures *Plato* for relating these anecdotes of *Archelaus*. But it is remarked by *Perizonius* ad *Ælian*. VIII. 9. that he does not charge *Plato* with falsehood in this

υἱὸς ἦν τῆς Σιμίχης. According to Dio ^ε, *Archelaus*, the ancestor of Alexander the Great, was a goatherd: ὁ πρόγονός σου Ἀρχέλαος—ἢ οὐκ αἰπόλος ἦν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, οὐδὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν αἶγας ἐλαύνων; But *Archelaus* is probably here named by mistake for *Perdiccas*, the founder 224 of the dynasty: to whom Herodotus ^h ascribes a similar occupation.

According to Diodorus the death of *Archelaus* happened by an accident. But according to better authorities he was assassinated by conspirators; among whom was *Crataeus*, *Crateuas*, or *Craterus*: Plato ⁱ:—οἶμαι δέ σε οὐκ ἀνήκοον εἶναι ἐνιά γε χθιὴν τε καὶ πρωΐζᾷ γεγενημένα· ὅτε Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Μακεδόνων τύραννον τὰ παιδικὰ—ἀπέκτεινε,—κατασχὼν δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας τὴν τυραννίδα πάλιν αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑφ' ἐτέρων τινῶν ἐτελεύτησε^k. Aristotle ^l:—διὰ τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα αἰσχύνεσθαι—ἢ Κραταίου (ἐπίθεσις) εἰς Ἀρχέλαον· αἰὲ γὰρ βαρέως εἶχε πρὸς τὴν ὀμίλιαν ὥστε ἱκανὴ καὶ ἐλάττων ἐγένετο πρόφασις, διότι τῶν θυγατέρων οὐδεμίαν ἐδωκεν ὁμολογήσας αὐτῷ.—ἀλλὰ τῆς γε ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχὴ τὸ βαρέως φέρειν πρὸς τὴν ἀφροδισιατικὴν χάριν. Συνεπέθετο δὲ καὶ Ἑλλανοκράτης ὁ Λαρισσαῖος διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν.—Καὶ τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐπιθέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο, παροξύνων τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους πρῶτος· αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ. Plutarch ^m;—Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέκτεινε Κρατεύας ἐρώμενος γεγωνός. Ælian ⁿ transcribes the account of Plato, to which he adds a circumstance from Aristotle.

13. ORESTES son of *Archelaus*. After the assassin *Craterus* was removed, *Orestes* son of *Archelaus* was made king under the guardianship of *Æropus*: ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Ὀρέστης παῖς ὢν, ὃν ἀνελὼν Ἀέροπος ἐπίτροπος ὢν κατέσχε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτη ἕξ. P' *Archelaus* δὲ ἀναίρεθέντος, διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Ὀρέστης υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτη δ'. ὃν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀεροπᾶς ἐπίτροπος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε μετ' αὐτὸν ἔτη δ'. Diodorus ^q;—περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον [in the year of *Diophantus* B. C. 39½] Ἀέροπος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἕξ. *Æropus* reigned four years of this period jointly with *Orestes*, and the remainder alone. Diodorus ascribes the whole period to *Æropus*; *Dexippus* specifies the distinct portions of each. But the two reigns were not *eight* years collectively, because *Pausanias* succeeded in the sixth year from the death of *Archelaus*. We may therefore assign with *Dexippus* *four* years to *Orestes* the minor; and *two* to the sole reign of *Æropus*. But the six years

narrative, but rather with ingratitude: *reprehenditur hoc nomine Plato ab Athenæo, non ille quidem, quod falsa dixerit, verum quod ea scripserit de Archelao, quum tamen Speusippus dicat eum fuisse φίλατον Ἀρχελάφ*. And the circumstances respecting the character of this prince, which are touched upon by Aristotle, make it credible that he might have risen to the throne, especially in those rude and unsettled times, by irregular means.

^f V. H. XII. 43. ^g Orat. IV. p. 163. Reisk.

^h VIII. 137. ⁱ Alcib. II. p. 141. d.

^k Those who labour to adjust the allusions of Plato to historical exactness may add this circumstance to the examples which Athenæus V. p. 216—218. XI. p. 505—509. (or rather Demochares, from whom Athenæus draws a part of his materials) has collected of the anachronisms of Plato. The death of *Archelaus* happened four or five

years after the death of *Alcibiades*, and in the same year as the death of *Socrates* himself; and yet, in a dialogue which must be supposed to have occurred some years before the death of *Alcibiades* himself, mention is made of the assassination of *Archelaus*. But such minute criticism is idle and superfluous. As if the object of Plato had been to study chronological precision, rather than truth of character and dramatic effect, in the scenery and colouring of his dialogues! This remark is equally applicable, on the supposition that the *Second Alcibiades* is to be ascribed to Xenophon rather than Plato; since the same petty cavils have been levelled at Xenophon.

^l Polit. V. 8, 11—13. ^m Amator. p. 768. F.

ⁿ V. H. VIII. 9. ^o Diod. XIV. 37.

^p *Dexippus* apud Syncellum p. 263. A.

^q XIV. 84.

were not complete; for between *Laches*, in whose year *Archelaus* died, and *Diophantus*, in whose year *Pausanias* succeeded, are only four archons.

14. PAUSANIAS. Diodorus^r;—'Αθήνησι μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε Διόφαντος—'Αέροπος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ—τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξάμενος Πανσανίας ὁ υἱὸς ἤρξεν ἐνιαυτόν. Diodorus is consistent in the date:—s'Αθήνησι μὲν Εὐβουλίδης ἤρξεν [the successor of *Diophantus*]^s—ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Πανσανίας ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ 'Αμύντου δόλῳ, ἄρξας ἐνιαυτόν. In the fragments of *Dexippus*, *Pausanias* is not mentioned, and *Amyntas* is made the successor of *Aëropus*.

15. AMYNTAS II. According to Diodorus^t, *Amyntas* began to reign in the archonship of 225 Eubulides B. C. 39½. τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχεν 'Αμύντας καὶ ἤρξεν ἔτη εἰκοσιτέσσαρα. and he died in the year of Dyseinetus B. C. 3½. u'Αθήνησι μὲν ἤρχε Δυσκίνητος.—'Αμύντας Θαρράλειον βασιλεύων τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρα, υἱὸς ἀπολιπὼν τρεῖς, 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ Περδίκκαν καὶ Φίλιππον. διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ 'Αλέξανδρος, καὶ ἤρξεν ἐνιαυτόν. He did not however reign these twenty-four years without interruptions: Diodorus^x—'Αθήνησι μὲν παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Δημόστρατος [B. C. 39½].—κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν 'Αμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατὴρ, 'Ιλλυριῶν ἐμβαλόντων εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἐξέπιπτεν ἐς τῆς πόλεως ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν 'Ολυνθίοις μὲν τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν ἐδωρήσατο, αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν ἀπέβαλε τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν καταχθεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἰκοσιτέσσαρα. *Ενιοὶ δὲ φασὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκπτώσιν τὴν 'Αμύντου διετὴ χρόνον 'Αργέον βασιλεύσαντα Μακεδόνων τότε τὸν 'Αμύνταν ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν. *Amyntas*, therefore, was expelled, after having reigned a year: which is confirmed by *Dexippus*. Ten years afterwards, he is mentioned as having been in great difficulties, but as having recovered his authority: Diodorus^y;—ἐπ' ἄρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Φανοστράτου [B. C. 38½]—κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν 'Αμύντου τοῦ βασιλέως ἡττηθέντος ὑπὸ 'Ιλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπογνόοντος,—μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀνελπίστως ἀναλαβόντος ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησάμενον. and as engaged in war against the Olynthians, with the Lacedæmonians for his allies: 'Αμύντας ἰδίαν τε δύναμιν συνεστήσατο καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ποιησάμενος συμμάχους ἐπεισεν ἐξαποστείλαι στρατηγὸν καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ολυνθίους. Confirmed by *Isocrates*^z: who has also described^a the vicissitudes of the reign of *Amyntas*; his expulsion by the barbarians; his recovery of the kingdom; and the final establishment of his authority. But it appears from the testimony of *Xenophon*^b that *Amyntas* in B. C. 383 was still in great difficulties; which are noticed by the Acanthian ambassador^c: 'Αμύνταν αἰσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπωκότα ἤδη ἀπάσης Μακεδονίας. *Dexippus*^d seems to have specified the detached portions of his reign: 'Αμύντας ἔτος α' βασιλεύσας ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἐξεβλήθη καὶ 'Αμύντας ὁ προῤῥηθεὶς καθείρχθη, υἱὸς μὲν 'Αριδαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ 'Αμύντου τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου, καθ' ὃν γέγονεν ἡ Ξέρξου διάβασις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα 'Αμύντου τοίνυν τούτου βασιλεύσαντος ἔτη ιβ', διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν 'Αλέξανδρος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πρῶτος, ἔτος α'. But the amount, twenty-four years, three times repeated by Diodorus, represents the whole interval from the first accession of *Amyntas* to his death, including the interruptions.

^r XIV. 82. 84.

^s XIV. 85. 89.

^u XV. 57. 60.

^y XV. 15. 19.

^t XIV. 89.

^x XIV. 90. 92.

^z See the Tables B. C. 382, 2.

^a Archidam. c. 18. p. 125. ^b Hellen. V. 2, 38.

^c Apud Xenoph. Hel. V. 2, 13.

^d Apud Syncellum p. 263. A.

With *Orestes* the direct descendants of *Perdiccas II.* had failed; and *Amyntas* was of a collateral branch of the royal family, being descended from *Alexander I.* in the fourth degree. The father of *Amyntas*, who is called *Aridæus* by *Dexippus*, is named *Menelaus* by *Justin*^e and *Ælian*^f, and *Θαβράλεος* by *Diodorus*^g. *Justin* makes *Menelaus* brother to *Alexander I.* and consequently omits two steps in the pedigree: *regnum Macedonia ad Amyntam fratris ejus (Alexandri) Menelai filium pervenit.* *Amyntas* son of *Philip*, mentioned by *Thucydides*^h, is supposed by a scholiastⁱ to be this king *Amyntas II.* But this is inconsistent with chronology; for it is not probable that *Amyntas*, who was grown up in B. C. 429 according to *Thucydides*^k, should have reigned till B. C. 369: and is contrary to the accounts of *Dexippus*, *Justin*, and *Diodorus*.

16. ALEXANDER II. the eldest son of *Amyntas* reigned one year: ^l ἤρξεν ἐνιαυτόν. One year is specified by *Dexippus*. But the narrative of *Diodorus* implies a longer space. He succeeded in the year of *Dyscinetus*^m B. C. 379. He is noticed as king of Macedonia in the 226 year of the next archon, *Lysistratus* [B. C. 368]: ⁿ ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσιστράτου—οἱ Ἀλενᾶδαι—ἀπελθόντες ἐκ Λαρίσσης εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔπεισαν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα συγκαταλῦσαι τὸν τύραννον. And his death is recorded under the year of a third archon, *Nausigenes*^o [B. C. 367]. And the account of his reign which is given by *Justin*^p also supposes a longer duration: *Alexander inter prima initia regni bellum ab Illyriis pacta mercede, et Philippo fratre dato obside, redemit. Interjecto quoque tempore, per eundem obsidem cum Thebanis gratiam pacis reconciliat.* He might therefore have reigned nearly two years; from B. C. 369 to B. C. 367. conformably with the dates of *Diodorus*.

Alexander was assassinated by *Ptolemy Alorites*: ^q ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Ναυσιγένους—Πτολεμαῖος δ' Ἀλωρίτης ὁ Ἀμύντου υἱὸς ἐδολοφόνησεν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Μακεδονίας ἔτη τρία. *Diodorus* is confirmed by *Marsyas*^r, who ascribes the assassination to *Ptolemy*. *Demosthenes*^s mentions one of the persons concerned in this murder: καίτοι τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ἦν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Φιλίππου οὗτος ὁ Ἀπολλοφάνης.

The following picture of the condition of Macedonia at the death of *Alexander* is drawn by *Æschines*^t: Ἀμύντου νεωστὶ τετελευτηκότος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν, Περδίκκου δὲ καὶ Φιλίππου παίδων ὄντων, Εὐρυδικῆς δὲ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν προδιδομένης ὑπὸ τῶν δοκούντων αὐτοῖς εἶναι φίλων, Πανσανίου δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν κατιόντος, φυγάδος μὲν ὄντος τῷ καιρῷ δ' ἰσχύοντος, κ. τ. λ. In this distress, *Eurydice* placed her sons under the protection of *Iphicrates* the Athenian general; who drove out *Pausanias*: ^u *Eurydice, mater Perdicæ et Philippi, cum his duobus pueris, Amynta mortuo, ad Iphicratem confugit, ejusque opibus defensa est.*

PTOLEMÆUS ALORITES was neither king, nor the son of *Amyntas*, although called so by

^e VII. 4.

^f V. H. XII. 43. ^g XIV. 92. ^h II. 95.

ⁱ Cod. Cassel. apud Duker. Annot. in Schol. ad II. 95.

^k II. 100.

^l Diod. XV. 60.

^m Diod. XV. 60.

ⁿ Diod. XV. 61. Compare also c. 67.

^o Diodor. XV. 71. ^p VII. 5.

^q Diod. XV. 71.

^r Apud Athen. XIV. p. 629. d. Mr. Mitford vol. VII. p. 329. 332. places this fact of the assassina-

tion of *Alexander* by *Ptolemy* among the stories of *Justin* and *Athenæus* which seem unworthy of credit. We have this fact, however, that *Ptolemy* was the murderer, upon the authority, not of *Athenæus*, but of *Marsyas*; almost a contemporary; whose means of information upon Macedonian affairs cannot be disputed. See, for the historian *Marsyas*, the Tables B. C. 308, 3.

^s Fals. Leg. p. 402. ^t Fals. Leg. p. 31, 33.

^u Nepos Vit. Iphicrat. c. 3.

Diodorus^x.—Dexippus^y: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον [Alexander] Πτολεμαῖος ἦρξεν ὁ λεγόμενος Ἀλωρίτης, ἀλλότριος τοῦ γένους, ἔτη γ'. Τοῦτον δὲ ἀνελὼν Περδίκκας υἱὸς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀμύντου Æschines^z—μετὰ ταῦτα εἶπον περὶ Πτολεμαίου, ὃς ἦν ἐπίτροπος καθεστηκὼς τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἀχάριστον καὶ δεινὸν ἔργον διεπράξατο, διδάσκων ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἀντέπραττε τῇ πόλει.—καὶ πάλιν ὡς Περδίκκας εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολέμησε τῇ πόλει. It seems probable, from a comparison of Æschines with the fragment in Syncellus, that Ptolemy was appointed regent in a regular way, during the minority of Perdiccas^a; that he afterwards abused his trust, and was in consequence cut off by Perdiccas. The duration of his administration, three years, is expressed by Diodorus^b: ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Χίωνος—[B. C. 227 36 $\frac{2}{3}$]—Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλωρίτης ἐδολοφονήθη ὑπὸ Περδίκκα, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁ Περδίκκας ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη πέντε.

17. PERDICCAS III. The dates of Diodorus^c are consistent: ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Καλλιμῆδους [B. C. 336 $\frac{2}{3}$] Φίλιππος παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν.—μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἀμύντου τελευτὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν υἱῶν διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν. τοῦτον δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλωρίτης δολοφονήσας παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ τοῦτον ὁμοίως Περδίκκας ἐπανελόμενος ἐβασίλευσε· τοῦτον δὲ παρατάζει μεγάλην λειψθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ πεσόντος, Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν. Between Chion and Callimedes are four archons: which would give five years for the reign of Perdiccas. And the space of forty years between the death of Archelaus in the beginning of B. C. 399 and the accession of Philip in the beginning of B. C. 359 corresponds with the detached numbers in Diodorus, who has specified the following years.

Aëropus (including Orestes)	6 years.
Pausanias	1
Amyntas	24
Alexander	1
Ptolem. Alorites	3
Perdiccas III.	5
	<hr/> 40

It has been shewn that the joint reigns of Aëropus and Orestes were something less than six years. But, to compensate for this, the reign of Alexander was something more than one. So that the total amount of forty years is not affected.

18. PHILIPPUS II. the eighteenth king, computed from Caranus; and the eleventh in descent from Perdiccas I. (the founder of the dynasty according to Herodotus,) both extremes

^x XV. 71.

^y Apud Syncellum p. 263. B.

^z Fals. Leg. p. 32, 7.

^a The account of Plutarch implies that Ptolemy was appointed regent in due form, by the consent of the parties, although Plutarch ascribes to Theban influence what Æschines ascribes to Athenian: Pelopid. c. 27. ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνιρρήκει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχευ· οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἐκάλουν τὸν Πελοπίδαν—ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, —Πτολεμαῖος δεξιωσάμενος καὶ δεηθεὶς ὡμολόγησε τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῖς τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῖς διαφυλάξειν.—

According to Justin VII. 4, 5. Eurydicē conspired with a paramour first against her husband Amyntas, and afterwards against her own children; and Alexander and Perdiccas perished by the arts of Eurydicē. The paramour would in this case be Ptolemy Alorites. But this account of the conduct of Eurydicē, which is unsupported by other testimony, is virtually contradicted by the narrative of Æschines. For these reasons, Mr. Mitford, with his accustomed judgment, has rejected the tale as fabulous. Vol. VII. p. 332, note.

^b XV. 77.

^c XVI. 2.

being included; and the third son of *Amyntas*, succeeded at twenty-three years of age, in the beginning of the year B. C. 359.

That *Philip* succeeded in B. C. 359 is probable from the following considerations.

His death happened in the beginning of the archonship of *Pythodemus*, soon after midsummer B. C. 336. *Diodorus* ascribes to him a reign of twenty-four years: ^d *εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρα ἔτη τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν.*—^e *ἄρξας ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι.* But *Satyrus* ^f, the author of a life of *Philip*, states his reign at twenty-two years: *ἐν ἔτεσι γοῦν εἴκοσι καὶ δυσὶν, οἷς ἐβασίλευσεν, ὥς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ.* And *Dexippus* ^h twice expresses twenty-three years as the amount: . . . *ἔτη κγ' κρατήσας τῆς βασιλείας Μακεδόνων, δεόντως δὲ ἅπαντα πράξας καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, μεγίστην πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπῃ ἀναδείξας τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν.*—*βασιλεύσας, ὥς προλέλεκται, ἔτη κγ', καὶ ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Πανσανίου.* We may therefore conclude his reign to have been less than twenty-four years. Between *Callimedes* and *Pythodemus* are twenty-three archons: and, if his accession happened about the seventh month of *Callimedes*, the actual duration of his reign would be twenty-three years and a half. *Dexippus* and *Diodorus* would be reconciled: the one speaking of complete, the other of current years.

The eleventh month of the archon *Theophilus*, or May B. C. 347, coincided with the thirteenth year of the reign of *Philip* ⁱ; since the death of *Plato*, on the seventh of *Thargelion*, was in that year of his reign. But, *Theophilus* being the thirteenth archon from *Callimedes*, (both included,) this computation also agrees with the accession of *Philip* about the seventh month of *Callimedes*. The precise interval to the death of *Plato* being twelve years and four months, this would be accurately described as the thirteenth year (current) of his reign. *Corsini* ^k is negligent in treating the commencement of the reign of *Philip*.

Philip, from the moment of his accession, without any interval of repose or preparation, was immediately engaged in encountering the dangers which surrounded him. This we collect from *Diodorus* ^l. The defeat of *Argæus* and the Athenians, the peace concluded with Athens, the expedition into *Pæonia* and *Illyria*, were operations of one campaign. But these operations are recorded by *Diodorus* partly under the year of *Callimedes*, and partly under the year of the next archon, *Eucharistus* ^m. The account of *Justin* ⁿ also implies that the first measures of *Philip* were prompt and rapid. According to *Diodorus* ^o, the *Illyrians* were anticipated before they had followed up their victory over *Perdiccas* by new ravages: *ὑπολειπομένων δὲ πολεμίων τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο καὶ τούτους καταπολεμῆσαι. εὐθὺς οὖν συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οἰκείους λόγοις προτρεψάμενος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν χώραν.* It is not likely that many months should have elapsed between the battle in which *Perdiccas* fell, and this expedition. And yet it is placed by the historian in the year of *Eucharistus*; and is preceded by a victory over the *Pæonians*, in the year of the same archon. That expedition, then, into *Illyria* was undertaken, at the soonest, in

^d XVI. 1.

^e XVI. 95.

^f Apud Athen. XIII. p. 557. c.

^g This passage is marked in the edition of *Schweighæuser* tom. V. p. 10. as a fragment of *Dicæarchus*. But, as *Dicæarchus* could not quote *Satyrus*, (who lived after him,) these are the words of *Athenæus*; and the only words quoted from

Dicæarchus are these: *ὅς περὶ τῶν ὅλων πολεμῶν τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα περιήγετο παλλακὰς, ὥς ἰστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βίου.*

^h Apud Syncellum p. 263.

ⁱ See the Tables. ^k Fast. Att. tom. iv. p. 18.

^l XVI. 2. 4. ^m See the Tables B. C. 359.

ⁿ VII. 6.

^o Diod. XVI. 4.

the autumn of B. C. 359, and the death of Perdiccas may be placed in the beginning of the same year P.

According to Justin^q, Philip died at the age of forty-seven: *Decessit Philippus quadraginta et septem annorum, cum annis viginti et quinque regnasset*. If this account of his age may be trusted, he was born in B. C. 382, and was thirteen years of age at the death of his father Amyntas and the accession of his elder brother Alexander in B. C. 369. When he was presented by Eurydicē to the Athenian general Iphicrates, about a year after, he is thus described by Æschines^r: μετεπέμψατο Ἴφικράτην Εὐρυδίκη ἡ μήτηρ ἢ σὴ, καὶ, ὥς γε δὴ λέγουσιν οἱ παρόντες πάντες, Περδίκκαν μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν σὸν καταστήσασα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὰς Ἴφικράτους, σὲ δὲ εἰς τὰ γόνата τὰ ἐκείνου θείσα παιδίον ὄντα, κ. τ. λ. Philip must have been then in his fifteenth year. These positions respecting his age will enable us to determine the value of some of the anecdotes concerning his residence at Thebes. Diodorus^s supposes him to have been received as a hostage from Alexander in B. C. 368, and carried to Thebes by Pelopidas. The same writer in another passage^t relates that he had been delivered by 229 Amyntas to the Illyrians, and by them committed to the father of Epaminondas; that Philip was educated with Epaminondas in the Pythagorean discipline; and that he escaped from Thebes to take possession of the vacant throne after the death of Perdiccas. Plutarch^u agrees with the former narrative. According to Justin^x, Alexander delivered Philip as a hostage first to the Illyrians, and then to the Thebans; and it is affirmed that he remained three years at Thebes. *Thebis triennio obses habitus prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe severitatis antiquæ, et in domo Epaminondæ—deposuit*. The residence of Philip at Thebes is alluded to by other writers: Ælian^y;—ὠμήρευσσε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Φίλιππος ἔτι παῖς ὢν. Dio^z; ἐν Θήβαις ὁμηρέων Πελοπίδα τε συνήν, ἀνδρὶ πεπαιδευμένῳ—καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδου τὰ τε ἔργα ἐώρα καὶ τῶν λόγων δὲ ἤκουσεν.—ὅθεν, οἶμαι, πολὺ διήνεγκεν ὁ Φίλιππος τῶν πρότερον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλευσάντων. Plutarch^a;—Πρὸς Φίλωνα τὸν Θηβαῖον εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον καὶ ξένον, ὁπνῆκα διήγεν ἐν Θήβαις ὁμηρέων, κ. τ. λ.—Wesseling^b has brought this subject to the test of a severe and exact criticism. He arrives at these conclusions: 1. That, if Philip had been committed to the Thebans in the lifetime of his father, he would have been too young to have profited by his Pythagorean instructors. 2. That *Epaminondas* from his age, (he would be thirty years older than Philip,) could not have been his fellow-pupil; especially under *Lysis*, who was already dead in B. C. 379, while Philip was in infancy. 3. That

P Gemistus Pletho Hellen. I. 13. allows a longer space: he remarks, δεύτερον ἦν ἔτος Φιλίππῳ, ὅτε Παιόνας ὑπηγάγετο. And, after recording the war with the Illyrians, as the last remaining antagonists,—λοιπὸς δ' αὐτῷ ὁ πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς πόλεμος ἦν—the success of Philip, and the submission of the Illyrians, he subjoins: καὶ Φίλιππος, ἐπισφαλίστατα ἔχουσιν τὴν Μακεδονικὴν βασιλείαν παρεληφώς, πρὶν δεύτερον αὐτῷ ἔτος ἐξήκειν βασιλεύοντι, εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλίστατον κατεστήσατο. But Gemistus had no sources of information which are not accessible to us. He drew his materials from Diodorus and Plutarch. Following the narrative of Diodorus, he would compute Olymp. 105. 1. 2 as the two first years of the reign of Philip; and all that is re-

corded by Diodorus under Olymp. 105. 2 (which corresponds with the archonship of Eucharistus) would belong, in the estimate of Gemistus, to the second year of Philip.

q IX. 8. The account of Justin sufficiently agrees with that of Pausanias VIII. 7. 4. who gives to Philip 46 years: οὐ πρόσω βιώσας ἐξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν. He might be 46 complete and 47 current.

r Fals. Leg. 32. 1. s XV. 67. t XVI. 2.

u Pelopid. c. 26. x VII. 5.

y V. H. XIII. 7. z Tom. II. p. 248. Reisk.

a Apophthegm. p. 178. C.

b Ad Diod. XVI. 2.

upon the testimony of Æschines Philip was not at Thebes at the death of his brother Alexander. 4. That upon the evidence of Speusippus^c he was already in Macedonia, and in the government of a province, (to which he had been recommended by Plato,) when Perdiccas was slain. These propositions seem indisputable. But we may admit the main fact, supported by so many testimonies, that Philip during some period of his early youth was placed at Thebes, where he profited by the instructions of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. That an alliance was made with Thebes during the reign of the regent Ptolemy is attested by Æschines^d: εἶπον περὶ Πτολεμαίου, ὅτι—πρὸς Θηβαίους διαφερομένων Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο.

19. ALEXANDER III. The chronology of his life and reign is sufficiently determined by the authorities quoted in the Tables, at the years B. C. 356. 336. 323. He was born in the Macedonian month *Loüs*, on the 6th of the Attic *Hecatombæon*. Plutarch^e: ἐγεννήθη δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἱσταμένου μηνὸς ἑκατομβαιῶνος, ὃν Μακεδόνες Λῶον καλοῦσιν, ἕκτη. He died on the 28th or 29th of the Macedonian month *Dæsius*^f; which corresponded with the Attic *Thargelion*^g. And the date of Ælian is justified by the testimonies which Plutarch has preserved to us. ^h καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς (θαρρηλιῶνος) πάντα. καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ βίου τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ πεπίστευται. Corsiniⁱ supposes the 28th of *Dæsius* to have been also the 28th of *Thargelion*: *Alexander Thargelione mense, ut ait Ælianus, hoc est, Plutarcho teste, 28 Dæsii sive Thargelionis die e vivis excessit.*—*Plutarchus ex diariis asserit Alexandrum 28 Dæsii sive Thargelionis die obiisse.* And Larcher^k likewise 230 assumes the two months to be conumerary: *Mort d'Alexandre le 29 du mois Macédonien Dæsius, qui répond au 30 Thargélion.* In the same manner Dodwell^l has understood Plutarch as if he had asserted that the 6th of *Hecatombæon* was also the 6th of *Loüs*. *Natalem Alexandri Loi VI^m. docet fuisse Plutarchus, &c.* But it is not affirmed that these months were conumerary. A part only of *Thargelion* coincided with a part of *Dæsius*, as a part of *Hecatombæon* would coincide with a part of *Loüs*. According to Ælian, Alexander died on the *sixth* of the month *Thargelion*. If this account be true, the 6th of *Thargelion*, in that year, corresponded with the 28th of *Dæsius*; consequently, the 1st of *Thargelion* fell upon the 23d of *Dæsius*. The observation of Ælian, that the death of Alexander, and his birth, happened upon the same day of the month, namely the *sixth*, is confirmed by Plutarch^m. He was born on the *sixth* of *Hecatombæon*; he died on the *sixth* of *Thargelion*ⁿ.

^c Apud Athen. XI. p. 506. f.

^d Fals. Leg. p. 32, 10.

^e Alex. c. 3.

^f Plutarch. Alex. c. 75. 76. See the detail in Plutarch compared with Arrian VII. 26. by Mr. Mitford vol. X. p. 452—458.

^g Plutarch. Alex. c. 16. τῶν Δαρείου στρατηγῶν—παράτεταγμένων ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Γρανικοῦ, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀσίας—ἐνίων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν μῆνα νενομισμένων οἰομένων· δεῖν φυλάσασθαι· Δαίσιον γὰρ οὐκ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατίαν· τοῦτο μὲν ἐπηρωρῶσατο, κελύσας δεύτερον Ἀρτεμίσιον ἄγειν. Idem Camill. c. 19. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ τοὺς βασιλείως στρατηγοὺς θαρρηλιῶνος ἐνίκησεν. Ælian.

V. H. II. 25. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνα τὰς πολλὰς μυριάδας τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων φθεῖραι καὶ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἕκτη ἱσταμένου, (θαρρηλιῶνος,) ὅτε καὶ Δαρεῖον καθεῖλεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 459 rightly understands Ælian here to speak of the victory at the Granicus; which Ælian places, with Plutarch, in the month *Thargelion*.

^h Ælian. Var. Hist. II. 25.

ⁱ Fast. Att. tom. IV. p. 50. 51.

^k Hérodote tom. VII. p. 708.

^l Dissert. IX. s. 3.

^m Alex. c. 3.

ⁿ See F. H. III. p. 354. j. In the present year Ol. 114. 1 the 6th of *Thargelion* fell upon May 19. See Dodwell's Tables p. 721. This,

It has been shewn in the Tables that Alexander's accession must be placed in the beginning of the archonship of Pythodemus. And this is farther confirmed by Arrian^o; who gives the following date for the voyage of Nearchus: ὥρμητο ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Κηφισοδώρου, εἰκάδι τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος μηνός, καθότι Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν. ὥς δὲ Μακεδόνες τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ ἦγον, τὸ ἐνδέκατον βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. The name of the archon is corrupted; but the date of the voyage of Nearchus is determined upon other testimony to Boëdromion of the archon Chremes, October B. C. 326 P. The eleventh year, then, of Alexander was *current*, and ten years of his reign were *completed*, in the third month of the archon *Chremes*: consequently his first year commenced before the third month of the archon *Pythodemus*. We may also remark, that, according to Aristobulus, Alexander lived thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned twelve years and eight months: Aristobulus, therefore, reckoned him at his accession to be just twenty years of age, and no more: which fixes the beginning of his reign to Hecatombæon of the archon Pythodemus 1.

if we assume from *Ælian* that the 6th of *Thargelion* was the 28th of *Dæsius* in that year, would

give the following dates for the Macedonian months in Ol. 114. 1.

	days	began		
1 Dius	30	Sept. 27	B. C. 324 ..	8 Boëdromion
2 Apellæus ...	29	Oct. 27	.....	9 Pyanepsion
3 Audynaëus ..	30	Nov. 25	.....	8 Maemacterion
4 Peritius	29	Dec. 25	.....	9 Posideon
5 Dystrus	30	Jan. 23	B. C. 323 ..	8 Gamelion
6 Xanthicus ..	29	Feb. 22	.....	9 Anthesterion
7 Artemisius ..	30	March 23	.....	8 Elaphebolion
8 Dæsius	29	April 22	.....	9 Munychion
23rd Dæsius=May 14=1st Thargelion				
28th Dæsius=May 19=6th Thargelion.				

It has been argued in F. H. III. p. 352. b. that N. E. 515 Ol. 136. 3 was the first year of a Metonic cycle in the Macedonian calendar; consequently that the Macedonians began their *ἐνεακαιδεκαετηρίς* in the 9th year of a Metonic cycle at Athens. But Ol. 114. 1 being the 14th year of a cycle would in that case have been the 6th Macedonian; and the 6th year of the cycle in N. E. 520 began at Oct. 19. Therefore the 6th in N. E. 425 (95 years before) would have begun (allowing for the excess of a day: see below p. 339) at Oct. 18, and the 28th of *Dæsius* would have fallen upon June 8=26rd *Thargelion*. Whence it would follow that in N. E. 425 at the time of *Alexander's* death the Macedonians had not yet adopted the cycle of *Meton*. Josephus in Apion I. p. 1184. places the death of Alexander in the *eleventh* year before the battle of Gaza: Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης—μνημονεύει τῆς Πτολεμαίου περὶ Γάζαν πρὸς Δημήτριον μάχης· αὕτη δὲ γέγονεν ἐνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐβδόμῃς καὶ δεκάτῃς καὶ ἑκατοστῇς, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ. προσθεῖς γὰρ ταύτην τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα φησὶν· Ἐπὶ ταύτης Πτολεμαῖος ὁ

Λάγον ἐνίκα κατὰ Γάζαν μάχῃ Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Πολιορκητὴν. This passage will illustrate the Tables B. C. 312, 2. The battle is accurately placed in that Olympiad: for it was fought in the beginning of the year of Polemon, and of Olymp. 117. 1. [B. C. 312.] The years from the death of Alexander are not quite correctly expressed; the actual space between the two events being eleven years complete, and twelve years current.

^o Indic. c. 21. p. 550.

^p See the Tables.

^q These considerations far outweigh the opinion of Josephus, if, as Petitus imagines, he placed the death of Philip at the 24th of January, the seventh month of this archon: that is, on the same day of the same month on which Caligula perished. (who was slain *nono Calendas Februarias*. Sueton. Calig. c. 58.) The passage from which Petitus Leg. Att. p. 331. establishes this date is as follows: Joseph. Ant. XIX. 1, 13. μῆμος εἰσάγεται καθ' ὃν σταυροῦται ληστῶν ἡγεμὼν, ὃ τε ὀρχηστὴς δράμα εἰσάγει Κινύραν ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς τε ἐκτείνετο καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Μύρρα, αἱμὰ τε ἦν τεχνητὸν πολὺ, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν

Our faithful guide, Arrian, determines the campaigns of Alexander by marking the dates of 231 the principal events. Mr. Mitford has too much neglected Arrian in fixing the times of the transactions of Alexander's reign. It will be seen by the Tables, that Alexander passed into Asia in spring B.C. 334; that *four winters* intervened between his arrival in Asia and the death of Darius; that this event happened in the *fifth* campaign of Alexander in Asia. It will be farther seen, that *three winters* intervened between the death of Darius and the defeat of Porus; that two campaigns were consumed in the northern provinces, and a third in India, in which Porus was encountered. Now, Mr. Mitford has deranged the times of these transactions. He supposes Alexander to be ^r "toward twenty-seven" at the conclusion of that campaign in which Bessus was tried and put to death, during the winter quarters at Bactra: and "twenty-two" when he passed into Asia: which nearly describes the actual interval. Again, he rightly specifies the date of Arrian for the battle of Arbela ^s B.C. 331 ^t. And yet he calls the operations of the following year ^u "Alexander's *fourth* campaign in Asia." He rightly dates the pursuit of Darius B.C. 330.^x But the operations of the next year are called ^y "the *fifth* campaign in Asia." Having marked the date B.C. 330 for the death of Darius ^z, he dates the winter quarters of Alexander at Nautaca, after the Sogdian war, B.C. 329, 328 ^a, which implies an interval of only *one* winter between the death of Darius and the Sogdian war. And yet Mr. Mitford himself, following Arrian, has marked *two* winters between the death of Darius and the quarters at Nautaca: ^b "Autumn was already "advanced." And he arrived at the Oxus ^c "with advancing spring." This, then, is the *first* winter, B.C. 327 ^d. He notices the ^e "advanced summer" during the operations beyond the Oxus: and afterwards, ^f "winter approaching, he moved for quarters to Zariaspa." This was the *second* winter: B.C. 327 ^g. Then he relates the Sogdian war ^h. After which ⁱ "winter approached" again. A *third* winter, then, after the death of Darius: consequently the winter of B.C. 327 ^j.

Mr. Mitford had supposed the battle of Issus, and the siege and capture of Tyre, to have happened in the same summer, and to have formed parts of the *second* campaign ^k. Hence

σταυρωθέντα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Κινύραν. ὁμολογείται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι ἐν ᾗ Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀμύντα Μακεδόνων βασιλέα κτείνει Πανστανίας εἰς τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιόντα. The true account of this matter is thus related by Suetonius Calig. c. 57. *Pantomimus Mnester tragediam saltavit quam olim Neoptolemus tragedus ludis, quibus rex Philippus occisus est, egerat.* [conf. Stob. Serm. 98, 70.] The same piece was represented on both occasions; and Josephus might be charged with an inaccurate account of the anecdote; which is the opinion of Usher Annal. ad A.M. 3668. p. 200. But a slight emendation clears him from this charge, and brings his words into an exact conformity with Suetonius: αἰμά τε ἦν τεχνητὸν πολὺ τὸ περὶ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐκκεχυμένον. Καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Κινύραν ὁμολογείται καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν ᾗ Φίλιππον——κτείνει Πανστανίας, κ. τ. λ. If this emendation be admitted, the sense will be this: "Two exhibitions occurred at the death of Cali-

"gula, the representation of a crucified robber, "and the tragedy of Cinyras. One of these exhibitions, the drama on the subject of Cinyras, "τὸ περὶ τὸν Κινύραν (sc. δράμα), is agreed to have "also occurred on the day of the death of "Philip."

^r Vol. X. p. 88.

^s Except that he supposes the month Hecatomæon to correspond with the end of May or beginning of June, which is an error of about one month.

^t Vol. IX. p. 399.

^u Vol. X. p. 1.

^x Vol. X. p. 10.

^y Vol. X. p. 45.

^z P. 10. and 51.

^a P. 96.

^b Vol. X. p. 51.

^c P. 65.

^d P. 80.

^e P. 84.

^f P. 91—95.

^g P. 96.

^h See c. 48. s. 4. His marginal date at p. 366 vol. IX. is inconsistent with his own description p. 307. 392.

he assigns a year too little to the succeeding campaigns: the *fourth* campaign is called the *third*; the *fifth* is called the *fourth*; and so of the rest. This defect of a year it seems his purpose to supply by supposing the sieges of the two hill forts and the marriage of Roxana to have ⁱ “consumed the summer.” So that, after Chorienes had surrendered, another winter arrived, which was passed at Bactra, or Zariaspa^k. He again mentions these ^l “winter quarters at Bactra” as the period of the death of Clitus, and the conspiracy of the band of pages; “^m in the winter quarters still of Bactra.” And Alexander waited in these winter quarters “ⁿ till the spring was considerably advanced” before he set out for the Indus. Mr. Mitford, therefore, although he rightly dates the Indian expedition in the spring of B. C. 327, yet in the detail has made it a year later, and has interposed *four* winters after the death of Darius instead of three.

- 232 After the passage of the Indus, he supposes, with Diodorus, another winter, before the battle with Porus. “At Taxila he took his winter quarters.” When Alexander forded the Hydaspes, ^p “spring was advanced.” Thus he renders ^q ὥρα ἔτους ἢ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος^r: misled, as it should seem, by the false reading ^s μουνυχιῶνος. He has therefore enumerated *five* winters between the death of Darius and the passage of the Hydaspes. These five winters would obviously bring down the engagement with Porus as low as B. C. 325; a date, at which it is confessed that Alexander had already arrived in Susiana.

When Alexander took his head quarters at Zariaspa, after his marriage with Roxana, he is said to be ^t “now but about in his twenty-sixth year:” and yet this period is the winter of B. C. 32⁷; according to Mr. Mitford himself. And, according to Mr. Mitford himself, Alexander passed into Asia at twenty-two, in the spring of B. C. 334; an interval of near seven years, instead of five. It is correctly stated ^u that “at the early age of twenty-four” Alexander took possession of Egypt.

Mr. Mitford, therefore, by neglecting the true time of the surrender of Tyre, has lost a year between the first passage of Alexander into Asia and the death of Darius. He has again, by neglecting the chronology of the campaigns in the northern provinces, interpolated two years between the death of Darius and the defeat of Porus.

His arrangement, however, is judicious in the period which follows the voyage of Nearchus: and he determines rightly that Alexander approached Babylon in the spring of the 324th year before Christ. On the concluding transactions of Alexander's life, he has some just remarks. Dr. Vincent^x had supposed the voyage of Nearchus to have occurred in B. C. 326, and the death of Alexander in B. C. 324. He finds it, however, to be ^y “more probable that “Alexander died May B. C. 323.” “One objection, however,” he observes, “only remains; “which is, that I cannot discover in any of the historians two winters after Alexander's “return to Susa. One is evident: that in which he subdued the Cossæi. But the year and “five months afterwards is not filled up by the transactions recorded.” This objection

ⁱ Vol. X. p. 108.

^k P. 108.

^l P. 120.

^m P. 125.

ⁿ P. 136.

^o Vol. X. p. 166.

^p P. 168.

^q Arrian. V. 9. p. 330.

^r Arrian uses similar expressions elsewhere:—
ὑπὸ τροπῶν ἄστινος τοῦ θέρους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει.

(VII. 21.) which Mr. Mitford vol. X. p. 427. has rightly interpreted.

^s In Arrian. V. 19. See the Tables B. C. 327.

^t Vol. X. p. 109.

^u Vol. X. p. 359.

^x Voyage of Nearchus p. 36.

^y P. 530.

Mr. Mitford ^z undertakes to answer; and has answered it most sufficiently by shewing that the leisure of one winter at Babylon was little enough for the performance of the things which were accomplished in that interval: the building and preparation of a powerful fleet; the excavation of a dock to receive it; extensive surveys for the improvement of the inland navigation; the erection of a town on a hostile frontier; the arrangement of the administration in the provinces of that vast empire. And he points out the two voyages down the river to the lake, requiring two distinct seasons of flood for their performance. Mr. Mitford in these observations has cleared this part of the history from much of the difficulty with which it was supposed to be embarrassed.

In describing the march of Alexander through the Upper Asia^a, I have followed the geography of Major Rennell, in his "Memoir of a Map of Hindostan^b:" where that great geographer traces the route of Alexander from the Caspian sea to the Indus. The distances have been corrected from the recent map of Arrowsmith, which, under the modest title of "Outlines of the Countries between Delhi and Constantinople," contains most valuable geographical information respecting those countries. Those who are curious to ²³³ follow Alexander's route from Zadracarta to the Iaxartes will find the distances in English miles nearly these.

<i>Zadracarta to Herat</i> ^c	522 miles.
<i>Herat to Zarang</i> ^d	232.
<i>Zarang to Agriaspæ</i> ^e	207.
<i>Agriaspæ through Arachosia (Arokhage) to Alexandria</i> ^f	188.
<i>From Alexandria, northwards, to Ghizni</i>	213.
<i>Ghizni to Bactra</i> ^g	307.
<i>Bactra to Nautaca</i>	230.
<i>Nautaca to Maracanda (Samarcand)</i>	22.
<i>Maracanda to Cyropolis</i>	163.
	<hr/> 2084.

^z Vol. X. p. 424—427.

^a In the Tables B. C. 330. 329. 328.

^b P. 200. third edit. 1793.

^c *Herat*, in the modern Korasan, corresponds in name and situation with the ancient *Aria*, which is described by Strabo XV. p. 724. as bounded, in its more limited sense, by the *Paropamisadæ* on the east: by *Drangiana* on the south; and by *Parthia proper*, and the *Caspia Pylæ*, on the west.

^d "*Zarang* appears in the Tables of Nasereddin " and *Ulugbeig*; and no doubt represents the ancient capital of the *Zarangæi*. It is reckoned a "very ancient city." Rennell, *Geography of Herodotus* p. 196. *Zarang*, nearly due south of *Herat*, is situated on the northern bank of the river *Hindmend*, in the modern province of *Seistan*.

^e The *Agriaspæ* (the *Εὐεργέται* of Alexander's historians) are recognised in the modern *Der-gaspæ*: likewise on the banks of the *Hindmend*,

nearly due east of the city of *Zarang*.

^f The *Paropamisan Alexandria*, or *Alexandria ad Caucasum*, was founded by Alexander before he passed northwards to Bactria: Arrian. III. p. 230. πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἦγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλιν ἐκτίσῃ, καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. καὶ θύσας ἐνταῦθα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπερέβαλε τὸ ὄρος τὸν Καύκασον. Bactriana was to the north and west, at the distance of fifteen days' march: Strabo XV. p. 725. ἔστι τὰ προσάρκτια καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν Βάκτρια.—πεντεκαίδεκαταῖος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κτισθείσης πόλεως ἦκεν εἰς Ἀδραψα, πόλιν τῆς Βακτριανῆς. These positions make the site assigned to Alexandria in Arrowsmith's map highly probable; where it is placed 213 English miles SSW. of *Ghizni*, and 75 miles to the east of *Arokhage*, or *Arachosia*. The narrative of Curtius VII. 3. places Alexandria on the north of the mountains, and nearer to the borders of Bactriana.

^g The city of *Bactra*, or *Zariaspa*, (the modern *Balk*;) is situated less than forty miles from the

Strabo ^h, describing the course of Alexander's march into Bactriana, confirms and verifies the authorities quoted in the Tables, both with respect to the position of the several provinces, and the season at which the march was performed. The army passed through *Aria*, the *Drangæ*, the *Euergetæ*, the *Arachoti*, and arrived among the mountains of *Paropamisus* in the autumn. There a city was founded, (the *Paropamisus Alexandria*,) and after wintering there, the army, proceeding in a N. W. direction over the mountains, reached Bactriana in fifteen days from Alexandria: *εἰς τὴν Ἀριανὴν ἦκεν εἴτ' εἰς Δράγγας—εἴτ' ἐκ Δραγγῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Εὐεργέτας ἦκεν,—καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχωτοὺς, ἦτοι διὰ τῶν Παροπαμισαδῶν ὑπὸ Πλειάδος δύσιν. ἔστι δ' ὀρεινὴ καὶ κεχιονοβόλητο τότε, ὥστε χαλεπῶς ὠδεύετο.—διαχειμάσας δ' αὐτόθι, ὑπερδέξιον ἔχων τὴν Ἰνδικήν, καὶ πόλιν κτίσας, ὑπερήκρυσεν εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν διὰ ψιλῶν ὁδῶν.—πεντεκαδεκαταῖος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κτισθείσης πόλεως καὶ τῶν χειμαδίων ἦκεν εἰς Ἀδραψα, πόλιν τῆς Βακτριανῆς.* According to Strabo's account, conformably with that of Arrian and Curtius, Alexander entered the province of *Bactriana* in the spring of B. C. 329.

- 234 While Alexander was engaged in his fourth campaign in Asia B. C. 331, the action between Agis and Antipater happened in Peloponnesus. The date of this action is not easily fixed. The words of Alexander, recorded by Plutarch ⁱ, imply that it occurred about the time of the battle of Arbela. When Alexander was at Susa, about a month after that battle, he had not heard of it; for he directed his officers on the sea-coast ^k *ἀποστῆλαι παρ' Ἀντίπατρον ὅσων ἂν δέηται Ἀντίπατρος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον.* Curtius ^l supposes the battle to have preceded the victory at Arbela: *Prius finitum est (bellum) quam Darium Alexander apud Arbela superaret.* According to Justin ^m, Alexander received the news of Antipater's success after the death of Darius: *Dum hæc aguntur, epistolæ Antipatri e Macedonia ei redduntur, quibus bellum Agidis—continebatur.* As the action had certainly happened before the cause of the Crown was pleaded, all these authorities concur in placing it at least within the archonship of *Aristophanes*.

Diodorus places this battle and the death of Agis one year lower, in the archonship of *Aristophon*. He supposes the report of the battle of Arbela to have already reached Greece before the Lacedæmonians began the war with Antipater. But it is plain from Arrian ⁿ that the war between them already existed, when the battle of Arbela was fought. And the expressions of Diodorus himself ^o,—*ἔως ἔτι τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα διαμένει τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι. βοηθήσειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς Δαρείον.—εἰ δὲ περιόψονται τοὺς Πέρσας καταπολεμηθέντας, μονωθήσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, κ. τ. λ.*—these expressions sufficiently shew that the event of the great battle with Darius was still doubtful; for this reasoning would have been absurd after it. Moreover, Diodorus relates the death of Darius as subsequent to the defeat of Agis. But, as the death of Darius happened in the very first month of Aristophon, from hence again it appears that the defeat of Agis occurred in the year of the preceding archon.

Dinarchus ^p alludes to this war between Agis and Antipater: *οἷα ἐπ' Ἀγίδος* [according to

river *Oxus*. But the province of *Bactria* extended far to the south; and its borders, which Alexander entered at *Adrapsa*, would not be many miles from *Ghizni*, although the precise limits and extent of the ancient province are uncertain.

^h XV. p. 724. 725.

ⁱ Agesil. c. 15.

^l VI. 1.

^m XII. 1.

^k Arrian. III. p. 198.

ⁿ III. p. 198.

^o XVII. 62.

^p In Demosth. p. 94, 30.

^q Syncell. p. 264. B.—267. B. ed. Paris. Scaliger. Euseb. p. 58. This fragment of Macedonian history is rather an abstract of Dexippus than a transcript. Porphyry apud Scalig. p. 62. 63. who has drawn from the narrative of his contemporary Dexippus, has some variations, and some additional particulars.

the happy correction of Wesseling ad Diod. XVII. 62] ἐγένετο, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐξεστράτευσαν, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἡλεῖοι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκοινώνουν, ὑπῆρχον δὲ ξένοι μύριοι, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς οἱ λέγοντες, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἦν. This assertion of Alexander's being then in India must not be taken in its literal meaning. He did not reach India till three years after. The orator only expresses the vast distance at which Alexander was then removed from the affairs of Greece.

For the revolutions in the Macedonian government, during a space of about forty-three years which followed the death of Alexander, our best guide is Dexippus. As I frequently refer to that fragment, it will be convenient to give the whole passage at once.—¹ Θάπτεται τὸ σῶμα (Ἀλεξάνδρου) σταλὲν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ Ἀριδαίου ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς πατρός, ὃς μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἦρχε Μακεδόνων μετονομασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν Φίλιππος, σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ Ῥωξάνης τῆς Δαρείου (?) παιδὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐγγὺς ἔτη ζ'. —² Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐχρήν πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείας περὶ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς παραθέσθαι συνοπτικῶς ἤδη προτέτακται μέχρι αὐτοῦ. λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν διαδεξαμένους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπισημοτέρους ἄξιον εἰπεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ. Μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν διαιροῦνται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Μακεδόνων μὲν, ὡς ἤδη λέλεκται, Ἀριδαῖος, ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς πατρός ἐκ Φιλίνης τῆς Θετταλῆς, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φίλιππος πόθῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Φίλιππον, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος παῖς ἐκ Ῥωξάνης τῆς Ὀξυάρτου· εἴτα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστος· ὧν οἱ προύχοντες ἦσαν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου κληρῶσά- 235 μένος τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν· Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος· Περδίκας ὁ λαβὼν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν ὀδυνόλιον ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης τάττεται Φρυγίας· Λυσίμαχος τὴν εἰς δεξιὰ τοῖς πλέουσι τὸν Πόντον ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει· Ἀντίγονος Φρυγίας τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Λυκίας ἄρχει· Εὐμένης Παφλαγονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας κληροῦται· Κάσανδρος ³ ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου σὺν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν Ἀριδαίου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διοικεῖ βασιλείαν ἐν Μακεδόσι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κρατεῖ. Ταῦτα πάντα συντρέχει κατὰ τὴν ῥιδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθ' ἣν ἀρχομένην, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τὸν Ἀριδαῖον, Ὀλυμπιάς ⁴ κτείνεται ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτηρ, ἡ παρὰ Αἰλάκου σταλείσα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλείου, ⁵ ἣ τοῦτον φυγοῦσα καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνας ἔλθοῦσα. διττῶς γὰρ ἱστορεῖται. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀνελοῦσα σὺν τῇ γαμετῇ ζ' ἔτει τῆς μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ μετὰ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου. βασιλεύει δὲ Μακεδόνων ἀρξαμένη σὺν δύο υἱαῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τε ἐκ Βαρσίνης τῆς Ἀρταβάζου Ἡρακλεῖ καλουμένῳ, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ προρρήθεντι ἐκ Ῥωξάνης τῆς θυγατρὸς Ὀξυάρτου Βάκτρων βασιλέως· οὗς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κάσανδρος ἀνελὼν, τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἄταφον ἐκρίψας, ἑαυτὸν Μακεδόσι βασιλεῖα ἀνηγόρευσεν, γήμας τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως γαμετὴν Θεσσαλονίκην, καὶ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ιθ', φθινάδι τε νόσῳ διαλυθεὶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν νημέροις, Φιλίππῳ, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ. ὧν Φίλιππος ⁶ πρῶτος ἦρξε μετὰ Κάσανδρον ἐν Ἐλατεῖα θανών· Ἀντίπατρος δὲ Θεσσαλονίκην ἀνελὼν τὴν ἰδίαν μητέρα συμπράττουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ⁷ εἰς Πόντον φεύγει πρὸς Λυσίμαχον, καὶ ἀναιρεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καίπερ γήμας θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Λυσάνδραν τὴν Πτολεμαίου γαμεῖ, παρὰ Δημητρίου δὲ ἀναιρεῖται τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ, συμμαχήσειν κατὰ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ νεωτέρου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦτον προσ-

¹ Sic Scalig. τὸ δακτυλίδιον Syncell.

² Sic Syncell. Κάσανδρος Ἀντιπάτρου Scalig.

³ Sic Syncellus; ριέ Scalig.

⁴ Hæc corrupta videntur.

⁵ Sic legendum videtur. ἡ τοῦτον Scalig. ὡς τοῦτον Syncell.

⁶ Sic Syncell. δύο παισὶ, τῷ τε ἐκ Φαρσίνης τῆς

Φαρναβάζου Ἡρ. Scalig.

⁷ Sic Syncell. α' ἦρξε μετὰ Κ. τὸν πατέρα Μακεδόνων ἐν Ἐλάτρῳ θανών Scalig.

⁸ εἰς Πόντον Dindorf. p. 505 ex MS. * εἰπόντων *redundat* Syncell. in margine. τῶν ἀδελφῶν περὶ βασιλείας εἰπόντων Scalig.

καλεσάμενος ^{aa}. καὶ ἄρχει Μακεδόνων Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου μὲν παῖς οὗτος, (τοῦ τὴν μικρὰν κληρωσαμένου Φρυγίαν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω προείρηται, φοβερωτάτου δὲ τῶν τότε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βασιλέων, ὃς καὶ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ θνήσκει, πάντων αὐτῷ διαφόρων ἐπιτεθέντων δυναστῶν, ἔτη ἡ' τῆς βασιλείας κρατήσας,) Πολιορκητὴς δὲ ἐπικληθεὶς, διότι ^b ὥφθη δεινότητος ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ βασιλεύσας ἀπάντων τῶν τῆνικαῦτα. Οὗτος τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας τῆς μικρᾶς ἔτη ιζ', Μακεδόνων δὲ ε' ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μόνᾳ μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Κασάνδρον· καὶ ἐκβάλλεται τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Πύρρου βασιλέως τῆς Ἡπείρου υἱοῦ μὲν Αἰακοῦ Ἡπειρώτου δυνάστου διαδεξαμένου τὴν Ἡπειρωτικὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, εἰκοστοῦ δὲ καὶ τρίτου ἀπὸ Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ Θέτιδος καὶ Πηλέως, ἀνδρὸς καὶ χειρὶ δυνατοῦ καὶ εὐβουλῆς στρατηγικοῦ. ὃς Πύρρος ἐκβαλὼν Δημήτριον, ὡς προσηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸ γένος Φιλίππου, δι' Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κτίστου μητέρα φέρουσιν ἐκ Πύρρου (τοῦ καὶ Νεοπτολέμου) παιδὸς Ἀχιλλέως τὸ γένος, ἐκράτησε ^c Μακεδόνων μῆνας ζ'. Λυσίμαχος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς, Ἀγαθοκλέους παῖς, εἰς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυφόρων, Θράκης τε καὶ Χερρόνησου τῆς λοιπῆς τε ^d βασιλείων ὁμόρου χώρας τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ταύτῃ ἐπιδραμὼν ὡς γείτονι, Πύρρον μὲν διεδέξατο αὐτὸς δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Μακεδόνων ἔτη ^e ε' καὶ μῆνας ε'. οὗτος ἡττηθεὶς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάτορα μάχῃ βασιλείᾳ Συρίας καὶ Ἀσίας, αἰχμάλωτον ἐλὼντα καὶ τὸν Πολιορκητὴν Δημήτριον, ^f 236 ἐκπίπτει τῆς ἀρχῆς. Φανεροῦ δὴ οὗτος τοῦ τρόπου καθ' ὃν Ἀντιγόνος τε, ὁ τῆς μικρᾶς Φρυγίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Λυκίας ἄρξας εὐθὺς μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, τέθνηκε· καὶ ὅπως ὁ τούτου παῖς Δημήτριος δόλῳ κρατήσας Μακεδόνων ὑπὸ Πύρρου ἐξεβλήθη, αἰχμάλωτός τε ἀλοῦς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τηρούμενος βασιλικῶς θνήσκει· καὶ αὖθις ὁ Λυσίμαχος Πύρρον ἐκβαλὼν Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν καὶ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος καταπολεμηθεὶς ἐκπέπτωκε τῆς ἀρχῆς· ὑπολείπεται δεῖξαι καὶ Σέλευκον ὅπως τῆς βασιλείας ἔτυχεν. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου πρῶτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεύσας ἔτη μ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Παλαίγλαζαν συνάπτει μάχην Δημητρίῳ τῷ Ἀντιγόνου, καὶ νικήσας ἀναδείκνυσιν Σέλευκον βασιλείᾳ Συρίας καὶ τῶν ἄνω τόπων· Σέλευκος δὲ ἀναβὰς μέχρι ^h Βαβυλωνίας,

^{aa} Sic Dindorf. Syncell. p. 505. προσκαλεσαμένου Scalig.

^b Habet Scalig. διὰ τὸ μετὰ θάνατον Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διασωθῆναι φυγὰς, ἡνίκα τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας ἀποσφαλεῖς ὥφθη—. omissa in Syncell.

^c Sic Syncell. τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς Scalig.

^d Sic Syncell. βασιλεύει Scalig.

^e ἔτη β' Syncell. in margine.

^f Porphyrius apud Scalig. p. 63. Ἀριδαῖος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ Φιλίνης τῆς Θετταλῆς, ὃν οἱ Μακεδόνες πόθῳ τοῦ Φιλίππου γένους Φιλίππον προσαγορεύσαντες βασιλείᾳ ἀνέδειξαν μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καίπερ ἐξ ἐταίρας γεγονότα, — διαδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν, Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς ριδ' ἔτει δευτέρῳ. λογίζεται δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτη ζ'. ἐπέζησε γὰρ ἄχρι ἑκατοστῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτους τετάρτου. Κατέλιπε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος παῖδας, κ. τ. λ. — Ἀριδαῖον μὲν οὖν Ὀλυμπιάς ἔκτεινεν ἡ μήτηρ Ἀλεξάνδρου· αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο παῖδας Ἀλεξάνδρου Κάσανδρος ἀναιρεῖ — γήμας δὲ Θεσσαλονίκην τὴν Φιλίππου, βασιλεύων ἐπέβίω ἔτη ιθ'. καὶ φθινάδι νόσῳ ἐπιπόνῳ διελύθη. τούτων διαδέχονται οἱ παῖδες Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀντίπατρος· οἷτινες ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ε' ἐβασίλευσαν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα. πρῶτος μὲν Φιλίππος· καὶ ἐν Ἑλατείᾳ ἀποθνήσκει. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ παιδὶ συμπράττουσαν ἀνελὼν τὴν

μήτερα Θεσσαλονίκην εἰς Λυσίμαχον ἔφυγε, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου θυγατέρων γήμας τινὰ ὁμοίως ἀνῆρέθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ Λυσιμάχου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ γαμῇ μὲν Λυσάνδρῳ τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου· πρὸς τε τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον ἀδελφὸν εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐπικαλεῖται Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου, — ἀναιρεῖται τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ Μακεδόσιν αὐτὸς ἄρχει Δημήτριος. τῶν οὖν παίδων Κασάνδρου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη λογίζονται ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους τῆς ἑκατοστῆς [ἄχρι] τοῦ τρίτου ἑκατοστῆς εἰκοστῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Δημήτριον δὲ ἐξ ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα Μακεδονίας Πύρρος ἐκβάλλει τῆς Ἡπείρου βασιλεύς. — ἑπτὰ δὲ μῆνας ἄρχει Μακεδόνων· τῷ δὲ ὀγδόῳ τούτου Λυσίμαχος διαδέχεται ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέους, Θετταλὸς ὢν ἐν Κρανῶνος, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονώς δορυφόρος. — βασιλεύει δὲ Μακεδονίας ἔτη ε' καὶ μῆνας ε' ἡττάται δὲ ἐν τῇ περὶ Κόρου πεδίον μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλείᾳ, — ὅτε καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλάττεται. Εὐθὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ Σέλευκον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδικῆς παῖς τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου, ᾧ Κεραυνὸς ἐπικλήσις ἦν, εὐεργέτην τε ὄντα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐκ φυγῆς ὑποδεξάμενον ἀνελὼν ἤρξεν αὐτὸς Μακεδόσιν· ὥσπερ Γαλάτας πολεμῶν ἀνῆρέθη, βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ε'.

^g Sic Syncell. ὁ τῆς μικρᾶς Φρυγίας εὐθὺς μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεύσας Scalig.

^h Sic Syncell. Βαβυλῶνος Scalig.

καὶ κρατήσας τῶν βαρβάρων, βασιλεύει ἔτη λβ'. διὸ καὶ Νικάνωρ ἐπεκλήθη. τῷ γοῦν λβ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἔτι τῆς ὅλης ζωῆς, Λυσίμαχον ἐκβαλὼν τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ἀρχῆςⁱ ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖται^k ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τοῦ Κεραυνοῦ λεγομένου, μέλλων δὲ Μακεδόνων ἄρχειν. καὶ κρατεῖ Μακεδόνων Πτολεμαῖος οὗτος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδίκης παῖς τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου, Σέλευκον ἀνελὼν εὐεργέτην τε ὄντα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐκ φυγῆς ὑποδεξάμενον, ἔτος^l ἓν καὶ μῆνας ε', ἀναιρεῖται καὶ αὐτὸς Γαλάταις πολεμῶν κατακοπεῖς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους^m τούτους, τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικειμένων τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ λεηλατούντωνⁿ αὐτήν, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐπεμβαίνοντας τῇ βασιλείᾳ πρὸς βραχὺ κρατεῖν καὶ ἐκπίπτειν αὐτῆς· ὧν εἷς καὶ Μελέαγρος ἀδελφὸς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας δυναστεύσας καὶ ἐκπεσόν· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἡμέρας μὲν· μεθ' ὃν Σωσθένης· ἔτι δὲ Πτολεμαῖος· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Πύρρος Ἡπειρώτης· οἱ πάντες ἔτη^o τρία κατὰ Διόδωρον ἐβασίλευσαν· Ἀντίγονος ὁ Γονατᾶς ἐπικληθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἐν Γόνοις τῆς Θετταλίας τραφῆναι, υἱὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ, βασιλεύει Μακεδόνων ἔτη ρ μδ'. προβασιλεύσας ἔτη ιβ' τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ἀρχῆς σὺν τῇ Ἑλλαδικῇ ἀντιποιοσάμενος ἓν κράτος. μετὰ τούτου ὁ υἱὸς Δημήτριος ἔτη ι' βασιλεύσας τελευτᾷ καταλιπὼν Φίλιππον υἱὸν νήπιον. τούτου ἐπίτροπος Ἀντίγονος^q κατασταθεὶς κρατεῖ Μακεδόνων ἔτη ιβ'. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Διόδωρον, ἔτη θ'. μεθ' ὃν ὁ Φίλιππος αὐξηθεὶς ἀπέλαβε τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἥρξεν ἔτη μβ'. τούτου τελευτήσαντος διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Περσεὺς ἔτη ι'.

According to Dexippus, the nineteen years of CASSANDER are to be computed, not from the death of *Philip Aridaeus*, but from the death of *Olympias*, about eighteen months afterwards, towards the end of the year of Democles; or spring B. C. 315. Cassander, then, died in the archonship of Antiphates, about the beginning of B. C. 296.

The deaths of *LYSIMACHUS*, *SELEUCUS*, and *PTOLEMY CERAUNUS*, fell nearly within the limits of the 124th Olympiad: 'Polybius. Ὀλυμπιάς ἦν εἰκοστή καὶ τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν—καιροὶ δὲ καθ' οὓς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Λυσίμαχος ἔτι δὲ Σέλευκος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κεραυνὸς 237 μετέλλαξαν τὸν βίον. πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι περὶ τὴν προειρημένην ὀλυμπιάδα τὸ ζῆν ἐξέλιπον. Ptolemy son of *Lagus* died after a reign of forty years, computed from the death of Alexander, towards the close of Olymp. 124. 1. or the beginning of B. C. 283.^s *Seleucus* was slain after a reign

ⁱ Memnon apud Photium cod. 224. p. 716. Σέλευκος δὲ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις κατὰ Λυσίμαχου ἐπαρθεὶς εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν διαβαίνειν ὤρμητο. Mallem tamen apud Syncellum εὐθὺς δὲ ἐπὶ—ex Porphyrio.

^k Sic Scalig. πρὸς Syncell.

^l ἔτος α' καὶ μῆνας ε' Scalig.

^m Sic Syncell. τοὺς χρόνους 57' [ὀλυμπιάδος] Scalig.

ⁿ Post αὐτὴν lacunæ signum apposuit Scalig.

^o ἔτη γ' κατὰ Διόδωρον Scal. omisso ἐβασίλευσαν.

^p Sic Syncell. idem quoque in margine. κδ' Scalig.

^q Ἀ. κ. ὁ Δημητρίου Scalig. r II. 41.

^s Ptolemy Soter governed seventeen years, and reigned twenty-three. See the Tables B. C. 306, 2. Philadelphus reigned two years with his father, and thirty-six alone. Porphy. in fragmento apud Scalig. Euseb. p. 59. ἐπεὶ ζῶν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς παρεχώρησε τῷ υἱῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ παιδὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέξα-

μένω, οὐκέτι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα, τριάκοντα δὲ καὶ ὀκτώ, τὰ τοῦ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου λογίζονται. τούτου διαδέχεται Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φιλάδελφος· καὶ ζῶντος μὲν ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς δύο πληροὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτη, ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὀκτώ [legendum ἐξ] καὶ τριάκοντα. ὥς καὶ τούτῳ ὀκτώ καὶ τριάκοντα τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας ἐνιαυτοὺς, ἴσους τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀποδιδούσθαι. Philadelphus reigned thirty-six years after the death of his father, and not thirty-eight. We must therefore substitute ἐξ for ὀκτώ. The reasoning of Porphyry is this: The whole amount of the two reigns was seventy-six years. There were counted to each thirty-eight years of sovereignty, by including in the reign of the son the two years of joint reign with his father, and by leaving to the father the thirty-eight years of his sole reign, before the association of his son. So that 40+36 became 38+38. This correction is now confirmed by the Armenian copy of Euseb. Chron. See F. H. III. p. 379.

of thirty-two years. Computed from the era of the Seleucidæ [autumn B. C. 312], thirty-one years would be completed towards the end of B. C. 281, in the very beginning of Olymp. 124. 4. He died seven months after Lysimachus: *† menses admodum septem*.

Dexippus places the death of *Seleucus seventeen months* before the death of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*. Dodwell^u, upon the authority of Dexippus and Pausanias, thus determines the dates: *Seleucus interiit anno Olymp. 124. 4 ad exitum vergente*: [early in B. C. 280.] *inde ergo cœperit regnum Ptolemæi in Macedonas, ab anno Olymp. 124^e. 4^o desinente. Huic autem annum unum et menses quinque tribuunt fragmenta.—Exibunt Ol. 125^e. 2ⁱ anni mense circiter quarto*. [about October B. C. 279.] This chronology is not satisfactory. 1. It is contrary to Polybius; who assigns the death of Ceraunus to the 124th Olympiad, or, at least, near it: *περὶ τὴν προειρημένην ὀλυμπιάδα*. But this arrangement of the dates places that event in the middle of the 125th Olympiad. 2. The Gauls after the overthrow of Ceraunus allowed some time to elapse before their irruption into Greece. According to Pausanias^x, the forces which had destroyed Ceraunus returned into their own country, and the expedition of Brennus into Greece was subsequent: *ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.—προελθεῖν δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδὲ τότε ἐθάβρησαν οἱ Κελτοί, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος οὕτω στόλος ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Βρέννος πολὺς μὲν ἐν συλλόγοις τοῖς κοινοῖς πολὺς δὲ καθ' ἑαστον ἦν τῶν ἐν τέλει Γαλατῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπαίρων στρατεύεσθαι.—ἀνέπεισέ τε δὴ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.—Υἱοῖς δὲ γε Ἑλλήσι—τὰ ἐς Μακεδόνας καὶ Θρᾷκας καὶ Παίονας τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας καταδρομῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔτι ἔκειτο ἐν μνήμῃ*. The defeat of Ceraunus, then, and the irruption of Brennus into Greece, were the transactions of two distinct campaigns. And this is confirmed by the succession of the reigns in Macedonia. After Ceraunus, *Meleager Antipater* and 238 *Sosthenes* reigned in successive order^z: and, according to Justin^a, Sosthenes was defeated by Brennus in this second expedition, before the passage into Greece. The Gauls, who

^t Justin. XVII. 2. ^u Dissert. X. p. 564. 565.

^x X. 19, 4. 5.

^y 20, 1.

^z Meleager, who has only a few days in Dexippus, has two months in Porphyry and Eusebius. The *forty-five* days of the *Etesian* are verified by the peculiarity of the number. Porphyry apud Scal. p. 63 gives two years to Sosthenes; whose reign had commenced before the expedition of Brennus into Greece. He thus continues his narration: *τὸν δὲ Πτολεμαῖον Μελέαγρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς διεδέξατο. Μακεδόνες δ' αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἐκβάλλονσιν ἄρξαντα δύο μῆνας ὥς ἀνάξιον φανέντα· καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται βασιλεία Ἀντίπατρον ἀδελφιδοῦν μὲν ὄντα Κασάνδρου υἱὸν δὲ Φιλίππου, κατ' ἀπορίαν γένους βασιλικοῦ. πέντε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἄρχοντα Σωσθένης τις τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐξελαύνει ὥς ἀδύνατον στρατηγεῖν, Βρέννου τοῦ Γαλάτου ἐπιόντος, τοσούτου πολεμίου. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Μακεδόνες Ἑτησίαν ἐκάλεσαν, ὅτι χρόνῳ τοσῶδε οἱ ἑτησίαι πνέουσιν. Σωσθένης δὲ Βρέννον ἐξελάσας, καὶ ὄλων δύο ἐτῶν προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀποθνήσκει· καὶ γίνεται ἀναρχία Μακεδόσιν. Porphyry in his table of reigns p. 64 computes ten years between the death of Demetrius Poliorcetes and the establishment of Antigonus in*

Macedonia. But this is inconsistent with all accounts, and even with his own. The three years B. C. 280—277, computed by Diodorus for the troubled interval which followed the death of Ceraunus, are more probable. *Pyrrhus*, indeed, who is named among the usurpers within that period, could only have asserted his pretensions by his partisans or agents. He was not personally present in Macedon till B. C. 274, after the conclusion of his Italian wars, and after the establishment of Antigonus: Plutarch. *Pyrrho* c. 26. *ἐξαετὴ χρόνον ἀναλώσας περὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους—ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου βασιλεύοντος*. His irruption into Macedonia, described by Plutarch *Pyrrho* c. 26. Justin. XXV. 3. appears to have occupied the year B. C. 273. His invasion of Laconia was in B. C. 272. and he met his death at Argos at the close of that campaign, when he was preparing to take his winter quarters: Plutarch. *Pyrrho* c. 30. *τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, διανοοῦμενος αὐτόθι χειμάσαι. τὸ δὲ χρεὼν ἦν ἄφικτον.—φθάσας ὁ Ἀριστέας ἐκάλεε τὸν Πύρρον εἰς τὸ Ἀργος.—εὐθὺς οὖν ἀνεξέγγινεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀργος*.

^a XXIV. 5.

invaded Greece in the year of Anaxierates, were at Delphi in the winter^b; consequently the winter of that archon, which determines their invasion to the autumn of B. C. 279. And the death of Ceraunus will be raised by these circumstances to the archonship of Gorgias, and perhaps to the autumn of B. C. 280, and of Olymp. 125. 1, a date more conformable to the terms of Polybius. 3. The duration of this usurper's reign is variously stated. Dexippus gives him seventeen months: but in Eusebius he has a year by one account, and nine months by another^c. As in the narrative of Dexippus no account is taken of the intermediate months, between the death of Lysimachus and the death of Seleucus, it is probable that these vacant months were sometimes included in the reign of Ceraunus^d. Hence the variations in the computations of his reign: *nine* months from the death of *Seleucus* would be *seventeen* from the death of *Lysimachus*. I have accordingly in the Tables preferred the *nine* months of Eusebius, as more consistent with Polybius and with the circumstances of the Gallic war: and I have supposed the *seventeen* months of Dexippus to represent the whole interval from the death of Lysimachus^e.

Seleucus is thus mentioned by Appian^f: Σέλευκος—τελευτῇ τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη βιώσας, καὶ βασιλεύσας αὐτῶν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. These forty-two years include his whole government, from the second distribution of the provinces made by *Antipater* in B. C. 321. Ἐ'Αντίπατρον πάλιν ἄρχειν εἶλοντο· καὶ ποιεῖται νέμῃσιν καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς Ἀσίας.—Αἴγυπτον μὲν Πτολεμαίου εἶναι.—Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν προσέθηκεν. The age of *Seleucus* is reported variously. Justin^h: *Lysimachus quatuor et septuaginta annos natus erat, Seleucus septem et septuaginta*. According to Dexippus, he was seventy-five. *Lysimachus*, who was slain seven months before *Seleucus*, in the summer of B. C. 281, had reigned or governed more than forty years; ἰ ἐβασίλευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη^k μάλιστα σὺν οἷς ἑσατράπευσεν. This space must be computed

^b We discern a winter in the narrative of Pausanias X. 23, 3—6. ῥίγος ἰσχυρὸν καὶ νιφετός.—χειμέριος νύξ.

^c Eusebius Pontaci p. 131. *Ptolemæus cognomento Ceraunus an. 1. Meleagrus menses 2. Antipater dies 45.* Eusebius Scaligeri: Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ καὶ Κεραυνὸς μῆνας θ'. μεθ' ὃν ἐβασίλευσε Μελέαγρος μῆνας γ'. μεθ' ὃν Ἀντίπατρος ἡμέρας μ'.

^d In the list of reigns in Porphyry. apud Scal. p. 64. *Ceraunus* follows *Lysimachus* without any interval:

Δημήτριος ὁ Πολιορκήτης . . . ἔτη 5'.

Πύρρος . . . μῆνας 5'.

Λυσίμαχος . . . ἔτη 6' μῆνας 6'.

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Κεραυνός . . . ἔτος 1' μῆνας 6'.

^e Memnon apud Photium cod. 224. p. 717. ascribes to Ceraunus a reign of two years: πολλὰ καὶ παράνομα ἐν δυσὶ διαπραξάμενος ἔτεσιν—ἀξίως τῆς ἀμότητος καταστρέφει τὸν βίον. Two years current may express in round numbers the seventeen months of Dexippus. Two years, strictly taken, and computed from the death of *Seleucus*, are wholly irreconcilable either with Polybius, or with the dates of the Gallic irruption into Greece.

^f Syr. c. 63.

^g Arrian. apud Photium cod. 92. p. 224.

^h XVII. 1.

ⁱ Appian. Syr. c. 64.

^k According to the rule of Taylor ad Demosth. Aristogit. p. 785. Reisk. the true amount, *more* than forty years, would be conveyed by Appian in the word μάλιστα. *Cum definitum numerum paulo excedit, dicimus μάλιστα, aut aliquid simile.* Plato in Critid:—περὶ δύο μάλιστα ὄντας μυριάδας. *Quæ verba non recte a plurimis accipiuntur. Nam si cum Salmasio Græci sermonis proprietatem spectes, non circiter aut admodum, ut illi, expones, sed "quod binas myriadas aliquantulum excedit."* But this doctrine must be received with some limitation. When μάλιστα is used to denote time, Wytttenbach ascribes to it the contrary meaning, which he supports by examples: ad Plutarch. Moral. p. 367. E. *Est hæc vis particula μάλιστα in significando tempore quæ respondeat Latine prope, fere, circiter, admodum.* To the examples adduced by Wytttenbach may be added the following: Thucyd. VIII. 68. τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον [in B. C. 411] ἔτει ἑκατοστῷ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ οἱ τύραννοι κατέλυθον ἐλευθερίας παῖσαι. The interval was *less* than 100 years: my computations make it 99; Dodwell's dates allow only 98. μάλιστα, then,

239 from the first division of the provinces made at Babylon by *Perdiccas*; when Thrace was given to *Lysimachus*: ¹Θράκης καὶ Χερρόνησου καὶ ὅσα Θραξὶ σύνορα ἔθνη—*Λυσιμάχῳ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπετράπη*. From the year of *Cephisodorus* Olymp. 114. 2 (a few months after the death of *Alexander*) to Olymp. 124. 3 both inclusive, the actual interval is forty-two years. The age of *Lysimachus*, as of *Seleucus*, is differently stated. *Justin* makes him seventy-four. *Appian*^m, seventy: τοῦ μὲν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη τοῦ δὲ ἐς πλέονα τούτων ἔτι ἄλλα τρία. *Hieronymus*ⁿ, eighty: ἐν τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον ἀπώλετο μάχῃ, ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν τελῶν, ὥς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος.

Lysimachus, at the period of his defeat and death, had reigned in Macedonia five years and six months. The date of his death fixes the commencement of that space to the beginning of B. C. 286, or the middle of Olymp. 123. 2. At that time *Pyrrhus* had held Macedonia seven or eight months. He therefore occupied it in B. C. 287. in which year *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was consequently expelled^o. Having fixed this point, we are enabled to ascend to the occupation of Macedonia by *Demetrius*, seven years before.—*ἑπταετίαν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου βεβαίως ἀρχθείσης*. As the seven years terminated towards the close of Olymp. 123. 1 [near midsummer B. C. 287], they would commence in the latter part of Olymp. 121. 2 in the year B. C. 294. There were therefore about two years and a half between the death of *Cassander* and this seven years' reign of *Demetrius*. These two years and a half were filled by the sons of *Cassander*. *Philippus* reigned first, according to *Dexippus*. *Plutarch*^q:—ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων *Φίλιππος* οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐβασίλευσε. The rest of the interval, whatever it was, was occupied by the contests of the surviving brothers, *Antipater* and *Alexander*^r, till *Demetrius* slew *Alexander* and reigned in his stead B. C. 294^s.

is here used by *Thucydides* in the sense assigned to it by *Wyttenbach*; and the phrase of *Appian* may possibly mean “*forty years at the most*,” instead of expressing “*more than forty years*,” although this last is the true description of *Lysimachus*'s reign.

¹ *Arrian*. apud *Phot.* p. 216. ^m *Syr.* c. 64.

ⁿ *Lucian*. *Macrob.* c. 11.

^o Compare *Plutarch*. *Pyrrho* c. 11. 12. *Demetr.* c. 43. 44. *Justin*. XVI. 2. 3.

^p *Plutarch*. *Demetr.* c. 44.

^q *Demetr.* c. 36.

^r See *Plutarch*. *Ibid.* In the treatise *περὶ δυναστίας* p. 530. C. *Plutarch* by mistake names *Antipater* for *Alexander*. The fate of the three sons of *Cassander* is briefly related by *Pausanias* IX. 7, 3. τῶν δὲ οἱ παῖδων *Φίλιππον* μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον ὥς μετ' οὐ πολὺν παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπήγαγεν ὑπολαβοῦσα νόσος φθινώδης· *Ἀντίπατρος* δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον *Θεσσαλονίκη*ν τὴν μητέρα ἀποκτείνουσιν *Φίλιππου* τε οὖσαν τοῦ *Ἀμύντου* καὶ *Νικασιπόλιδος*· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ* νέμειν πλέον εὐνοίας αἰτιασάμενος· ὁ δὲ *Ἀλέξανδρος* ἦν νεώτατος τῶν *Κασσάνδρου* παίδων· ἐπαγόμενος δὲ *Δημήτριον* τὸν *Ἀντιγόνου* καθεῖλε μὲν δι' ἐκείνου καὶ ἐτιμωρήσατο τὸν ἀδελφὸν *Ἀντίπατρον*, ἐφάνη μὲν τοι φονεὰ ἐξευρηκὼς ἑαυτῷ καὶ οὐ σύμμαχον.

^s *Porphyrus* assigns *three* years and a half to the sons of *Cassander*; which brings down the occupation of Macedonia by *Demetrius* to the end of Ol. 121. 3. near midsummer B. C. 293. But it has been shewn in the Tables that he agrees in determining the death of *Cassander* and the expulsion of *Demetrius* to the dates to which they are fixed by other incidents. The *Pythian* games which *Demetrius* celebrated at Athens were necessarily the *Pythia* of Ol. 122. 3 B. C. 290. In the interval between his accession and those games, a space of almost four years and a half, *Plutarch* relates two expeditions into *Boeotia* and two captures of *Thebes*. We may place the first of these events in the first year of his reign B. C. 294. *Plutarch*. *Demetr.* c. 39. ἐπὶ *Βοιωτοῖς* ἐστράτευσεν.—ὥς δὲ ταῖς *Θήβαις* ἐπαγαγὼν τὰς μηχανὰς ὁ *Δημήτριος* ἐπολιόρκει,—καταπλαγέτες οἱ *Βοιωτοὶ* παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς. The second capture of *Thebes*, as it appears from *Plutarch*, was not long before the *Pythia*. He thus describes the circumstances: c. 39. οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον ἀλίσκεται *Λυσίμαχος* ὑπὸ *Δρομικαίτου*· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἐξορμήσας ἐπὶ *Θράκην* τοῦ *Δημητρίου*, ὥσπερ εὖρημα καταληφόμενον, πάλιν ἀπέστησαν οἱ *Βοιωτοὶ*, καὶ *Λυσίμαχος* ἅμα διειμένος ἀπηγγέλλετο, ταχέως οὖν καὶ πρὸς ὁργὴν ἀναστρέψας ὁ *Δημήτριος* εὗρεν ἡττημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ

At the close of this period of forty-three years from the death of Alexander, the foundations 240 of the ACHÆAN LEAGUE were laid, according to Polybius. After fixing the commencement, or rather revival, of the League to Olymp. 124, and the period of the passage of *Pyrrhus* into Italy¹, he proceeds to a more particular detail: "πρῶτοι μὲν συνέστησαν Δυμαῖοι, Πατρέις, Τριταιεῖς, Φαραιεῖς. διόπερ οὐδὲ στήλην ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνει τῶν πόλεων τούτων περὶ τῆς συμπολιτείας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μάλιστα πῶς ἔτει πέμπτῳ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντες Αἰγίεις μετέσχον τῆς συμπολιτείας· ἔξης δὲ τούτοις Βούριοι—ἅμα δὲ τούτοις Κερυνεῖς. Afterwards, resuming the subject from the beginning, he states that the confederacy subsisted twenty-five years, before the appointment of a single annual prætor; that at the end of twenty-five years *Marcus Cerynensis* was appointed; that in the fourth year after the prætorship of *Marcus Aratus* delivered Sicyon; and that in the eighth year after that achievement *Aratus* was prætor for the second time, in the year before the defeat of the Carthaginians: "εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πέντε συνεπολιτεύσαντο μεθ' ἑαυτῶν αἱ προειρημέναι πόλεις, γραμματέα κοινὸν ἐκ περιόδου προχειρίζομεναι καὶ δύο στρατηγούς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐνὰ καθιστάνειν.—καὶ πρῶτος ἔτυχε τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης Μάρκος ὁ Κερυνεύς. τετάρτῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει τοῦ προειρημένου στρατηγούντος, Ἀρατος ὁ Σικυνῶνιος ἔτη μὲν ἔχων εἴκοσιν—ἐλευθερώσας τὴν πατρίδα προσέειπε πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν.—ὀγδόῳ δὲ πάλιν ἔτει, στρατηγὸς αἰρεθείς τὸ δεύτερον,—ἐλευθερώσας Κορινθίους προσηγάγετο πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πολιτείαν.—Ταῦτ' ἐγγίνετο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἡττης.

Larcher² imagines that the five years precede the twenty-five, and arranges the circumstances in this manner: B. C. 284. *Fondemens de la ligue des Achéens jetés par les habitants de Patres, de Dyme, et de Phares.* B. C. 280. *Environ cinq ans après que les villes de Dyme, de Patres, et de Phares, eurent posé les fondemens de la ligue, le reste des villes chassa ses tyrans, &c.* But this is contrary to Polybius. For the coalition of Patræ, Dymæ, and Pharæ, which, according to him, was coincident with the expedition of *Pyrrhus*, would be placed by 241 this arrangement four years before that expedition. The five years, then, were included in the twenty-five, and formed a part of the whole period. Larcher seems to have been

παῖδός Ἀντιγόνου μάχῃ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, καὶ τὰς Θήβας αὖθις ἐπολιόρκει. Ibid. c. 40. εἶλε τὰς Θήβας πάλιν· καὶ παρελθὼν ἀνάτασιν μὲν καὶ φόβον ὥς τὰ δεινότερα πεισομένους παρέσχεν· ἀνελὼν δὲ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ μεταστήσας τινὰς, ἀφῆκε τοὺς ἄλλους. [Diod. tom. IX. p. 273. Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ δεύτερον ἀποστατήσαντων Θηβαίων πολιορκίᾳ τὰ τεῖχη καθελὼν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, δέκα μόνους ἄνδρας ἀνελὼν τοὺς τὴν ἀποστασίαν κατεργαζομένους.] ταῖς μὲν οὖν Θήβαις οὕτω δέκατον οἰκουμέναις ἔτος ἄλῳναι δις ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ συνέπεσε. Τῶν δὲ Πυθίων καθηκόντων,—ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐτὸς ἦγε τὸν ἀγῶνα.—ἐντεῦθεν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Μακεδονίαν,—ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλοῦς, κ. τ. λ. This will determine the second siege of Thebes to about the summer of B. C. 290, the end of Ol. 122. 2. The capture of *Lysimachus* by *Dromichaetes* (for which see *Strab.* VII. p. 302. 305. *Diod.* tom. IX. p. 269. *Pausan.* I. 9, 7) occurred between the first and the second expedition of *Demetrius* into Boeotia. In the number of *Plutarch*, οὕτω δέκατον ἔτος, there is a difficulty, which *Wesseling* ad *Diod.*

tom. IX. p. 501. has noticed: *Id certe liquet, verum esse non posse Thebas ed tempestate οὕτω δέκατον ἔτος fuisse habitatas. Instauratæ enim sunt a Cassandro Ol. 116. 2 [B. C. 315], alterâ vice a Demetrio occupatæ Ol. 122. 2 quod intervallum XX annis amplius est.* But *Plutarch* might follow *Polemo* in computing thirty years from the destruction of Thebes by *Alexander* to its restoration by *Cassander*; which would fix its re-establishment to the archonship of *Euxenippus* B. C. 305. See the Tables. The number in *Plutarch* appears mutilated, and for οὕτω δέκατον we should probably read οὕτω πεντεκαίδεκατον. Fifteen years not completed would describe the exact interval from the year of *Euxenippus*, (the date of *Polemo*,) to the close of Ol. 122, 2, to which the second capture is fixed by the occurrence of the Pythian games.

¹ See the Tables B. C. 280, 2. ² II. 41.

³ II. 43.

⁴ *Hérodote* tom. VII. p. 718. 719.

influenced by the expression *αἱ προειρημέναι πόλεις*. But those expressions do not refer to all that had preceded, but only to the towns *Dymē*, *Patræ*, *Tritæa*, *Pharæ*, of which especial mention had been made by the historian^y.

The five years being included in the twenty-five, we obtain from the enumeration of Polybius the following distribution.

	Y.	B. C.
League of <i>Dymē</i> , <i>Patræ</i> , <i>Tritæa</i> , <i>Pharæ</i>	5	} 25 {
Addition of <i>Ægium</i>	^z 20	
<i>Marcus Cerynensis</i> prætor	4...	255
<i>Aratus</i> delivers <i>Sicyon</i> ^a	8...	251
<i>Aratus</i> prætor the second time	1...	243
<i>Carthaginenses Lutatius et Postumius consules</i> } <i>devicti ad Ægates</i> . Liv. XXIII. 13. }		241 ^{aa}

26. ANTIGONUS GONATAS, son of *Demetrius*, and grandson of the first Antigonus, died B. C. 239, after a reign of forty-four years, at the age of eighty: ^b Ἀντίγονος υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Δημητρίου υἱῶνός δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ μονοφθάλμου· οὗτος τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη, ἐβίωσε δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα, ὥς Μήδιδος τε ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς. Lucian agrees with Dexippus in the duration of his reign. His death is placed by Porphyry^c in Ol. 135. 1. λογίζεται δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἔτη τῆς βασιλείας τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἦν γὰρ βασιλεὺς καὶ πρὶν τῆς Μακεδονίας κρατῆσαι ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα πρότερον.—τελευτᾷ δὲ τῆς ρλ᾽ ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτει πρώτῳ. These forty-four years were computed from the death of his father *Demetrius*, in B. C. 283. and terminate in B. C. 239. His reign of ten years, preceding his recovery of Macedonia, commenced at the captivity of *Demetrius*, in B. C. 286. This is confirmed by 242 Plutarch^d: ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἐν τοιαύτῃ τύχῃ γεγωνὸς ἐπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Κόρινθον ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους—Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πράγματα διαφυλάττειν,

^y Strabo VIII. p. 384. marks the expedition of Pyrrhus as the era of the League: ἀνέλαβον σφᾶς πάλιν κατὰ μικρόν, ἤρξαν δὲ Πύρρον στρατεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τέσσαρες συννοῦσαι πόλεις, ὧν ἦσαν Πάτραι καὶ Δύμη. εἴτα προσελάμβανόν τινες τῶν δώδεκα. understanding Polybius in the sense which I have ascribed to him.

^z Strabo VIII. p. 385. εἴκοσι μὲν δὴ ἔτη διετέλεσαν γραμματεῖα κοινὸν ἔχοντες καὶ στρατηγούς δύο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ κοινοβούλιον εἰς ἓνα τόπον συνέηγετο αὐτοῖς, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀρνάριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ κοινὰ ἐ χρημάτιζον καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον. εἴτα ἔδοξεν ἓνα χειροτονεῖσθαι στρατηγόν. We may suppose, with Casaubon and Schweighæuser, that the word *πέντε* has escaped from the text of Strabo; or, with the Leipsic editor, that the amount is expressed in round numbers;—*majorem numerum summam ponere*. But it is also possible that the text of Strabo is right, and that he intended accurately to express by *twenty years* the actual period, computed from the erection of the pillar which recorded the Union. And this is the more pro-

bable, because he notices the place of Assembly; Ἀρνάριον, Αἰνάριον, or Ὀμάριον. (See Schweigh. ad Polyb. II. 39.) And this stood at *Ægium*: Strab. VIII. 387. Pausan. VII. 24, 3. VII. 7, 1. and consequently became the place of meeting after the accession of *Ægium* to the Union.

^a In *Anthesterion* of B. C. 251. See F. H. III. p. 16. In the first prætorship of Aratus, according to the opinion of Gronovius, Reiske, and Larcher. But this opinion is shewn to be erroneous by Schweighæuser ad Polyb. II. 43, 2. Polybius does not notice the first prætorship of Aratus.

^{aa} VI. Id. Mart. B. C. 241. See F. H. III. p. 24.

^b Lucian. Macro. c. 11.

^c Apud Scalig. Euseb. p. 63. Porphyry adds, that Antigonus lived *eighty-three* years: καὶ βιωὺ μὲν τὰ πάντα ἔτη τρία καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. But from the age of *Demetrius* this is not credible: and the numbers of Lucian are more just.

^d Demet. c. 51.

κ. τ. λ. The ten years would terminate in B. C. 277, after the expiration of those three years which followed the death of Ceraunus^c.

The three years' captivity of Demetrius commenced at the expulsion of Pyrrhus by Lysimachus, or rather preceded it^f. And, as that expulsion is determined by the death of Lysimachus to the year B. C. 286, the captivity of Demetrius began in 286, and consequently ended in 283, forty-four years before the death of his son Antigonus^g. Respecting his age there is some variation. He is said to have been twenty-two in the year of Polemon B. C. 312^h, which would suppose his birth in B. C. 334; and yet fifty-four at his death in B. C. 283, which would give B. C. 337 for his birth. The latter date is the most probable, from the age of his son *Antigonus*. Demetrius married *Phila* daughter of *Antipater* after the death of her first husband *Craterus*ⁱ, who was slain in B. C. 321. ^κ ταύτην κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπέιθεν ὁ πατὴρ λαβεῖν. Antigonus the offspring of that marriage, who died at the age of eighty in B. C. 239, would be born B. C. 318, when Demetrius, by the largest computation of his age, would be no more than nineteen. The larger computation is therefore the most probable.

27. DEMETRIUS II. Polybius^l agrees with Dexippus in assigning ten years to *Demetrius*: Δημητρίου βασιλεύσαντος δέκα μόνον ἔτη καὶ μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον περὶ τὴν πρώτην διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Ῥωμαίων. The Romans passed into Illyricum in B. C. 229, when *Postumius Albinus* and *Cn. Fulvius* were consuls^m, precisely ten years after the death of *Antigonus Gontas*; the termination of whose reign in B. C. 239 is confirmed by this circumstance.

28. ANTIGONUS DOSON. The nine years of Diodorusⁿ are verified by Polybius^o. *Antigonus* died soon after the battle of Sellasia, which may be placed in B. C. 222. Immediately after that victory, Ἀντίγονος—εἰς Ἄργος ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἦλθε τὴν τῶν Νεμέων πανήγυριν.—ᾠρμησε κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν. καταλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ συμβαλὼν—τῇ μὲν μάχῃ κατώρθωσε.—μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ νόσῳ τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε. Plutarch^p attests the same. And the successor of Antigonus was in the throne in B. C. 220. This king therefore reigned only nine years. The erroneous number, twelve years, adopted from Dexippus^q, had deranged this whole period. Dodwell sagaciously recovered the true amount of the reign of Antigonus, without which the dates are irreconcilable with Polybius.

29. PHILIPPUS V. The two terms of his reign, his accession and death, are accurately 243

^c According to the writer of the life of Aratus, Antigonus flourished in Ol. 125: Γέγονε δὲ Ἀντίγονος κατὰ τὴν ρκ' ὀλυμπιάδα. Vit. Arat. tom. II. p. 431. ed. Buhle. Whence we may restore the date in another life of Aratus: tom. I. p. 4. Buhle. ἦν ὁ Ἀντίγονος υἱὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ, καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν περὶ ἑκατοστὴν καὶ πέμπτην [leg. ἑκατοστὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ πέμπτην] ὀλυμπιάδα. καθ' ἣν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος Αἰγύπτου ἐβασίλευσε. This marks the date of his recovery of Macedonia, in B. C. 277 Olymp. 125.³.

^f See Plutarch. Pyrrho c. 12. We collect also from Plutarch. Demetr. c. 47. 48. that his captivity happened in a winter: ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἤξιον αὐτὸν—τὸν χειμῶνα διαθρέψαι τὴν δυνάμιν αὐτόθι.—Σελεύκος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν, εἰ βούλεται, δύο μῆνας ἐν τῇ Καταονίᾳ χειμάσθαι. This was the winter of Ol. 123. 2; and determines the surrender of Demetrius perhaps to January B. C. 286. The third

year, therefore, of his captivity was completed; which places his death in the beginning of B. C. 283.

^g Ol. 135. 1, the date of Porphyry for the death of Antigonus, is equivalent to B. C. 243.².

^h See the Tables B. C. 312, 2.

ⁱ Diod. XIX. 59. ^κ Plutarch. Demetr. c. 14.

^l II. 44. ^m Polyb. II. 10. 11.

ⁿ Apud Dexippum. ^o II. 70.

^p Vit. Cleomen. c. 27. 30.

^q Porphyry, with Dexippus, also assigns twelve years to this reign: p. 63. Φίλιππον μὲν οὖν—ἐπετρόπευεν Ἀντίγονος ἕτερος, ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους, ὃ Φούσκος ἐπώνυμον ἦν δίκαιον δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ὄρωντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐστήσαντο βασιλεύειν, καὶ τὴν Χρυσήϊδα αὐτῷ ἤρμωσαν. ὁ δὲ παῖδων γενομένων ἐκ τῆς Χρυσήϊδος, οὐκ ἀνεθρέψατο, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Φιλίππῳ παρασώζων. ᾧ δὲ καὶ παρέδωκεν ἀποθήσκων, ἐπιτροπέυσας μὲν ἐπ' ἑτῇ ιβ' ζήσας δὲ πάντα ἑτῇ ιμβ'.

marked by Polybius and Livy; and verify the forty-two years ascribed to him by Dexippus. He was already king at seventeen years of age^r:—when *Ariston* was prætor of the *Ætoliæns*^s, and *Timoxenus* of the *Achæans*^t. *Ariston* was prætor from autumn B. C. 221 to autumn B. C. 220. The year of *Timoxenus* extended from spring B. C. 221 to spring B. C. 220.^u We may therefore place his accession in the very beginning of B. C. 220. And his death is recorded by Livy^x in B. C. 179: *Eodem anno [Q. Fulvio L. Manlio consulibus] Philippus rex Macedonum senio et mœrore consumptus decessit*. He therefore reigned U. C. Varr. 534—575 [B. C. 220—179] both inclusive: a period of forty-two years.

30. PERSEUS. The battle of Pydna is fixed by the eclipse, which happened the night before, to June 22d B. C. 168. Perseus was captured in Samothrace soon after: *Perseus Q. Fulvio L. Manlio consulibus regnum accepit, regnavit undecim annos*. Dexippus reckoned ten years. The actual duration of his reign was about ten years and a half^z.

The number of the *Macedonian kings* is variously stated in the present text of authors who have mentioned them^a. If all the usurpers are computed, the kings of Macedonia will amount to thirty-eight.

V.

IONIAN WAR—MARATHON—SALAMIS.

THE Naxian war and Ionian revolt are raised four years too high by the error of supposing *seven* years between the capture of Miletus and the expedition of Datis, where Herodotus only specifies *three*. The error is apparent in the following dates given by Larcher^b and Reizius^c.

LARCHER.	A. J. C.
<i>Commencement des troubles de l'Ionic.</i>	504.
<i>Incendie de Sardes</i>	503.
<i>Les Cypriens se révoltent</i>	502.
<i>Les Cypriens sont remis sous le joug</i> ..	501. (V. 116)
<i>Prise de Milet</i>	498.
<i>Aristagorus est tué</i>	498.
<i>Prise des îles de Chios, Ténédos, &c.</i> ..	497.
<i>Préparatifs de guerre de Darius contre la Grèce</i>	496.
<i>Mardonius se met en route au printemps</i>	495.
<i>Les Thasiens abattent leurs murs</i>	493.
<i>Les hérauts de Darius en Grèce</i>	492.
<i>Nouveaux préparatifs des Perses contre la Grèce</i>	492.
<i>Les Perses pillent l'île de Naxos, &c.</i> ..	490.

REIZIUS.	A. C. Herodot.
<i>Naxiorum status</i>	506. V. 28.
<i>Palam rebellant</i>	504. V. 37.
<i>Sardes capiunt Iones</i>	503. V. 100.
<i>Cyprus deficit</i>	502. V. 104.
<i>Cyprus denuo subjecta</i>	501. V. 115.
<i>Aristagorus occiditur</i>	498. V. 126.
<i>Miletus sexto anno capta</i>	498. VI. 18.
<i>Altero post Miletum captam anno Persæ cæteros Ionas subigunt</i>	* VI. 31.
<i>Proximo vere Mardonius Europam petit</i>	495. VI. 43.
<i>Altero anno post, Darius et Thasios navibus exiit et in Græciam mittit qui aquam terramque petunt</i>	* VI. 46—48.
<i>Datis et Artaphernes in Græciam tendunt</i>	490. VI. 94. 113.

^r Polyb. IV. 5. τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ προεστῶτος οὐ γὰρ εἶχε πλείων ἐτῶν τότε Φιλίππος ἐπτακαίδεκα.

^s Polyb. Ibid. ^t Polyb. IV. 6.

^u For *Ariston* consult Polybius IV. 9. 17. For *Timoxenus* IV. 6. 7.

^x XL. 54.

^y Liv. XLV. 9.

^z Porphyry agrees in this; who thus records the reigns of *Philip* and *Perseus*; (apud Scalig. p. 63.) ὁ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου υἱός, ὃν οἱ Μακεδόνες καλὸν ἐπωνόμαζον, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου ἀπὸ τῆς ρμ' ὀλυμπιά-

δος ἄρχειν ἤρξατο· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεσιν ὅλοις δύο καὶ μ'. τελευτᾷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ρνθ' [leg. ρν'] ὀλυμπιάδος, νῆ τὰ ὅλα βιοὺς ἔτη. Περσεὺς δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Φιλίππου, Δημήτριον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ διαβολαῖς ἀποκτείνας, βασιλεύει ἔτεσι δύο καὶ μυσὶν ὀκτώ.

^a See Drakenborch ad Liv. XLV. 9.

^b Hérodote tom. VII. p. 636—641.

^c Ad marg. Herodoti.

Larcher, by omitting to specify the expressions of Herodotus, *δευτέρῳ ἔτει τουτέων*, κ. τ. λ. 244 conceals the errors of the dates. The version given by Reizius brings the incongruity immediately into view: *altero anno*, *proximo vere*, and *altero anno post*, are made to designate a space of seven complete years, B. C. 497—491, both inclusive. To the notes *altero anno*, and *altero anno post*, he has forborne to annex a date: perhaps because the inconsistency was too manifest.

The death of Aristagoras is removed from its proper position, and is made to fall within the year of the capture of Miletus. Larcher makes it *subsequent* to the capture. But Aristagoras was slain before Histæus came down to the coast. And Histæus came down two years before Miletus was taken^d. Aristagoras, then, was slain in the *third* year of the war, and not in the *sixth*. Corsini^e has an opposite error: he places the death of Aristagoras at Olymp. 69. $\frac{3}{4}$ [B. C. 501] and the capture of Miletus at Olymp. 71. $\frac{1}{2}$ [B. C. 495]^f. Aristagoras, then, had perished before the war commenced! The cause of this error will be explained elsewhere^g.

From the date of the battle of Marathon we are carried to the beginning of the Ionian war. *Ten* years are specified. In the first of these the Ionian revolt began; in the last, Datis and Artaphernes passed over into Greece. *Six* years were occupied by the Ionian war: the *seventh* year is clearly described by Herodotus^h. The *eighth* campaign was employed in the expedition of Mardonius, who set forth *ἄμα ἔαρι*ⁱ. In the *ninth* year these particulars occurred: Darius^k after dismantling Thasos sent heralds into Greece: *ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἑωντοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεῖσθαι*. Then followed a *tenth* year^l, in which Datis and Artaphernes are sent against Athens and Eretria: *ὥς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλῆος ἀπῆλθον ἐς τὸ Ἀλγίον πεδῖον—ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευόμενοι ἐπῆλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικὸς πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι· παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἱππαγωγαὶ νέες τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεῖπε τοῖσι ἑωντοῦ δασμοφόροις Δαρείος ἐτοιμάζειν*. The armament of Mardonius, the mission of the heralds, and the expedition under Datis, are here distinguished as three separate and successive years of action.

A seeming inconsistency occurs. Darius is said in the year following the failure of Mardonius—*δευτέρῳ ἔτει τουτέων*—to have sent heralds into Greece. And in the year subsequent to this, (which is therefore designated as ^mτὸ πρότερον ἔτος,) Datis and Artaphernes set forth. And yet the first armament is said to have been sent ⁿτῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει, which would be the year *immediately preceding* the expedition of Datis. This seeming difficulty may be reconciled by computing Attic or Olympic years^o, which began at the summer solstice. Mardonius set out *ἄμα ἔαρι* [spring B. C. 492] Olymp. 71. 4 *exeunte*. The storm at Athos happened in July or August B. C. 492, Olymp. 72. 1 *ineunte*. The second armament sailed before midsummer B. C. 490, Olymp. 72. 2 *exeunte*. The storm at Athos, then, might be properly said to have occurred *πρότέρῳ ἔτει*, in the preceding Olympic year; although the actual interval would be about twenty months.

The battle of *Marathon* was fought in Boëdromion B. C. 490, *ten* years before the battle of

^d See the Tables B. C. 496. 494.

^e Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 133.

^f P. 140.

^g See c. 9. *Amphipolis*.

^h VI. 31—42. See the Tables B. C. 493. 2.

ⁱ See B. C. 492, 2.

^k Herodot. VI. 46. 48.

^l Herodot. VI. 94. 95. ^m VI. 95. ⁿ VI. 95.

^o That Herodotus did not compute the beginning of the year from the winter solstice appears from his expression *κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τωυτό IX. 121.* with reference to the siege of Sestos. See the Tables B. C. 479.

Salamis p. All ancient authorities, as we shall presently see, concur in computing ten years 245 and no more between the two actions. And yet eleven years are assigned as the interval by Scaliger, by Duker^q, by Wesseling, and others. Wesseling^r thus states the argument: *Dissidium de intervallo temporis quo certamen disjungitur utrumque, his decem, illis undecim annos probantibus. Herodoti calculos nos subducemus. Apparatum Darii ad novum in Græcos bellum triennalem signavit c. 1. adjungens, quarto post Marathoniam pugnam anno Ægyptios descivisse; tum proximo ab eorum defectione Darium diem obiisse supremum c. 4. qui quintus utique a prælio Marathonio. Sequuntur pleni quatuor anni a Xerxe in comparandis ad Græcum bellum rebus absumti: πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει, volente sive procedente anno quinto, rex Persa expeditionem ingreditur: delatusque Sardes post iter longum interquiescit, ac ibidem hiemem transigit c. 32. vere deinde ineunte Abydum proficiscitur c. 37. Unde consequens videtur, ut pro Herodoti rationibus rex undecimo post Marathoniam cladem anno in Europam moverit Græcosque.*

The error of this reasoning is, that the expressions ^sπέμπτῳ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτῃ are understood to point at the march of Xerxes from Susa to Sardis^t in B. C. 481. Whereas they are to be understood as referring to the setting forth of Xerxes from Sardis to Abydos in the spring of B. C. 480. The historian means to speak of the commencement of the expedition. But the expedition, or war against Greece, could not be said to commence with the arrival of Xerxes at Sardis; where he wintered, and when the preparations were still proceeding. The expedition, then, or campaign, properly speaking, began with the march to the Hellespont: and that is the point of time designated by the words πέμπτῳ ἔτει ἐστρατηλάτῃ χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. These expressions refer to movements which were made after the four years of preparation were wholly complete and expired. But the march from Susa to Sardis occurred during the progress of the operations at mount Athos: ^uἐν τῷ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκειμένον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πρὸς ἅπας ἄμα Ξέρξης ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις. Those operations were not yet finished^x. And they occupied only three of the four years of preparation^y. It may be likewise remarked, that Herodotus employs terms of different import in describing the two marches. In the march from Sardis to Abydos, ^zἐστρατηλάτῃ.—^aἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν.—^bὥρμᾶτο ἐλὼν.—^cἐξήλασε ἐκ Σαρδίων.—^dἔμελλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. And afterwards, ^eἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηκίης.—^fταύτης τῆς ἐλάσιος.—^gτὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε. But, in the progress from Susa to Sardis, ^hἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις.—ⁱπαρεγένοντο ἐς Κελαινάς.—^kἐπορεύετο τὸ πρόσω.—^lἐσεβάλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην.—^mπορευομένῳ.—ⁿἀπὶ κετο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ. The word ἐλαύνειν is not used by the historian. I do not mean to contend that ἐλαύνειν, in its different forms, derivatives, and compounds, when applied to the march of an army, is always limited to the actual hostile movement or advance. This would be refuted by Herodotus himself^m; where Darius after his Thracian expedition ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σούσα. It is only assumed, that the marked difference of expression observed by the histo-

p The exact space between the two battles was ten years and fourteen days: the one being fought on the 6th Boëdromion B. C. 490, the third month of Olymp. 72. 3, the other on the 20th Boëdromion B. C. 480, the third month of Olymp. 75. 1. See the Tables B. C. 490. 480.

q Duker ad Thucyd. I. 18. records the opinion of Scaliger, who computed eleven years as the interval, while Petavius reckoned only ten. Duker follows Scaliger, whom he defends. Gottleber, the

recent annotator upon Thucydides, concurs with Duker in estimating the space at eleven years.

r Ad Herodot. VII. 20.

s Herodot. VII. 20.

t Herodot. VII. 32.

u VII. 26.

z c. 20.

d c. 57.

g c. 115.

k c. 30.

x c. 33. 37.

a c. 33.

e c. 105.

h VII. 26.

i c. 31.

y c. 21.

c c. 41.

f c. 106.

i c. 26.

m V. 25.

rian in relating the two marches confirms the conclusion which is established by other arguments; that, in using the terms ⁿἐστρατηλάτῃ χειρὶ μεγάλῃ, he had in his mind, not the 246 preliminary movement from Susa, but the hostile advance of Xerxes from Sardis to the Hellespont. It has been objected that it is a distinction without a difference to question whether the στρατηλασία of Xerxes commenced from Susa in 481, or from Sardis in 480; that the expedition was truly and properly commenced when Xerxes set forth from Susa; that his army could not have marched from Persia to Sardis in less than four months; and that he set out from Susa in the autumn of 481, and arrived at Sardis in the winter. But to this it may be answered that the army of Xerxes never marched from Susa at all. The troops were appointed to assemble in Cappadociaⁿⁿ, where Xerxes joined them, a distance of nearly three months' march from Susa. And this circumstance, that no army assembled at Susa, and that Xerxes made a progress into Cappadocia before he could assume the command, justifies the opinion that Herodotus did not date the expedition from Susa, but that he reckoned it to begin with the campaign in which the hostile territory was entered.

The understanding of those words of Herodotus as if they applied to a preliminary march, made during the years of preparation, and not to the actual commencement of the war, has contributed much to embarrass the chronology of the period. Dodwell^o, who rightly fixes the period between Marathon and Salamis at ten years, is nevertheless constrained to put a forced interpretation upon the detail of the period in Herodotus, because, like Wesseling, he applied the expression ^pἐστρατηλάτῃ to the march from Susa: *Numerat annos quatuor apparatus ipsius Xerxis. VII. 20. Quos tamen annos ternario numero mox concludit c. 21. Vel inde intelligimus tres annos tantum fuisse completos. Horum annorum primo, altero post Darii mortem, Xerxis expeditionem contra Ægyptios statuit Herodotus VII. 7.—Inde ineunte anno quinto Sardes movisse tradit, ibique hyemasse VII. 20.^q* But Wesseling^r justly rejects this interpretation: *Errant qui tres hos annos eosdem statuunt, ac quatuor apparatus ad bellum c. 20. Illi enim pleni et ad universum expeditionis paratum; hi intra eorum ambitum propter Athon erant.* Dodwell, applying Herodotus VII. 20 to the march from Susa, reduced the four years to three, because he fixed the march from Susa to the *ninth* year after Marathon. Wesseling rightly interpreted the four years of preparation; but then, understanding the word ἐστρατηλάτῃ in the sense of Dodwell, he made the setting forth from Susa to be in the *tenth* year from Marathon instead of the *ninth*. The one erred in the detail of the period, the other in the total amount; although the error of each may be traced to the same cause.

It remains to collect the testimonies referred to in the Tables B. C. 490, which establish ten years and no more between Marathon and Salamis:—Plato^t:—σχεδὸν γὰρ δέκα ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας ἀφίκετο Δᾶτις Περσικὸν στόλον ἄγων. Thucydides^u:—δεκάτῳ

ⁿ VII. 20.

ⁿⁿ Herodot. VII. 26.

^o Annal. Thucyd. p. 44.

^p In Herodot. VII. 20.

^q Dr. Hales vol. III. p. 151. note, has adopted the same opinion: "Herodotus counts these four full years of preparation from the reduction of Egypt. b. VII. 20. But this must be a mistake: "we must count only three years from that time,

"with Herodotus himself c. 21. and Diodorus Siculus b. XI." But this is sufficiently answered by the observation of Wesseling.

^r Ad Herodot. VII. 22.

^s In reality Xerxes set out from Susa in the spring of the ninth year B. C. 481, and from Sardis in the spring of the tenth B. C. 480.

^t Leg. III. p. 698. c.

^u I. 18.

ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν, (τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην,) αὖθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε. Aristides^{uu}: δεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει συνῆλθον ἐσχαταίαι πᾶσαι κ. τ. λ. It has been already shown that Herodotus was not to be understood as referring to the progress from Susa, when he described the commencement of the expedition. There was still less reason for understanding Thucydides (as Duker has done) to refer to that previous march in the present passage. The terms of this historian, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, clearly, naturally, and obviously refer to the march of Xerxes to the Hellespont, which is placed accordingly in the tenth year after the battle of Marathon. The Parian Marble^x:—ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἐγένετο—ἔτη ΗΗΔΔΠΙΙ.—^y ἀφ' οὗ—ναυμαχία τοῖς Ἑλλησι περὶ Σαλαμίνα πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας—ἔτη ΗΗΔΠΙΙ. The interval is just ten years. Herodotus has the following passages: (after the battle of Marathon)^z ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτα.—τετάρτῳ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων.—ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον ἀποθανεῖν.—^a Ξέρξης—ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτα πλήρεια παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ· πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτεε. He had already said, ^b ὥς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ 247 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου πρῶτα στρατητὴν ποιέεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος—ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει. We must be careful to note the difference between *complete* and *current* years. Herodotus like other writers, in speaking of current years, reckons both extremes. Thus he uses ^c δευτέρῳ ἔτει to denote the year immediately subsequent to the event in question: ^d δευτέρῳ ἔτει τουτέων means “the ‘year following these transactions;’” ^e τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει implies the year *next after* the capture of Miletus. In the same manner other writers:—Aristides^f:—ἀπὸ Λάχης εἰς Εὐβουλίδην ἔβδος ἄρχων Εὐβουλίδης αὐτός· ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβουλίδου πάλιν ἄρχων ὄγδος Θεόδοτος. Here 7 + 8 would suppose *Theodotus* the 15th from *Laches*. But between *Theodotus* and *Laches* are only twelve archons. Aristides counts *Eubulides* twice over. He is the last term in the former series, and the first term in the latter. Herodotus speaks after the same form in the passages before us; and the characters of time are all included within the limits of ten years: as the following scheme will shew.

Y.	
1st.	<i>Marathon</i> πρῶτον ἔτος.
2d.	..... δεύτερον ἔτος.
3d.	..... τρίτον ἔτος.
4th.	..... τετάρτῳ ἔτει Αἰγύπτου ἀπέστη.
5th.	<i>Xerxes</i> τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει Δαρείος ἀπέθανε.
6th.	δευτέρῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸν Δαρείου θάνατον Αἰγύπτου κατεστρέψατο. Πρῶτον ἔτος τῶν τεσσέρων.
7th.	..... δεύτερον ἔτος.
8th.	..... τρίτον ἔτος.
9th.	..... τέταρτον ἔτος.
10th.	..... πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐστρατηλάτεε.

^{uu} Tom. II. p. 179 Jebb.

^x N^o. 49.

^a VII. 20.

^y N^o. 52.

^b VII. 7.

^z VII. 1. 4.

^c VII. 7.

^f Tom. II. p. 286.

^d VI. 46.

^e VI. 31.

The word *ἐανομένω* is ill rendered by Reiske and Portus by the word *EXEUNTE anno quinto*. Wesseling more justly—*volvente*. And Larcher—*dans le courant de la cinquième*. But the interpretation of Valla and Dodwell is the best: *INEUNTE anno quinto*. Four years were completed, *τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα*, from the reduction of Egypt; and in the commencement of the fifth, *πέμπτῳ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ*, Xerxes set forth from Sardis *ἅμα ἔαρι*, in spring B. C. 480. The reduction, then, of Egypt was already effected in spring B. C. 484; and at that period, spring B. C. 484, one year had elapsed, and a second had commenced, from the death of Darius. He was already dead, then, before the spring of B. C. 485. This computation critically agrees with the date of the Astronomical Canon. According to that Canon, the *thoth* of the first year of Xerxes was December 23 B. C. 486, and his accession was in N. E. 263. The chronology, therefore, of Herodotus agrees with the Canon in placing the accession of Xerxes in the beginning of B. C. 485.^h Egypt was reduced in the beginning of B. C. 484, when the second year of Xerxes had begun. Four years were completed from that date, and the fifth had commenced, in spring B. C. 480, when Xerxes in the *tenth* year after the battle of Marathon, according to Plato, Thucydides, Herodotus, Aristides, and the Marble, set out from *Sardis*. The space preceding the death of Darius is easily adjusted. Egypt revolted in the *fourth* year after the battle of Marathon; but only *three* years were completed. Darius died in the *fifth* year from the battle of Marathon; but only *four* years 248 were completed: the fifth was current: and the actual interval might be four years and four months. From the 6th Boëdromion B. C. 490 to December 23d B. C. 486, (the *thoth* of the first year of Xerxes,) are four years and three months, or nearly.

VI.

ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

I HAVE followed Diodorus^a in placing the beginning of the ATHENIAN EMPIRE in the third year after the battle of Salamis, or the archonship of Adimantus, Olymp. 75. 4. But Dodwell^b, extending the Lacedæmonian Empire or Presidency to ten years from the invasion of Xerxes, fixes the mission of Pausanias to his foreign command in B. C. 470. In that year he supposes that the Lacedæmonians lost, and the Athenians acquired, the lead of the allies. Corsini^c adopts the opinion of Dodwell: *Huic anno* [Ol. 77.²/₃ B. C. 470.] *Pausaniæ Lacedæmonii σπαρτηγῶτα adscribi debet. Id perspicue contra Diodorum demonstravit Dodwellus.* —*Eiones et Scyri occupatio anno Ol. 77.²/₃ contigit, ut superius ostensum fuit, atque accuratissime demonstravit Dodwellus.* Wesseling^d follows Dodwell. And so does Mr. Mitford^e.

^g Herodot. VII. 20.

^h The rule is well laid down by Dr. Hales Vol. I. p. 285. *Each king's reign* [in the Canon] *begins at the thoth, or new year's day, before his accession, and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor.*

^a XI. 41. See the Tables B. C. 477, 2.

^b Annal. Thucyd. p. 60—62.

^c Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 181—183.

^d Ad Diod. XI. 44.

^e Hist. of Greece vol. II. p. 340.

It is therefore necessary to examine the testimonies upon this point of history, in order to shew the reasons of my dissent from their opinions.

The various periods assigned to the Athenian Empire are thus stated by a modern historian of Greece^f: "By the battle of Ægospotami the Athenians lost the empire of the sea. —They enjoyed that sovereignty from B. C. 477 to 405. that is, a period of seventy-two years. This important computation is not to be found in any ancient author; and no two writers agree in calculating the duration of the Athenian Empire. *Lysias* says, seventy years; *Diodorus*, sixty-five years. *Isocrates* in one place agrees with *Lysias*, in another with *Diodorus*. *Andocides* states it at eighty-five years; *Lycurgus* at ninety. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* at sixty-eight; *Demosthenes* variously at forty-five, sixty-five, and seventy-three years." Much of what is here stated is perfectly just. The discrepancy, however, is not quite so great as it is here affirmed to be. For *three* authors here specified agree in *sixty-five* years; and *two* in the list, but in reality *five*, agree in *seventy* years. The computation, *seventy-two* years, is no other than that of *Demosthenes* himself, and of *Aristides*^g.

The learned editor of *Isocrates*, Dr. Coray^h, specifies these varieties in similar terms: ἐνταῦθα ὁμολογῶν τῷ Λυσίᾳ ἐβδομήκοντα φησὶν ἔτη διαμείναι, κ. τ. λ.—διαπεφώνηται γὰρ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῆς. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Δημοσθένης ὅτ' ἐμὲν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ὅτ' ἐμὲν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τρία ἔτη προστῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγει. Λυκούργος δὲ, ἐνενηκόντα. (πλὴν εἰ μὴ γραφικῶς ἡμάρτηται ὁ ἀριθμὸς, ὥς τινες ὑπειλίφασιν.) Ἀνδοκίδης δὲ, πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. Διονύσιος δὲ, δυοῖν δέοντα ἐβδομήκοντα.

- 249 The date of the commencement of this empire is rightly placed by Dr. Gillies at B. C. 477; and all the computations of its duration proceed from this date.

The period of *forty-five* years is intended to express the space which ends at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war: B. C. 477—432. And it is accurately marked in the language of *Demosthenes* by its peculiar character, that the Athenians received the *willing* obedience of the Greeks: ἡ ἐκείνοι τοίνυν—πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡρξάν ἐκόντων. Upon which *Ulpian*ⁱ remarks; πῶς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πέντε νῦν εἰπὼν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ τρία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα φησὶ;—λέγομεν ὅτι προσέθηκεν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἘΚΟΝΤΩΝ· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη ἈΚΟΝΤΩΝ αὐτῶν ἡρξάν.

The computation of *sixty-five* years will include the Athenian defeat in Sicily, and terminate with B. C. 413 inclusive.

The term of *seventy-three* years, called *seventy years and upwards* by *Aristides*, and in round numbers *seventy* years by others, includes the Peloponnesian war itself; and expresses the whole space from the commencement of the empire to the capture of Athens B. C. 477—404. The following passages describe it in round numbers as *seventy* years. 1. *Lysias*^k:—ἐβδομήκοντα μὲν ἔτη τῆς θαλάττης ἄρξαντες. 2. *Plato*^l:—ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη διεφύλαξαν τὴν ἀρχήν. 3. *Isocrates*^m:—ἐβδομήκοντ' ἔτη διετελέσαμεν. 4. *Aristides*ⁿ:—πλέον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη κατ-

^f Dr. Gillies' Hist. of Greece chapter XXII.

^g In Panathenæico.

^h Ad Isocrat. Panegyri. p. 58, 22.

ⁱ Olynth. III. p. 35. The words are repeated in the oration περὶ συντάξεως p. 174. But the genuineness of that piece is reasonably doubted.

^j P. 25, 33. ed. Paris.

^k Or. fun. p. 195, 38. ^l Epist. VII. p. 332. b.

^m Panegyri. c. 30. p. 62. e. ⁿ Morus (ad locum) interprets these seventy years in a singular manner. He understands *Isocrates* to designate a period of seventy-six years, which commenced with

έσχον°. 5. Demosthenes P:—καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἴσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς τελευταίους τουτουσὶ χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην.—καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνους ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, κ. τ. λ. The amount of the periods is here repeated in round numbers. Whence we are taught how to understand the expression of *seventy years* in other writers. This valuable political sketch is in strict consistency with the former computation, *forty-five years*. In the former he reckoned *exclusive* of the Peloponnesian war; in the present, *inclusive* of that war. In the former he described the Athenians as receiving a willing obedience; in the 250 present passage, as simply holding the ascendancy. 6. To these five we may probably add a sixth: Lycurgus †:—ἘΝΕΝΗΚΟΝΤΑ μὲν ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες κατέστησαν. Taylor proposes in this passage to read ἘΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ. an emendation approved, as it should seem, by Coray ‡, and of which there can be little doubt. Those who agree in this correction will add Lycurgus to those who describe the period as seventy years.

But Andocides § computes *eighty-five years*: καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἡμῖν ἔρεσιν ἐγένετο. As he is not describing the *empire* of Athens, but the period of her *prosperity*, (including, indeed, the period of her empire,) his calculation ascends to the battle of Marathon: from the date of which, B. C. 490, to the battle of Ægospotami B. C. 405, are just eighty-five years.

The computation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus † is not so plain: ἤρξαν δυοῖν δέοντα ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη. Sixty-eight years, rigidly taken, would bring the period down to B. C. 409 and the archonship of Glaucippus, the sixty-eighth archon from Adimantus. But that year was the era of advantages obtained by the Athenians over their enemies. Perhaps he intended to designate the constitution of the Four-hundred, reckoned by Thucydides to have been about the hundredth year after the expulsion of the tyrants. And, as the Athenian empire commenced in the year of Adimantus, thirty-two years after that event, sixty-eight might represent the residue of that period of a century computed by Thucydides.

the first annual archon Creon; B. C. 684—608. *Sermo est de vera democratia, quæ a tempore archontum annuorum initium cepit. Porro per hoc totum tempus nullus extitit tyrannus, nulla seditio, nec bella sunt cum aliis gesta.* But Isocrates would hardly select so obscure a period for reference. Besides, that period was so far from being a specimen of pure democracy, that the times before Solon are described as *λίαν ἄκρατος ὀλιγαρχία* by Aristotle. (Polit. II. 9, 2.) Aristides, (in Panegy.) who every where copies the *Panegyrical oration* of Isocrates, states the same number, seventy years, and understands them of the naval empire. Moreover Isocrates, in the outset of that passage, mentions the Athenian *empire* as the period within which these circumstances occurred:—ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας. But what empire did they possess in the time of Creon the first annual archon? It is true that Isocrates has an expression—*εἰρήνην ἄγοντες πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους*—apparently incompatible with a period which in-

cluded the Peloponnesian war. But if we compare a parallel passage in Isocrat. Panathenæic. c. 18. we may perhaps elicit a probable meaning. The orator intends a description of the Athenian policy to their allies or subjects, contrasted with that of the Lacedæmonians. These established ten governors in all the states of their confederacy: while the Athenians gave to *their* allies a constitution similar to their own. In this sense Isocrates might use the terms *εἰρήνην ἄγειν*, as contradistinguished from the ten tyrannical governors imposed by the Lacedæmonians. Coray (Isocrat. tom. II. p. 45.) mentions the opinion of Morus, but himself adopts the ordinary interpretation.

† Panathen. tom. I. p. 170. Jebb.

° Dr. Coray and Dr. Gillies both omit the testimonies of Plato and Aristides.

‡ Philipp. III. p. 116. 117.

§ In Leocrat. p. 157, 1.

† Ad Isocrat. p. 58, 22. § De Pace p. 28, 20.

† Antiq. lib. I. p. 8.

In this number, however, there is a difficulty. But this difficulty is far outweighed by the agreement of six passages in *seventy-three years, seventy years and upwards, seventy years* in round numbers; and by the obvious consistency of the three other numbers, forty-five, sixty-five, or eighty-five, when they are understood of different points in history.

Dodwell^v, however, brings down the commencement of the Athenian Empire to B. C. 470. only sixty-six years before the capture of Athens by Lysander. He founds this hypothesis upon a passage in Isocrates^u: *Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν γὰρ ἔτη δέκα μόλις ἐπεστάτησαν αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα. συνεχῶς κατέσχομεν τὴν ἀρχήν.* Dodwell remarks, *loquitur de Græcis in Persas fœderatis*: and he understands this empire of ten years to have been begun at the Persian war, and to have ended with the recal of Pausanias by the Spartans. Corsini and others, as we have seen, adopt this interpretation.

But in that passage Isocrates does *not* speak of the Greeks confederated against the Persians. In that piece he institutes a comparison between Athens and Lacedæmon from the earliest times. Having discussed the earlier transactions of each, he adverts to the Persian war; and opposes to the ten ships supplied by Lacedæmon the superior number of the Athenian ships: and to the Spartan *Eurybiades* he opposes the Athenian *Themistocles*. Having finished this topic, he proceeds to compare the *naval empire* which had been held by the two states. "In administering this, the Athenians permitted the subject cities to retain their own governments and laws, but the Lacedæmonians appointed ten governors^{uu} to each city. This empire with the Spartans lasted ten years; with the Athenians sixty-five: the Athenians held out for ten years against their enemies, and recovered themselves in a shorter space than that which had been required for their destruction; the power of Lacedæmon was irreparably broken by the loss of a single battle to the Thebans." This is the sum of his argument^w. But what *naval empire* had the Spartans in the time of 251 Xerxes? Or when did they appoint the ten governors, so obnoxious throughout all Greece, before the end of the Peloponnesian war? It is altogether surprising that so diligent an investigator as Dodwell should have so missed the sense of that passage. Isocrates in another oration describes the empire of the two states, and the evils which it had brought upon each. After describing that of Athens, he thus proceeds with the subject^x: "Nor has it fared better with Lacedæmon. The empire of the sea has displayed its effects there in even a shorter period than at Athens. It has shaken and nearly overthrown the institutions which had stood the assault of seven centuries. It has taught individuals injustice, idleness, and the love of money; and has inspired the public with disdain for their allies, with the ambition of conquest, and a contempt of oaths and treaties." He enumerates the particulars of the misconduct of the Spartans, which was revenged in the day of Leuctra. In these remarks the orator has no naval empire in view but that which followed the victory at Ægospotami^y. In another composition^z he distinctly asserts that the Lacedæmonian empire was ended by

^v Annal. Thucyd. p. 60. 61.

^u Panathenaic. c. 19. p. 244. b.

^{uu} Mr. Kruger well remarks p. 265. ed. Lips. that these were not *Harmosts*, and supplies the following passage: *ἓνα μὲν ἀρμοστήν ἐκάστη πόλει Λακεδαιμόνιον κατέλιπε, δέκα δ' ἄρχοντας ἐκ τῶν ἱπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτημένων κατὰ πόλιν ἐταιριῶν.* He has derived the passage from Plutarch Lysand. c. 13.

^w C. 18. 19. p. 243. c.—244. e.

^x De Pace c. 32. 33. p. 178. 179.

^y The meaning of Isocrates in Panath. c. 19. is taken in the right sense by Coray ad loc. and by Casaubon and Schweighæuser ad Polyb. I. 2.

^z In Philipp. c. 25. p. 94. To the same purpose on another occasion, addressing the Athe-

Conon: Κόνων—συστάντος αὐτῷ ναυτικοῦ περὶ Ῥόδου καὶ νικήσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς. And Aristides^a (who copies Isocrates) describes the Lacedæmonian empire as that which was ended by the victory of Conon: ἡ πόλις [Athens] κλαπίσα τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον,—ἐκείνους μὲν [the Lacedæmonians] δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀφείλετο τῆς θαλάττης τὴν ἀρχήν. Again: ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ εἰς τῆς θαλάττης Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν, μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατηγήσας καὶ τῇ πόλει.—αὐτὴν τοίνυν τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν ἡ κὲν πόλις [Athens] ἐξ ὧν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησεν ἐκτίησατο· οἱ δὲ [the Lacedæmonians] ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἡτύχησε. He distinctly marks the Spartan empire as subsequent to the Peloponnesian war. And Demosthenes^c by the words τοῦτο μὲν—καὶ πάλιν—expresses the priority of the Athenian empire.

Dodwell, then, has arranged the Chronology of *Themistocles* and *Pausanias*, and has imagined a Lacedæmonian empire of ten years prior to that of Athens, upon false premises, which derive no support from Isocrates. Nor is he less at variance with the facts of history. He supposes that the command of Pausanias was only of one year; and that consequently he was not sent out till the year B. C. 470. He supposes, then, an interval of eight complete years from the capture of Sestos in B. C. 479, during which nothing was done. But no interval of time, much less of eight years, is either alluded to or implied in the summary of Thucydides^d; who describes the rebuilding of the walls of Athens as immediately following the siege of Sestos, and from that narration proceeds to the mention of Pausanias. The expedition of Pausanias was the next military operation to the capture of Sestos.

Wesseling^e, who adopts the theory of Dodwell, supposes (in this, at least, differing from him) that the argument for the longer term is this: because too little space is otherwise allowed for the actions of Pausanias. *Id autem diligenter animadvertendum est, Diodorum in hunc annum conjicere obsidionem Byzantiæ, Pausaniæ prodicionem, ablatumque Lacedæmoniis imperium, atque in Athenienses transcriptum: quæ omnia tam brevi tempore administrata non sunt. Constat ex Isocrate Panath. p. 357 Spartanos pæne in decennium Græciæ imperium curasse, tumque ad Athenienses transisse, &c.—Vide H. Dodwell. Annal. Thucyd. p. 61. 252* But the command of Pausanias was only of a single year. Dodwell^f admits this: *Pausanias spatio plusquam annuo esse in provincia ne quidem potuit.* Thucydides^g speaks of that command as of the ordinary duration; that is, annual: ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Κύπρον—καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον, Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. And his scholiast^h remarks, διὰ μέσον τὴν τειχοποιεῖν εἰπὼν, εἰκότως πάλιν ἐπανέρχεται ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ Πανσανίαν—rightly judging that no space intervened between the siege of Sestos and the acts of Pausanias. The question therefore is, whether the siege of Sestos was immediately followed by other operations, or whether the Greeks remained in complete inaction for eight years.

But ancient writers suppose no such interval of inaction. Plutarchⁱ represents the Greeks as allowing the Persians no respite: οὐ γὰρ ἀνῆκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπηλλαγμένον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ

nians, Plataïc. p. 304. b. τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀνυπόστατον δοκοῦσαν εἶναι κατέλυσαν μικρὰς μὲν ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν τὸ πρῶτον ἔχοντες,—καὶ πάλιν ὑμεῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλεσθε τὴν ἐκείνων ἐξ ἀτειχίστου τῆς πόλεως ὀρμηθέντες καὶ κακῶς πρατούσης;

^a Panathen. tom. I. p. 164.

^b P. 170.

^c Philipp. III. p. 116. 117.

^d I. 89—94.

^e Ad Diod. XI. 44.

^f P. 61. ^g I. 94.

^h Ad I. 93.

ⁱ Cimon. c. 12.

ἐκ ποδὸς διώκων, πρὶν διαπνεῦσαι καὶ στήναι τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὰ μὲν ἐπύρρει, κ.τ.λ. And Aristides^k:—ἐνίκων μὲν τὴν ἐν Μυκάλῃ μάχην—διηρευνήσαντο δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰς ἀκτὰς εἴ που τις ἔτι κρύπτοιτο τῶν ἐπελθόντων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ἤλασαν τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Σηστοῦ τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου.—ἅμα μὲν περιέπλεον τὴν Ἀσίαν [the Athenians] ἅμα δὲ ἀνέπλεον διὰ τῶν δεχομένων ποταμῶν, ἅμα δ' ἠκούοντο ἅμα δ' ἑωρῶντο.—οὕτω δὲ πυκνὸν καὶ σύντονον ἐξήλλατο ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥστε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις τῶν ἔργων παρεγένοντο, ἔπειτ' ἀπῆραν, ὥσπερ πτηνοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. Sestos and Byzantium are mentioned together by Plutarch^l: ἐπεὶ ἐκ Σηστοῦ καὶ Βυζαντίου πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι τῷ Κίμωνι διανείμει προσέταξαν. The sieges of Sestos, then, and of Byzantium happened at no great distance of time, and were a part of the same series of actions. Dodwell places nine years between them.

There is nothing, then, in Isocrates to warrant the theory of Dodwell. It is contrary to the probable course of events; contrary to the implied meaning of Thucydides, and to what has been delivered by Plutarch and Aristides; and to the duration assigned to the Athenian empire by Lysias, Isocrates himself, Plato, Demosthenes, Aristides, and, we may perhaps add, Lycurgus.

VII.

LACEDÆMONIAN EMPIRE.

THE LACEDÆMONIAN EMPIRE followed that of Athens. All computations, which mention the two empires together, uniformly speak of that Lacedæmonian sovereignty which was acquired by the victories of Lysander, and of no other. Casaubon^a understood Isocrates^b to speak of that, and had no suspicion of a contrary meaning. But the *duration* of that empire is not so clearly defined as the duration of the Athenian.

Isocrates, as we have seen^c, calls it *ten years*: Polybius^d—μόλις ἔτη δώδεκα κατεῖχον αὐτὴν ἀδῆριτον. Aristides^e—οὐδ' εἰς τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας διεφύλαξαν τὴν ἀρχήν. The computation of ten years ends with the battle of Cnidus B. C. 394, ten complete years after the surrender of Athens. The numbers of Polybius, “scarcely twelve years,” and of Aristides, “not three “Olympiads,” (which amount to the same thing,) also ending at the battle of Cnidus, take 253 their beginning from the battle of Ægospotami; Eubulides, in whose year the battle of Cnidus was fought, being the twelfth archon (both inclusive) from Alexias. There were accordingly eleven complete years, or twelve years current.

But Demosthenes^f states a different period: τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα, and in round numbers τριάκοντα. And Dionysius^g follows the same computation: ἐπαύθησαν ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οὔτε ὅλα ἔτη τριάκοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντες. It is not easy to determine the precise limits of this

^k Panathen. tom. I. p. 151. Jebb.

^l Cimon. c. 9.

^a Ad Polyb. I. 2. tom. I. p. 736. ed. Ernest.

^b In Panath.

^c In the passage quoted in the preceding chapter.

^d I. 2.

^e Panathen. tom. I. p. 170. Jebb.

^f Philipp. III. p. 116. 117. ^g Antiq. I. p. 9.

calculation; but if Casaubon^b had remembered the date of Demosthenes, he would not have proposed to correct the numbers of Dionysius by reading τετταράκοντα for τριάκοντα.

If we compute thirty years from the battle of Ægospotami, they will terminate at the battle of *Naxos*; which was gained by Chabrias in the year of Charisander, the latter part of B. C. 376. while the battle of Ægospotami was fought in the year of Alexias B. C. 405. Including both extremes, and computing both archons, we have thirty years; counting the intermediate space, we have twenty-nine years. The battle of *Naxos*, then, may perhaps have been the term to which the Lacedæmonian empire was extended by Demosthenes and Dionysius.

VIII.

SUMMARY OF THUCYDIDES.

THUCYDIDES is allowed the praise above all historians of being scrupulously exact and accurate. But in this Summary he professes to be especially so; and the reason expressly given for undertaking this digression is, that other historians had either omitted the period, or had treated it ^a *βραχέως καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς*. When, therefore, Mr. Mitford^b laments that Thucydides in this summary does not always distinguish the dates of the facts, or even the order in which they happened, and that the chronology of these times remains very imperfect, he does not do sufficient justice to this part of the history of Thucydides. In reality that summary is valuable with a view to the chronology of the times, and accurate in following the order of time, which is only neglected in two cases; the first is, the case of the Messenian war; the termination of which for the sake of clearness is subjoined to the account of its commencement: the other is, the Egyptian war; the termination of which is also related in connexion with the preceding events of that war. And the recital of these had been delayed by the historian, that he might not break the continuity of his narrative. We have the means of fixing the dates of the leading facts with more precision than could have been expected, seeing that our only authentic contemporary information is contained in so short a sketch. The chronology in truth was not perplexed till Dodwell made it so. For Dodwell, from a strange misapprehension of a passage in Isocrates, (which has been already examined in a preceding part of this Appendix^c;) and from an hypothesis which he adopted respecting the archons^d, has greatly perplexed the arrangement of this period. His labours therefore are less valuable in the beginning of this period than in the remainder of his work. The wrong distribution of the archons, for instance, had rendered the testimony of Pausanias useless to him, as to the beginning of the war of the Helots, 254 when in fact it is remarkably coincident with Thucydides.

This period in the whole contains an actual space of forty-seven years. [B. C. 478—432.] For the sake of clearness, it may be divided into three portions, by some remarkable notes of time furnished by Thucydides himself. The *first* division of the period is terminated by the

^b Ad Polyb. I. 2. tom. I. p. 738. ed. Ernest.

^a I. 97. ^b History of Greece vol. II. p. 338.

^c See above c. 6. p. 250.

^d See the Introduction p. xvi.

Revolt of Thasos and the establishment of a colony attempted on the Strymon; events which are fixed by Thucydides to the year B. C. 465. From this date we are carried to the siege of Sestos B. C. 479, the last event recorded by Herodotus, and the first recorded by Thucydides; clearly forming the connexion between the two historians. The *second* division is terminated by a military expedition of *Pericles*, which is fixed by circumstances to the year B. C. 454. The *third* division contains the space between that date and the Peloponnesian war; an interval of twenty-three years, nearly one half of the whole period.

I. Within the first division, in a space of thirteen years [B. C. 478—466], the following events are recorded ^e. 1. The Athenians rebuild their walls, and complete the walls of the Piræus: εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν ^f. 2. The expedition of *Pausanias* to Cyprus, and afterwards to Byzantium; which was besieged and taken during the period of his command: ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ ^g. 3. [B. C. 477.] The allies, disgusted with Pausanias, transfer the command to the Athenians ^h. 4. The siege and capture of Eion on the Strymon; the first operation of *Cimon* ⁱ. 5. The reduction of Seyros. 6. The war with the Carystians of Eubœa. 7. The siege of Naxos; which surrenders. The first of the confederate states that was reduced to slavery. 8. After these things—μετὰ ταῦτα—the battles of Eury-medon ^k. 9. [B. C. 465.] Afterwards—χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον—the revolt of Thasos.

II. The next portion of time of eleven years [B. C. 465—455] is a busy period, full of interesting events; which it is the purpose of Thucydides for the most part to relate in the order in which they happened. 1. [B. C. 465.] With the revolt of Thasos is connected as happening at the same time—ὕπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους—the colony at Drabescus ^l. 2. [B. C. 464.] The earthquake at Sparta and war with the Helots. 3. [B. C. 463.] Thasos surrenders τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει.

In the remaining eight years of this period are the following events; 4. [B. C. 461.] The Athenians, marching to assist at the siege of Ithomë, are dismissed, and connect themselves with the Argives ^m. For the sake of clearness in his narration, he here suspends the order of time to follow the order of events; relating the result of the Messenian war, which ended in the tenth year with the surrender of Ithomë and the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus.

5. Resuming the order of time, he relates, as the next transaction to the return of the Athenian succours from Peloponnesus and the alliance formed with Argos, that the Athenians gain Megara and Pegæ ⁿ. 6. [B. C. 460.] Revolt of *Inarus*. The Athenians, who had two hundred ships at this time at Cyprus, sail to Egypt to his assistance. Dodwell ^o places the Egyptian war *before* the march of the Athenian succours to Ithomë. In this case, Thucydides would have justly deserved the imputation of having neglected the order of time, since he relates the Egyptian revolt and war *after* that march. But in reality Dodwell himself is wrong in placing the Egyptian war at least two years too high: which Mr. Mitford ^p has not failed to remark and to correct. 7. The Athenians are beaten at Haliaë by the Corinthians. They are victorious at Cecryphalæ ^r. 8. They defeat the Æginetans in a great battle ^r.

^e Thucyd. I. 89—100.

^g c. 94.

^k c. 100.

ⁿ c. 103.

^p Vol. II. p. 401.

^h c. 95.

^l c. 100.

^o Annal. Thucyd. p. 83.

^f c. 90—93.

ⁱ c. 98.

^m c. 102.

^q The author of the oration ascribed to Lysias, ἐπιτάφιος τοῖς Κορινθίαν βοηθοῖς p. 195. (ὕστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου καταστάτος, κ. τ. λ.) describes these actions with splendid eloquence, and agrees with Thucydides in their order.

8. [B. C. 457.] [¶] After this series of naval actions, he relates that the Corinthians and Peloponnesians, securing the heights of Gerania, descend with their forces into the lands of Megara [†]. [¶] The Athenians without withdrawing from Ægina [†], though at the same time occupied with the war in Egypt [†], march out under Myronides; and a battle ensues, in which both claim the victory, but the advantage is with the Athenians. Twelve days after, the Corinthians march out again to erect their trophy. The Athenians issue forth upon them, and gain a victory [†]: the Corinthians retreating are surrounded in a deep place and cut off by the Athenians.

9. About the time of these transactions—*κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους*—the Athenians begin their long walls [§]. 10. The Lacedæmonians (also at the same time) march against the Phocians, who had invaded Doris. 11. In their return, they are intercepted by the Athenians, who are now in possession of the passes of the Isthmus: and they consequently halt in Bœotia. 12. A design is mentioned of subverting the democracy, and preventing the completion of the long walls, while the Lacedæmonian army lay in the neighbourhood. 13. The Athenians, with their allies the Argives, to the number of fourteen thousand, and with some Thessalian cavalry who desert in the action, are defeated at Tanagra. The Lacedæmonians, having obtained by their victory a free passage, retire into Peloponnesus.

Mr. Mitford [†] thinks Dodwell “clearly right in placing the battle of Cænophyta one year “later than Diodorus:” and supposes the battle of Tanagra to have been fought in the spring B. C. 456 [Olymp. 80. 4] and Cænophyta in the autumn of the same year 456. [Olymp. 81. 1.] But in fact Dodwell [¶] never questions Diodorus in placing the Theban war in Olymp. 80. 4, and distinctly asserts that the battle of Tanagra happened in December: *mense Posideone pugnatum*. And it is clear that the battle of Tanagra took place in the autumn of that year in which the Lacedæmonian army returned from its campaign in Doris. “According to Mr. Mitford’s date, that army must have kept the field without hazarding a passage through the winter: for which he quotes Diodorus, “giving him credit for this “circumstance, which Thucydides has not specified [×].” But the two historians are at variance. In *Thucydides*, the Lacedæmonians after the action at Tanagra effect their passage home through the Isthmus: in *Diodorus*, it would seem that they remained in Bœotia till the battle of Cænophyta, at which, according to his account, the Lacedæmonians assisted; while Thucydides mentions no Lacedæmonian forces at Cænophyta. Plato ^γ agrees with Thucydides in both these particulars: and Aristides ^z argues upon the assumption that the Lacedæmonians withdrew immediately after the battle of Tanagra.

14. [B. C. 456.] On the sixty-second day—*δευτέρα καὶ ἑξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ*—after the battle of 256 Tanagra, the Athenians attack the Bœotians, when their allies had left them, and are victo-

[†] In all these facts, the action at Cecryphalæ, the descent into the Megarid, &c. Aristides Panath. tom. I. p. 155. Jebb., though rhetorically ornamenting the narration, yet agrees with Thucydides in the circumstances.

[§] c. 107. [†] Vol. II. p. 410. note.

[¶] Annal. Thuc. p. 91.

^γ Plutarch is aptly quoted by Dodwell, to confirm the fact that the battle of Tanagra was fought in the winter: Cimon. c. 17. *νενηκήμενοι ἐν Τανάγρα,*

καὶ προσδοκῶντες εἰς ὥραν ἔτους στρατείαν Πελοποννησίων ἐπ’ αὐτούς. Pericl. c. 10. *ἡττημένους ἐπὶ τῶν ὥρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, προσδοκῶντας δὲ καὶ βαρὺν εἰς ἔτους ὥραν πόλεμον.* ὥρα ἔτους would be “the ensuing “spring.” We may therefore place the battle of Tanagra about November: towards the end of autumn or beginning of winter.

[×] Vol. II. p. 408. note. ^γ Menex. p. 242. b.

^z Panath. p. 156.

rious at Œnophyta^a. Plato^b mentions the two engagements in the following terms: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γενομένου πολέμου συνέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τανάγρα ὑπὲρ τῆς Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας Λακεδαιμόνιοις μαχόμενοι, ἀμφισβητήσιμον δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης διέκρινε τὸ ὕστερον ἔργον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄχοντο ἀπίοντες, καταλείποντες Βοιωτοὺς οἷς ἐβοήθουν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι, τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις νικήσαντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως φεύγοντας δικάως κατήγαγον. After τρίτῃ, the word ἐξηκοστῇ seems to have escaped. Plato probably wrote τρίτῃ καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ, as in Thucydides δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ ἡμ. Plato differs from the historian in calling the battle of Tanagra a doubtful action^{bb}. According to Thucydides the Lacedæmonians had the victory: ἐνίκων. And Herodotus also^c clearly attests that they were victorious at Tanagra.

15. The Athenians finish their long walls: and Ægina, after these events,—μετὰ ταῦτα—surrenders^d. 16. [B. C. 455.] Tolmides (at the same time with the surrender of Ægina) circumnavigates Peloponnesus, and ravages Laconia^e. During these transactions the Athenians in Egypt still held out, ἔτι ἐπέμενον. And their surrender is now related, as the next event in the order of time to the campaign of Tolmides. Thucydides had deferred noticing the progress of the Egyptian war, that he might not interrupt the narration of transactions in Greece. Having now arrived in the order of time at the conclusion of the war in Egypt, he digresses into a review of the preceding circumstances. He relates that at the beginning the Athenians had the advantage; that the court of Persia had sent Megabazus to Sparta in the hope of bribing the Lacedæmonians to invade Attica; in which he failed;—that the Persians had then raised a large force, which finally recovered Egypt (with the exception of the country which Amyrtæus held in the marshes) after a war of six years^f.

18. Returning to the order of his narrative, he relates that the Athenians undertook an expedition to Pharsalus, for the purpose of restoring Orestes, a Thessalian prince^g. This is the last occurrence in the series of eleven years which form the second division of the period. The next event recorded by the historian is fixed by circumstances to the year B. C. 454. The war in Egypt, which was carried on during six of these eleven years, terminated in B. C. 455. Mr. Mitford^h, as quoted above, justly rejects the chronology of Dodwell, formed upon Diodorus, for the dates of this war. But in fixing its termination at B. C. 454 he seems to have brought it down one year too low. For Thucydides plainly determines that they *still held out* at the time of the expedition of Tolmides; but he also implies that the Athenians had surrendered before the expedition into Thessaly, which was followed by the campaign of Pericles. The campaign of Tolmides is fixed to B. C. 455 by the surrender of Ithomē, with which it is coincident: and the campaign of Pericles is fixed to the autumn of B. C. 454. The Egyptian war, then, ended in the course of the year 455.

III. The last portion of the period embraced by the Summary, a space of twenty-three years, is determined as to its leading dates by Thucydides himself. It ends in B. C. 432. and that year was the fourteenth of the thirty-years' truce. Before that truce was a truce

^a c. 108.

^b Menex. p. 242. b.

^{bb} Aristides Panath. p. 180. also calls it a doubtful battle: τὴν ἐν Τανάγρα μάχην τὴν ἀμφισβητήσιμον.

^c IX. 35.

^d c. 108.

^e Æschines (Fals. Leg. p. 38, l. referred to in

the Tables B. C. 454, 2) thus characterises this expedition: τὴν Τολμίδου ζηλοῦν στρατηγίαν κελεύων, ὃς χιλίους ἔχων ἐπιλέκτους Ἀθηναίων διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου πολεμίας οὐσης ἀδεῶς διεξήει.

^f c. 109. 110.

^g c. 111.

^h Vol. II. p. 401.

of five years, and before the five-years' truce an interval of three years, following the campaign of Pericles¹.

	Y.	
Campaign of Pericles	1	
Three-years' interval	3	
Five-years' truce	5	
Thirty-years' truce, first fourteen years	14	
	<hr/> 23	

That campaign of Pericles could not be *later* than B. C. 454, because twenty-two years followed it, of which the last was B. C. 432. It could not be *earlier*, because the expedition of Tolmides, which preceded it, was in B. C. 455. The events of the first fifteen years of this period are recorded in the order in which they happened. 1. [B. C. 454.] μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον—that is, not long after the expedition to Thessaly and the close of the war in Egypt—Pericles embarking at Pegæ sails to Sicily; and thence, taking on board his Achaean auxiliaries, proceeds to Acarnania; and besieging Œniadæ without success returns home^j. 2. Then followed an interval of three years; after which [B. C. 450] a five-years'^k

ⁱ Thucyd. I. 111. 112. 115. 87.

^j c. 111.

^k This five-years' truce appears to be touched upon by Plutarch Cimon. Theopompus in fragmento apud Marx. by Andocides, and by Æschines. For the allusions of Plutarch and Theopompus, see the Tables B. C. 450, 2. The passage of Andocides is to the following effect: De Pace p. 23, 40—24, 10. ἥνικα τοῖνυν ἦν μὲν ὁ πόλεμος ἡμῖν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, Μέγαρά δὲ εἶχομεν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζήνα, εἰρήνης ἐπεθυμήσαμεν, καὶ Μιλτιάδην τὸν Κίμωνος ὠστρακισμένον καὶ ὄντα ἐν Χερρόνησφ κατεδεξάμεθα δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πρόξενον ὄντα Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅπως πέμψαιμεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα προκηρυκευόμενον περὶ σπονδῶν. καὶ τότε ἡμῖν εἰρήνη ἐγένετο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτη πέντε, καὶ ἐνεμείναμεν ἀμφότεροι ταύταις ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἔτη τριακάδεκα. —ἀγαθὰ δὲ ὅσα ἐγένετο διὰ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην ἐγὼ ὑμῖν φράσω. πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ τότε ἐτειχίσσαμεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ· εἶτα τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ βόρειον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τριήρων αἱ τότε ἡμῖν ἦσαν παλαιαὶ καὶ ἅπλοι—ἑκατὸν τριήρεις ἐναντηγησάμεθα, κ. τ. λ. Æschines Fals. Leg. p. 51, 12—20.—καταστάντες πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς πόλεμον, πολλὰ καὶ παθόντες κακὰ καὶ ποιήσαντες, Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος προκηρυκευσαμένου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὄντος προξένου, σπονδὰς τοῦ πολέμου πεντήκονταετῆς ἐποίησάμεθα, ἐχρησάμεθα δὲ αὐταῖς ἔτη τριακάδεκα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐτειχίσσαμεν τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ὠκοδομήσαμεν, ἑκατὸν δὲ τριήρεις πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ἐναντηγησάμεθα, κ. τ. λ. The opinions in favour of the genuineness of the Oration of Andocides are enumerated by Sluiter Lect. Andocid. p. 204. 205. *Non germanam esse hanc orationem, præter Dionysium Halicarnasæum, au-*

ctore Argumenti teste, [he observes, ὁ Διονύσιος νόθον εἶναι λέγει.] *judicarunt etiam alii, aut saltem dubitarunt an vere esset ab Andocide conscripta. Harpocration qui ter eam laudat* [v. Ἑλληνοταμίαι, Νεώρια, Πηγαί] *semper addit, εἰ γνήσιος.*—Taylorus, *suo more non dubiam sibi visus censuram agere, sophistæ orationem esse statuit. Valckenærio contra accurate lecta Andocidis esse videbatur: etiam Weselingius ad Diod. XII. 8. et Ruhnkenius in Hist. Crit. Or. Græc. exscriptum ab Æschine censent Andocidem.*

Neither Dodwell nor Mr. Mitford notice these remarkable passages of the two orators. Taylor Lect. Lysiac. p. 261. Reisk. corrects Andocides by Æschines, and reads *πεντήκοντα* for *πέντε*. Sluiter Lect. Andocid. p. 208. passes the word *πέντε* unnoticed. Reiske in his notes upon Andocides merely approves the emendation of Taylor. But we have nowhere any account, except in Æschines, of this league of fifty years, negotiated by Miltiades son of Cimon. Nor could any cessation of hostilities for thirteen years occur between the two states, within the period specified. The Athenians acquired Megara and Pegæ in B. C. 461. they concluded the thirty-years' truce in B. C. 445. Within these two points of time the transactions are included by the orators. But it will be seen, on a reference to the Tables, that the two states were engaged in war in B. C. 457, 455, 454. Some error, then, exists somewhere. Either the orator has perverted facts, or the number *τριακάδεκα* is corrupt. Perhaps the allusion in these passages is to the five-years' truce; and Æschines is to be corrected by Andocides. And,

258 truce is concluded with the Peloponnesians¹. 3. [B. C. 450. 449.] The Athenians abstain from war in Greece: Ἑλληνικοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι—and send *Cimon* with two hundred ships to Cyprus. But this cessation from war at home did not extend to the whole duration of the truce: for the battle of Coronea was fought in the fourth year of the truce, or autumn B. C. 447. 4. A part of the ships being detached to Egypt to assist Amyrtæus, the rest besiege Citium. But, *Cimon* dying, the siege is abandoned. 5. After the death of *Cimon* they defeat the Phœnician and Cilician ships and forces off Salamis in Cyprus, and then return home. 6. After these things—μετὰ ταῦτα—the sacred war: in which the Lacedæmonians give the possession of the oracle and temple to the Delphians. 7. As soon as the Lacedæmonians were withdrawn, the Athenians restore the presidency to the Phocians^m. 8. [B. C. 447.] After some interval—χρόνου ἐγγενομένου—the Athenians

if in both passages we read *τρία* for *τριακάδεκα*, the sketch of the orator (for Æschines only transcribes his predecessor) will be brought into some conformity with Thucydides: Εἰρήνη ἐγένετο ἔτη πέντε. [B. C. 450.] καὶ ἐνεμείναμεν αὐταῖς ἔτη τρία. [B. C. 450. 449. 448.] This would be consistent with the historian: for, in the fourth year of the truce, B. C. 447, the war in Bœotia arose. But the short space of three years would not be sufficient for his argument. And other difficulties still remain. Andocides makes the rebuilding of the long walls *subsequent* to the treaty; while in Thucydides this work *preceded* it: (See the Tables B. C. 456, 2.) According to Andocides, the northern wall and the wall of the Piræus were the fruit of peace with Lacedæmon; while we know from the historian that they were begun and completed in the midst of war. I therefore incline to think that, although the five-years' truce was the real fact alluded to, the orator in his short historical sketch, delivered sixty years after the events, has adapted the facts to his purpose without precise attention to the strict truth of history. This opinion is confirmed by what follows in the two orators. Their narrative proceeds to the thirty-years' truce; in the fifteenth year of which we know that the Peloponnesian war began. But they describe it in the following terms: Andocides—οὗτοι ἡμῖν εἰρήνην ἐποίησαντο ἔτη τριάκοντα, καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ἔστιν ὅπου ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη;—αὕτη γὰρ ἡ εἰρήνη τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑψηλὸν ἤρε καὶ κατέστησεν ἰσχυρὸν οὕτως, ὥστε πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἔτεσιν εἰρήνην λαβόντες ἀνηγέκαμεν χίλια τάλαντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,—καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ μακρὸν τὸ νῦν ἐτειχίσθη. Æschines—εἰρήνην ἔτη τριάκοντα ἡγάγομεν, ἣ τὸν δῆμον ὑψηλὸν ἤρεν: χίλια μὲν γὰρ τάλαντα ἀνηγέκαμεν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, κ. τ. λ.—καὶ τὸ μακρὸν τεῖχος τὸ νῦν ἐτειχίσθη. The orators do not scruple to assert that the thirty-years' truce lasted thirty years! And they place within it the comple-

tion of the southern wall, or that to Phalerum; which according to Thucydides was built ten years before, in B. C. 456. This whole historical sketch in Andocides, and in Æschines who follows him, is an example how negligent the orators could venture to be, when they found it for their purpose to comment upon facts which were removed by time to some distance from the recollection of their auditors.

¹ c. 112.

^m The Scholiast on Aristoph. Av. 557. has given an inaccurate account of this war: ὁ ἱερὸς πόλεμος ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς βουλομένους [sic leg. e Suida] ἀφελίσθαι Φωκίων τὸ μαντεῖον. νικήσαντες δὲ, Φωκεῦσι πάλιν ἀπέδωκαν, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ δ' λέγει: δύο δὲ ἱεροὶ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν: οὗτός τε καὶ ὅποτε Φωκεῦσιν ἐπέθεντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι.—γεγονάσι δὲ δύο πόλεμοι ἱεροί: πρότερος μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς Φωκεῖς ὑπὲρ Δελφῶν καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν προμαντείαν παρὰ Δελφῶν ἔλαβον. ὕστερον δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου Ἀθηναίους πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπὲρ Φωκίων. καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποδεδώκασιν Φωκεῦσι, καθάπερ καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ δ' λέγει. καλεῖται δὲ ἱερὸς, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ ἐγένετο. ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Θουκυδίδης [I. 112] καὶ Ἑρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ θ' καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῷ κ'. It is manifest from Thucydides that no space of three years intervened between the giving of the temple to the Delphians by the Lacedæmonians, and the restoration of it to the Phocians by the Athenians. Plutarch Pericl. c. 21. entirely agrees with Thucydides in this particular, that no long interval occurred: ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς, Φωκίων ἐχόντων τὸ ἱερὸν, Δελφοῖς ἀπέδωκαν, ΕΥΘΥΣ ἐκείνων ἀπαλλαγέντων ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπιστρατεύσας πάλιν εἰσήγαγε τοὺς Φωκεῖας. And yet, as Thucydides makes no mention of *Pericles*, Plutarch, who had in his hands Philochorus and Theopompus, probably drew from their narratives. Hæschius agrees with Thucydides and Plutarch: ἱερὸν

march into Boeotia and occupy Chæronea. In their return home they are attacked and defeated at Coronea and obliged to evacuate the whole of Boeotiaⁿ. 9. [B. C. 445.] Not long after,—μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον—Eubœa revolts from Athens. 10. As Pericles was passing into Eubœa, news arrived that Megara had revolted, and that the Peloponnesians prepared to invade Attica. 11. [B. C. 445.] Pericles hastily withdraws from Eubœa: and, after this—μετὰ ταῦτα—the Peloponnesians penetrate to Eleusis; and, advancing no farther, return home. 12. Pericles returns to Eubœa, and recovers the whole island. 13. Not long after—οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον—the thirty-years' truce is concluded. The Athenians cede *Nisæa*, *Achaia*, *Pegæ*, and *Træzen*. 14. [B. C. 440.] In the sixth year of the truce Samos revolts, and Byzantium. 15. [B. C. 439] Samos surrenders in the ninth month of the siege. Byzantium is also recovered. The Summary concludes with the surrender of Samos: the subsequent events, τὰ Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτιδαιαιτικὰ, had been already described at large—μετὰ ταῦτα γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὰ τε Κερκυραϊκὰ, κ. τ. λ.^o The sea-fight between the Corinthians and Coreyreans [B. C. 435] was about five years after the revolt of Samos.

The discordance between Diodorus and Thucydides has been noticed already. Formerly the authority of Diodorus was too highly rated. A critic of great eminence^p could remark, upon a point on which the two historians differed, *Ergo vel non fuit satis exactus Thucydides in ea narratione, vel calculus Diodori falsus est. viderint chronologi quomodo concilientur.* The accuracy of Diodorus is now better estimated, and no critic would make it a matter of doubt or question which of the two writers should be followed. Where the dates of Diodorus are consistent with the course of events, and confirmed, or at least not contradicted, by other authorities, (as in the date of the Athenian empire,) we may receive them with some confidence. But within the period which we are now considering this is not the case. Taking Thucydides for our guide and standard, and trying him by that test, we shall have reason to lament his great inaccuracy in the arrangement of many important facts. As in the following examples.

B. C.

42 $\frac{9}{10}$. *Demotion*. Cimon takes Eion and Seyros, and gains the victories of the Eurymedon: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. XI. 60. 62. The capture of Eion and Seyros are placed six years too late: since these conquests immediately followed the accession of the Athenians to the command, which according to Diodorus himself happened in B. C. 477. The battles of the Eurymedon are placed four years too high: since they happened after the siege of Naxos in B. C. 466. He has accordingly placed in one year transactions which were ten years distant from each other.

πόλεμον ὃν ἐπολέμησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Φωκέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ ἐβοήθησαν δὲ Φωκεῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ παρέδωκαν τὸ ἱερόν. It appears, then, that the war in which the *Lacedæmonians* were parties is confounded by the Scholiast with a former war which was carried on by the *Boeotians*. And this is confirmed by the terms of Suidas v. *ἱερὸς πόλεμος*. Δύο ἐγένοντο ἱεροὶ πόλεμοι Ἀθηναίοις εἰς μὲν πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς βουλομένους ἀφελίσθαι Φωκέων τὸ μαντεῖον νικήσαντες δὲ Φωκεῦσι πάλιν ἀπέδωκαν.

ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὑπὲρ Φωκέων διὰ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερόν. I suspect that the Scholiast has derived the term ὕστερον τρίτῳ ἔτει from ὕστερον διαλειπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν in Thucyd. I. 112. which, through haste or negligence, he has applied to a wrong meaning.

ⁿ I. 113. This victory at Coronea is alluded to by the Boeotian Pagondas, in Thucyd. IV. 92.

^o c. 118.

^p Palmerius Exercit. p. 109. ad Diod. XI. 70.

- 46 $\frac{2}{3}$. *Apsephion*. The Spartan earthquake, and war with the Helots. He specifies that the war lasted ten years. XI. 63. 64. A *prochronism* of five years. This error appears to proceed from the wrong arrangement of the reign of *Archidamus*. The earthquake happened in his fourth year; but that fourth year, which in reality was B. C. 464, was B. C. 471 according to Diodorus.
- 46 $\frac{3}{4}$. *Tlepolemus*. Revolt of Inarus, and Egyptian war. XI. 71. A *prochronism* of three years.
- 260 45 $\frac{6}{9}$. *Phrasiclides*. Egyptian war ended. XI. 77. A *prochronism* of five years. Dodwell, having his attention fixed upon Diodorus for this war, neglects Thucydides. He partly however corrects Diodorus, by enlarging this last year into two and by bringing down the termination of the war to B. C. 457.
- 45 $\frac{2}{3}$. *Philocles*. Sea-fights at Haliæ &c. XI. 78.
- 45 $\frac{7}{9}$. *Bion*. Battles in the Megarid. War in Doris. Battle of Tanagra. XI. 79. 80.
- 45 $\frac{7}{9}$. *Mnesithides*. Between the battles of Tanagra and Ænophyta he inserts XI. 81. 82 a great victory gained in Bœotia; for which, as Mr. Mitford vol. II. p. 412 has observed, there is no authority in Thucydides or Plato: or, we may add, in Aristides. Panath. p. 157. tom. I. Jebb. Then follows in Diodorus XI. 83 the battle of Ænophyta.
- 45 $\frac{6}{9}$. *Callias*. Campaign of Tolmides: and, *at the same time*,—κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον—the surrender of Ithomë. XI. 84. Diodorus had already dated the beginning of this war 46 $\frac{2}{3}$. Its conclusion, therefore, in 45 $\frac{6}{9}$. And yet, in contradiction to himself, he here places the fall of Ithomë in the same year as the campaign of Tolmides: four years too late, according to his own dates. The *inconsistency* of Diodorus enables us to correct his *inaccuracy*. He confirms Thucydides without intending it, and illustrates him by supplying a material circumstance: that the expedition of Tolmides coincided with the fall of Ithomë. Learning this fact from Diodorus, we are enabled by Thucydides to do the rest.
- 45 $\frac{5}{4}$. *Sosistratus*. Campaign of Pericles. XI. 85.
- 45 $\frac{4}{3}$. *Ariston*. The πενταετής σπονδαί. XI. 86. A *prochronism* of three years.
- 45 $\frac{3}{2}$. *Lysicrates*. Campaign of Pericles XI. 88. Which he had already described with all its circumstances two years before, and which he now makes subsequent to the truce.
- 44 $\frac{8}{7}$. *Philiscus*. Revolt of Megara. XII. 5. Not only a *prochronism* of two years but also contrary to the course of events. For the revolt of Megara was *after* the revolt of Eubœa, and *in consequence* of the disasters of the Athenians in Bœotia. Diodorus places it *before* them both.
- 44 $\frac{7}{5}$. *Timarchides*. The disasters in Bœotia. XII. 6.—rightly placed. The Peloponnesian invasion of Attica. Ibid. A *prochronism* of two years. The truce also still subsisting.
- 43 $\frac{9}{8}$. *Glaucides*. The Corinthian war began. XII. 30. A *prochronism* of four years.
- 43 $\frac{8}{7}$. *Theodorus*. Sea-fight of the Corinthians and Coreyreans. XII. 31. A *prochronism* of three years.
- 43 $\frac{6}{5}$. *Lysimachus*. Sea-fight, in which the Athenians assisted the Coreyreans. XII. 33. A *prochronism* of four years.
- 43 $\frac{5}{4}$. *Antilochides*. τὰ Ποτιδαϊκά. XII. 34. A *prochronism* of three years. Afterwards, under the year of *Pythodorus*, he describes in its true year the battle of Potidæa;

which, however, preceded the siege in reality, although represented by Diodorus as three years after it.

The inaccuracies of this historian in this portion of history may be partly attributed to the want of materials. Down to the time of Thucydides α ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον. It may be presumed that in the subsequent parts of his history he is less deficient. In the times which followed the Peloponnesian war he might draw from many historians contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the events; from *Theopompus*, *Ephorus*, *Callisthenes*, *Philistus*, *Anaximenes*, and others, who had treated copiously, accurately, and distinctly of those times. Hence we may follow Diodorus as our chronological guide with greater confidence in his 261 latter extant books, than in the period which has been now examined. Even in the later times, however, instances will occur in which we may detect error; as in the dates of the Cyprian war [†]. And some examples of negligence may be collected within the Peloponnesian war itself, where he had Thucydides before him ^s.

IX.

AMPHIPOLIS.

THE authorities recited in the Tables fix the death of *Aristagoras* to B. C. 497, the first establishment of ten thousand settlers to B. C. 465, at the distance of thirty-two years from the death of *Aristagoras*, and the colony of *Agnon* to B. C. 437 in the twenty-ninth year after the former attempt. Thucydides ^a describes the transactions of B. C. 465: ἐπὶ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους [at the time of the revolt of *Thasos*] ὡς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἑννέα ὁδοὺς νῦν δὲ Ἀμφίπολιν τῶν μὲν Ἑννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν ἃς εἶχον Ἡδωνοὶ προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἐς μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν συμπάντων, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἑννέα ὁδοὶ κτιζόμενον. Diodorus ^b follows Thucydides. He mentions that *Aristagoras* first attempted a settlement; and he dying, and his followers being cut off by the *Edoni*, μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτεσι δυοὶ πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα Ἀθηναῖοι μυρίους οἰκήτορας εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξέπεμψαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ Θρακῶν διαφθαρέντων περὶ Δράβησκον, διαλιπόντες ἔτη δύο [lege cum *Wesseling*. εἴκοσι καὶ ἑννέα] πάλιν ἐκτίσαντο τὴν πόλιν Ἀπίωνος [leg. cum *Wess.* Ἀγωνος] ἡγουμένου. He describes the failure of the ten thousand colonists in the same terms as Thucydides, and under the year of the archon *Archidemides* ^c B. C. 464. And he places the establishment of *Agnon* under the year of *Euthymenes* ^d B. C. 437. From *Herodotus* and *Pausanias* we gather that the ten thousand colonists were led by *Sophanes* and *Leagrus*. *Herodotus* ^e:—

α Thucyd. I. 97.

β See c. 12. of this Appendix.

γ See *Duker* ad Thucyd. V. 116. The contradiction in the expedition of *Eurymedon*, who sails περὶ ἡλίου τροπὰς τὰς χειμερινὰς in Thucydides VII. 16. and περὶ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς in Diodorus XIII.

δ. may be perhaps imputed to a transcriber rather than to Diodorus himself.

α I. 100.

β XI. 70.

γ IX. 75.

δ XII. 68.

ε XII. 32.

αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τουτέων κατέλαβε, ἀνδρὰ γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ, περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχεόμενον. Pausanias^f:—πρῶτοι δὲ ἐτάφησαν [near the Academy] οὓς ἐν Θράκῃ ποτὲ ἐπικρατοῦντας μέχρι Δραβήσκου τῆς χώρας Ἡδωνοὶ φονεύουσιν ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιθέμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς κεραυνοὶ πέσοιεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἦσαν καὶ Λεάγρος, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ δύναμις, καὶ Δεκελεὺς Σωφονῆς [sic]. There can be no doubt of the identity of the ten thousand settlers whom Thucydides and Diodorus mention, and of the expedition which Herodotus and Pausanias have noticed. Corsini^g himself (who adopts an hypothesis of Dodwell, to be mentioned presently) admits that they were the same. *Cladem illam [at Drabescus] non modo Pausanias Attic. c. 29. sed Herodotus etiam lib. IX. memoravit.* The 262 expedition, then, in which *Leagrus* held a chief command, was the colony described by Thucydides, and no other.

But the Scholiast of Æschines^h, part of whose words are quoted in the Tables B. C. 437, speaks of *two* failures of the Athenians, before the colony of Agnon. He recounts *nine* failures at Amphipolis: τὰ δὲ ἀτυχήματά ἐστι ταῦτα. πρῶτον μὲν Λυσιστράτου καὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Κρατίνου στρατευσάντων ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι. διεφθάρησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Θρακῶν, εἰληφότες Ἡϊόνα, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φαίδωνοςⁱ [B. C. 476]. δεύτερον, οἱ μετὰ Λεωγόρου κληροῦχοι, ἐπὶ Λυσικράτους [B. C. 453]. τρίτον, οἱ μετ' Εὐκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου [B. C. 424]. τέταρτον, οἱ μετὰ Κλέωνος, ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀλκαίου [B. C. 422].—The establishment of Agnon is dated by the Scholiast in the archonship of Euthymenes [B. C. 437]; agreeing with Diodorus. *Two* failures are enumerated prior to the establishment of Agnon; and neither agrees in date with that recorded by Thucydides. But, as it was impossible that the affair of Drabescus could have been omitted in this enumeration, one of these two was doubtless intended for that expedition. Dodwell^k supposes the *first* failure, under the year of *Phædon*, to be the failure at Drabescus: and Corsini agrees with him. Dodwell, to make Thucydides and the Scholiast harmonize, removes *Phædon* from the year 476, contrary to the testimony of Diodorus and Dionysius, makes him archon of the year 465, and supposes the *second* failure in the Scholiast to be a subsequent occurrence unnoticed by Thucydides. Corsini^l supposes the failure at Drabescus to have happened in B. C. 465, but the colony to have been planted four years earlier. Therefore, instead of the numbers in Thucydides, 29+32, we must understand 29+4+32. By this arrangement he raises the death of Aristagoras to B. C. 501; that is, to a date preceding the commencement of the Ionian war which Aristagoras conducted^m; and he feigns two *archontes eponymi* in one year [B. C. 469], that the archon *Phædon* of the Scholiast may be reconciled to this distribution. But, rejecting these fanciful theories of Corsini and Dodwell, which are wholly without authority, we shall rather inquire whether the Scholiast committed an error in the date of the *first*, or of the *second*, of these incidents: in other words, did he make his mistake by ascribing the affair of Drabescus to

^f I. 29, 4.

^g Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 194.

^h Ad Fals. Leg. p. 755. Reisk.

ⁱ This date refutes the scheme of Dodwell for the acts of Pausanias after the Persian war, and confirms the arguments which have been offered in this work for the commencement of the Athenian empire. We learn from the Scholiast that

the Athenians had already possessed themselves of Eion on the Strymon in the archonship of *Phædon*. See the Tables B. C. 476, 2.—the Appendix c. 6. p. 250.

^k Annal. Thucyd. p. 76.

^l Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 136. 184.

^m See the Tables B. C. 500—497 and this Appendix c. 5. p. 244.

the year of *Phædon*, or did his error consist in attributing it to the year of the archon *Lysicrates*? This is the question which we have to examine, instead of displacing archons or putting a forced interpretation upon the text of Thucydides.

The *first* expedition mentioned by the Scholiast was not the failure at Drabescus, because all the circumstances were different. The commanders were different persons. At Drabescus, *Leagrus* and *Sophanes* were among the leaders; in the Scholiast, *Lysistratus*, *Lycurgus*, and *Cratinus* are named. Would *Leagrus* have been omitted, who had the chief direction?—The objects were different. At Drabescus the object was to establish a colony, and plant settlers. *κληροῦχοι* or *οικήτορες* are the expressions of Thucydides and Diodorus: in the Scholiast, a military expedition is mentioned, and nothing more. The scene of action was different. In the account of Thucydides Herodotus and Pausanias, the Athenians advanced up the country to Drabescus, and were cut off by the Edoni, an inland people^a: in the 263 narrative of the Scholiast, *Eion* only is mentioned; neither Amphipolis nor Drabescus are noticed. And *Eion* and *Amphipolis*, although confounded together by Stephanus Byzantinus^o, were distinct positions. *Eion* was at the mouth of the river Strymon; *Amphipolis* at the distance of three miles higher up the river^p. There is nothing, then, in the circumstances to mark the identity of the *first* expedition recorded by the Scholiast, and the defeat of the ten thousand colonists at Drabescus, recorded by Thucydides and attested by so many other writers. The *second* failure, then, of the Scholiast is the affair of Drabescus. Here colonists, *κληροῦχοι*, are mentioned; and the leader is *Leogoras*, an easy corruption of *Leagrus*. The error in the date will be corrected, if for ἐπὶ ΛΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ [B. C. 453] we read ἐπὶ ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ [B. C. 467], or ἐπὶ ΛΥΣΙΘΕΟΥ [B. C. 465]. This last correction will give the actual year marked by Thucydides. And the whole passage may be amended thus: δεῦτερον, οἱ μετὰ Λεάγρου κληροῦχοι ἐπὶ Λυσιθέου. The first, then, of the two expeditions, and not the second, is one of inferior note, and not recorded by Thucydides.

Leagrus, the leader of this band of settlers, was of one of the most illustrious families at Athens. His son *Glaucôn* was joined with *Andocides* in the command of a fleet in B. C. 432, about thirty years after. And his grandson seems to be mentioned by Plato the comic poet, in a fragment preserved by Athenæus^q: Πλάτων Λαίω·

..... οὐχ ὁρᾷς
 ὃθ' ὁ Μελέαγρος, Γλαύκωνος ὦν μεγάλου γένους,
 * * * κόκκυξ ἡλίθιος περιέρχεται,
 σικνοῦ πέπονός εὐνουχίου κνήμας ἔχων;

The metre is thus restored by Porson^r:

..... οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι
 ὁ Μελέαγρος Γλαύκωνος ὦν μεγάλου γένους
 [λαμπροῦ τε] κόκκυξ, κ. τ. λ.

^a The *Edoni*, by whom the colonists were slain at Drabescus, were a people of the inland country. Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 419. οἱ μὲν Ἕδωνες παρὰ θάλασσαν οἰκοῦσιν, Ἕδωνοὶ δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν.

^o V. Ἀμφίπολις.

^p The two places are distinguished from each

other by Marcellin. vit. Thucyd. p. xxv. by Anon. vit. Thucyd. p. xxxv. by Plutarch Cimon. c. 8. Herodotus VII. 113. 114. and by Thucydides himself IV. 104. 106.

^q II. 68. c.

^r Adversar. p. 58.

This emendation restores the metre, but touches upon no other point: I should therefore rather read the line thus:

..... οὐχ ὀράς
 ὅθ' ὁ Λεάγρος Γλαύκωνος ὦν μεγάλου γένους

Leagrus son of *Glaucōn* (the *Leagrus* of whom *Andocides* ^s speaks) would be ridiculed by Plato thirty, or perhaps forty years^t after his father had commanded the fleet, and sixty or seventy years after his grandfather had fallen at *Drabescus*. And the genealogy of this family would stand as follows:

264 *Leagrus* ὁ Γλαύκωνος. leader of the settlers at *Drabescus* B. C. 465.

Glaucōn ὁ Λεάγρου. commander of the fleet in B. C. 432.^v

Leagrus ὁ Γλαύκωνος. ridiculed in the *Λαίος* of Plato.

The Scholiast ^u pursues his enumeration thus: πέμπτον, οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα Ἀθηναῖοι ἐξηλάθησαν. ἔκτον, οἱ μετὰ Συμβίχου στρατηγοῦντος διεφθάρησαν. ἔβδομον, ὅτε Πρωτόμαχος ἀπέτυχεν. ὄγδοον, ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοσθένους Ἀλκίμαχος ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ παραδόντος αὐτὸν Θραξίν ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος [B. C. 364]. ἔνατον, Τιμόθεος ἐπιστρατεύσας ἡττήθη ἐπὶ Καλαμίνος [Καλλιμήδους] ἄρχοντος [B. C. 360]. The eighth failure seems to have occurred during the opposition made by *Perdiccas III.* respecting *Amphipolis*, described by *Æschines* ^x: καὶ πάλιν ὡς Περδίκκας εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπολέμησε τῇ πόλει. The transaction mentioned by the Scholiast would happen in the beginning of his reign. And possibly *Timosthenes* of the Scholiast is no other than the *Callisthenes* of *Æschines*. The ninth defeat at *Amphipolis*, when *Timotheus* was repulsed, is recorded in the Tables under the year 360.

X.

SYRACUSE.

SYRACUSE subsisted as an independent state about 522 years, from its foundation by *Archias* of Corinth to its overthrow by *Marcellus* B. C. 212. *Thucydides* has omitted to specify the date of its foundation with precise exactness; but we obtain from him the following particulars.

Megara Hyblæa was founded two hundred and forty-five years before its conquest by *Gelon*: ^a ἔτη οἰκήσαντες πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσια, ὑπὸ Γέλωνος τυράννου Συρακουσίων

^s De *Myster.* p. 16.

^t For the age of Plato, who wrote comedy B. C. 428—391, see the Introduction p. xl. His *Λαίος* was a late comedy, because *Philonides*, the lover of the courtesan *Laïs*, was ridiculed in that piece. Schol. *Plut.* 179. And *Philonides* was the subject of ridicule in the second *Plutus* of *Aristophanes* (see the *Introd.* p. lv), and in the pieces

of *Nicochares* and *Theopompus* (Schol. *Plut.* 179), who belonged to the later periods of the old comedy.

^v *Thucyd.* I. 51.

^u Ad *Æschin.* *Fals. Leg.* p. 755.

^x *Fals. Leg.* p. 32, 12.

^a *Thucyd.* VI. 4.

ἀνέστησαν. This event could not have happened before the year B. C. 485, which was the first of Gelon's reign at Syracuse. Megara Hyblæa, then, was founded at the earliest, B. C. 484 + 245, or B. C. 729, and more probably a year or two later than that date.

The interval between *Syracuse* and *Megara* is thus stated. "Leontium and Catana were founded in the fifth year after Syracuse: and about the same time Lamis attempted a settlement at Trotilus; and, after having coalesced for a short time with the Leontines, was driven from thence and slain at Thapsus: his followers withdrawing from Thapsus founded Megara Hyblæa:" ἔπειτα πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας Λεοντίνους οἰκίζουσι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Κατάνην.—κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Λάμις ἐκ Μεγάρων—Τρώτιλόν τι ὄνομα χωρίου οἰκίσας, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτόθεν τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν ἐς Λεοντίνους ὀλίγον χρόνον συμπολιτεύσας καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκπεσὼν καὶ Θάψον οἰκίσας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἀναστάντες—Μεγαρέας ᾤκισαν τοὺς Ὑβλαίους. Trotilus was occupied in the fifth year after *Syracuse*; but it remains to be determined what interval passed between the establishment at Trotilus and the foundation of *Megara*; and what is the exact value of the expression ὀλίγον χρόνον.

Chronologers assign two different dates to Syracuse. The Parian Marble fixes the colony of Archias at the 21st year of the archon *Æschylus*: ἀφ' οὗ Ἀρχίας Εὐαγήτου δέκατος ὦν ἀπὸ 265 Τημένου ἐκ Κορίνθου ἦγαγε τὴν ἀποικίαν . . . Συρακού . . . — . . . τοὺς Ἀθηναίων Αἰσχύλου ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ καὶ ἐνός. As the numbers are obliterated, it is not clearly known at what date the 21st year of *Æschylus* was placed by the Marble^{cc}. The editors without good reason have taken for granted that the author placed this reign where it is placed by Eusebius, and have supplied the numbers 493 B. C. 757, or 494 B. C. 758. The former would best agree with Eusebius, who places the 21st year of *Æschylus* anno 1259 (commencing Oct. B. C. 758) Ol. 5. 4. This date for the era of Syracuse is assumed by Larcher and others. Dodwell, Jackson, and others follow Eusebius, who dates the foundation at B. C. 733 according to Hieronymus, but according to the more accurate Armenian copy at 734.^d This date 734 will give B. C. 730 for the foundation of Catana and Leontium, and for the attempt at Trotilus^{dd}, and will leave an interval of two complete years between Trotilus and Megara. and as the 23 or 24 years assigned by the editors of the Marble could not well have been described as ὀλίγος χρόνος by Thucydides, the epoch of Eusebius seems more consonant with the terms of his narrative.

Other arguments also occur in favour of the shorter date. 1. Polyænus^e relates that the Megarians (under Lamis) and the Chalcidians of Leontium coalesced for *six months*: that Theucles (the founder of Naxos and Leontium) then drove them out: that they built *Trogilium*, (the same place as *Trotilus*^{cc}), which they were only allowed by the Chalcidians under Theucles to inhabit for *one winter*. These particulars are consistent with a *short space*; ὀλίγον χρόνον. a space of a year or two, between the arrival of Lamis in Sicily and the foundation of Megara. 2. Archias the founder of *Syracuse* assisted the Achæans at the foundation of *Crotona*; sailing thither by chance, in his way to Sicily: συμπράξαντος τοῦ Ἀρχίου,—

^b Idem VI. 3. 4.

^c N^o. 32.

^{cc} See F. H. I. p. 132. 154. 156.

^d See F. H. I. p. 164.

^{dd} See F. H. I. p. 166.

^e V. 5, 1. 2. Theucles is mentioned by Hella-

nicus apud Steph. Byz. v. Χαλκίς. Ἑλλάνικος Ἱερειῶν Ἦρας δευτέρῳ "Θεοκλῆς ἐκ Χαλκίδος μετὰ Χαλκιδεῶν . . . καὶ Ναξίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις ἔκτισε."

^{ee} See Duker ad Thucyd. VI. 4.

^f Strabo VI. p. 262. D.

προσπλεύσαντος κατὰ τύχην, ἥνίκα ὥρμητο ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Συρακουσῶν οἰκισμόν. Strabo derived this fact from Antiochus, an ancient historian, a native of Syracuse, well versed in the affairs of Sicily. But Crotona ^g was founded ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἐπτακαιδέκατης ὀλυμπιάδος, or B. C. 710. The foundation of Crotona is made by Strabo, in another passage ^h, to be contemporary with that of Syracuse. Straboⁱ remarks: τὰς δὲ Συρακούσας Ἀρχίας μὲν ἐκτίσεν ἐκ Κορίνθου πλεύσας περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους οἷς ὤκισθησαν καὶ ἡ Νάξος καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα. And he relates ^j that Chersicrates, the companion of Archias, was left at Coreyra: καταλιπεῖν Χερσικράτην συνοικοῦντα τὴν νῦν Κέρκυραν καλουμένην πρότερον δὲ Σχέριαν. Ephorus ^k placed the foundation of Megara, as well as Naxos, before Syracuse: φησὶ δὲ ταύτας Ἐφορος πρῶτας κτισθῆναι πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἐν Σικελίᾳ.—Θεοκλέα δ' Ἀθηναῖον—Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ συχνοὺς παραλαμβάνοντα καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων τινὰς ἔτι δὲ Δωριέων, οἱ πλείους ἦσαν Μεγαρεῖς, πλεῦσαι τοὺς μὲν οὖν Χαλκιδέας κτίσαι Νάξον, τοὺς δὲ Δωριέας Μέγαρα τὴν Ὑβλαν πρότερον καλουμένην. The chronology of Eusebius places the era of Syracuse twenty-four years earlier than the era of Crotona. This might be true, if, with some latitude of interpretation, we understand Strabo to imply that Archias assisted at Crotona, while he was still engaged in settling his new colony. But, since Archias assisted at both, the eras of the two cities could not have been removed to so great a distance from each other as the chronology of the Marble would place between them.

Mr. Muller argues ^{kk} that “those who with Eusebius place the foundation of Syracuse in “Ol. 11. 4 and that of Leontini in Ol. 13. 1 must assume that Lamis the Megarian founded “Trotilus and Thapsus in the same year.” This will not follow from the dates of the Armenian copy, which place Syracuse at Ol. 11. 3, one year higher than the date upon which Mr. Muller comments. The era of Leontini is not given at all, either in Hieronymus or in the Armenian Version of Eusebius. But if Syracuse is at Ol. 11. 3, then Trotilus in the fifth year after will be at Ol. 12. 3 and not at Ol. 13. 1, and this will leave a space of two years for the transactions recorded, which is consistent with the expressions of Thucydides.

3. *Agrigentum* was founded, according to Thucydides^l, one hundred and fifty-three years 266 after Syracuse: Γέλαν Ἀντίφημος καὶ Ἐντιμος—ἐκτίσαν ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἰκισιν.—ἔτεσι δὲ ἐγγύτατα ὀκτῶ καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ τὴν σφετέραν οἰκισιν Γελῶοι Ἀκράγαντα ὤκισαν. And *Camarina* was founded one hundred and thirty-five years after Syracuse: ^m ἔτεσιν ἐγγύτατα πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Συρακουσῶν κτίσιν. Consequently eighteen years before *Agrigentum*. But *Camarina* was founded in Ol. 45, upon the concurrent authority of Eusebius and the Scholiast on Pindar. ⁿ κτίζεται ἡ Καμαρίνα τεσσαρακοστῇ πέμπτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι. Eusebius has Ol. 45. 2 or 45. 3 for the era of *Camarina* ⁿⁿ. But Ol. 45. $\frac{1}{2}$ B. C.

^g Dionys. Antiq. II. p. 361. Reisk.

^h VI. p. 269. ἄμα δὲ Μύσκελλον τε φασὶν εἰς Δελφούς ἔλθειν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν χρηστηριαζόμενον ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεὸν πρότερον αἰροῦνται πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίειαν τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρχίαν ἐλέσθαι πλοῦτον Μύσκελλον δὲ τὴν ὑγίειαν τῷ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσας δοῦναι κτίζειν τῷ δὲ Κρότωνα. Conf. Steph. Byz. v. Συρακοῦσαι. The oracle itself is preserved in Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 1089. Myscellus was of Rhypes, one of the twelve divi-

sions of Achaia: Strabo VIII. p. 387. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ῥυπῶν ἦν ὁ Μύσκελλος ὁ Κρότωνος οἰκιστής. See also Zenob. Adag. III. 42.

ⁱ VI. p. 269.

^j Ibid.

^k Apud Strabon. VI. p. 267.

^{kk} Dorians, vol. II. p. 447. 2nd ed.

^l VI. 4.

^m Thucyd. VI. 5.

ⁿ Schol. Pindar. Olymp. V. 16.

ⁿⁿ See F. H. I. p. 222.

599 + 135 = 734 for the era of Syracuse, confirming the date of Eusebius. *Agrigentum* was founded, according to Pindar, about one hundred years before the 77th Olympiad B. C. 472.^p And, according to his Scholiast, in the 50th Olympiad; which is nearly equivalent. Pindar ^q:

αὐδάσομαι ———
 τεκεῖν μή τιν' ἑκατόν
 γε ἐτέων πόλιν
 φίλοις ἄνδρα μάλλον
 εὐεργέταν ———

The Scholiast remarks: εἰ τὸ “ τινὰ ” πρὸς τὸ “ ἄνδρα ” συνάψῃς, πόλιν ἑκατόν ἐτῶν νοήσεις τὴν Ἀκράγαντα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ὀλυμπιάδι [B. C. 580] ἐκτίσθη. The numbers of Pindar, strictly taken, (which doubtless was never intended,) would give B. C. 472 + 153 + 100, or B. C. 725 for the foundation of Syracuse. The date of the Scholiast would place Agrigentum five Olympiads below Camarina (sufficiently agreeing with the true interval, eighteen years, established by Thucydides) and Syracuse at B. C. 733, which again confirms the date of Eusebius. The computations, then, which arise out of the eras of Camarina and Agrigentum are another argument for accepting the date of Eusebius, and rejecting that of the Marble.

4. It must be remarked that there is the same difference between the Marble and Eusebius in this, as there is between them in the preceding epochs. “ The dates of the Marble,” says Jackson ^r, “ are all twenty-five years too high before the annual archons.” If we try the Marble by the two Cardinal dates, the fall of Troy and the Ionic migration, we find in the Marble an excess of 26 or 33 years. The former epoch B. C. 1209 is 26 years higher than the Vulgar Chronology B. C. 1183. The latter, B. C. 1077, is 33 years above B. C. 1044 the Vulgar era ^r. We may accordingly conclude that the author of this monument has committed a similar error of excess in this as in all the preceding epochs: and that he may be reduced to a more just chronology by the retrenchment of the superfluous years from this as from all the preceding dates.

We may therefore admit the chronology of Eusebius as near the truth. His era of Syracuse, B. C. 734, is 19 years later than the Varronian era of Rome; and the occupation of Syracuse by *Gelon* in B. C. 485 would be in the 250th year of the city. We assume this date as probably approaching the true time within a year or two.

The first establishment of *Gelon* was at *Gela*: of which he acquired the possession in B. C. 491.^s The fortunes of *Gela* for the preceding fourteen years are noticed by Herodotus. *Cleander* reigned there seven years, and *Hippocrates* seven: *Gelon* succeeded *Hippocrates*.

^p The date of the second Olympic ode. See the Tables B. C. 472. 4. Mr. Kruger p. 279. ed. Lips. remarks, *Secundum Boeckh. Ol. 76. 1.* It has been shewn already p. 229. that there is no good reason for preferring Ol. 76 to Ol. 77. But if Ol. 76 B. C. 476 were the date of that ode, this would not affect the argument. Pindar speaks in round numbers. If, however, his numbers were

accurately taken with the date of Mr. Boeckh, they would carry the era of Syracuse to B. C. 729, four years nearer to the true date than I have named it.

^q Olymp. II. 168.

^r Chron. Antiquities vol. II. p. 334.

^{rr} See F. H. I. p. 122. 132.

^s See the Tables.

	Y.	B. C.	
267	<i>Cleander</i> tyrant of <i>Gela</i> .. 7. ...	505.	<i>Herodot.</i> VII. 154.
	<i>Hippocrates</i>	7. ...	498. <i>Herodot.</i> VII. 155.
	<i>Gelon</i>	(6.)... 491.	<i>Dionys. Ant.</i> VII. p. 1309.
	—— tyrant of <i>Syracuse</i> — ...	485.	

From this period to the capture of *Syracuse* by *Marcellus*, a period of two hundred and seventy-three years, that city passed through the following revolutions.

Er. Syr.	Y. M.	B. C.
250. <i>Gelon</i>	7.	... 485.
257. <i>Hiero</i>	11.	... 478.
268. <i>Thrasybulus</i>	1.	... 467.
269. <i>I. Interval</i>	60.	... 466.
329. <i>Dionysius</i>	38. 3.	... 406.
368. <i>Dionysius jun.</i>	11. 6.	... 367.
379. <i>Dion</i>	3.	... 356.
382. <i>Callippus</i> ^t	1. 1.	... 353.
383. <i>Hipparinus</i> ^{tt}	2.	... 352.
385. <i>II. Interval</i>	6.	... 350.
391. <i>Timoleon</i>	7.	... 344.
398. <i>III. Interval</i>	20.	... 337.
418. <i>Agathocles</i>	28.	... 317.
446. <i>IV. Interval</i> ^v	14.	... 289.
460. } <i>Hiero II.</i> ^u { prætor (5.)		... 275.
465. } king ..	54.	... 270.

^t *Callippus* governed *Syracuse* thirteen months : ἦρξε μῆνας τρεισκαίδεκα *Diod.* XVI. 31. and was driven from the city,—ἡττηθεὶς ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, in the archonship of *Eudemus* B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Diod.* XVI. 36. The thirteen months bring down his expulsion to the year B. C. 352, near midsummer. He was still living in the year of *Thessalus* B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Diod.* XVI. 45. and is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in B. C. 350. See the Tables B. C. 350, 3.

^{tt} *Diod.* XVI. 36. Ἰππαρίνος ἀνακτησάμενος τὴν πατρίαν δυναστείαν ἦρξεν ἔτη δύο. See *Polyæn.* V. 4.

^v During nine of the fourteen years, which intervened between the death of *Agathocles* and the prætorship of *Hiero*, *Syracuse* was governed by *Hicetas*: *Diod.* XXII. eclog. 6. p. 295. *Bipont.* κέτας ἐννέα ἔτη δυναστεύσας *Συρακούσης*—ἐκβάλλε-
ται.

^u The death of *Hiero* is determined to the latter end of B. C. 216. He survived his son *Gelon*, who outlived the battle of *Cannæ*: *Liv.* XXIII. 30. These incidents extend the life of *Hiero* to at least the middle of B. C. 216. His successor

Hieronimus reigned thirteen months : μῆνας οὐ πλείους τριῶν καὶ δέκα *Polyb.* VII. 7. and was slain in B. C. 215, before the election of the consuls for the ensuing year. *Liv.* XXIV. 7. which fixes the accession of *Hieronimus* and the death of *Hiero* to the latter part of B. C. 216. *Hiero* had reigned fifty-four years : ἔτη ν' καὶ τέτταρα βασιλεύσας *Polyb.* VII. 8. and died at *past ninety*: *Polyb.* Ibid. or *ninety-two*. *Lucian.* *Macrob.* c. 10.—*nonagesimum jam agens annum* *Liv.* XXIV. 4. According to the correction of *Casaubon*, he had been elected στρατηγὸς in *Olymp.* 126. 2 [B. C. 275]: *Pausan.* VI. 12, 2. μετὰ τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους—τελευτὴν *Συρακουσίοις* αὐθις ἀναπεφύκει τύραννος ὁ Ἰέρων οὗτος· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν εἶχεν ἔπει δευτέρῳ τῆς (ἐκτῆς) Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν [*Sic supplet Casaub. ad Polyb. I. 8*] ἦν Κυρηναῖος στάδιον ἐνίκησεν Ἰδαῖος. This date for the prætorship of *Hiero* is probable. The nine years of *Hicetas*, who was followed by *Thynion* and *Sostratus* (*Diod.* tom. IX. p. 296), will not admit an earlier date. Mr. *Kruger*, who justly argues in favour of ἔκτης, quotes *Siebel.* ad *Pausan.* I. c. Doubtless ἔκτης is the true reading; which had been supplied by *Casaubon*, and after

Er. Syr.	Y. M.	B. C.
519. Hieronymus	1. 1. ...	216.
521. <i>Siege of Syracuse</i> ^w	2. ...	214.
523. — taken by Marcellus	...	212.

Those who prefer the authority of Aristotle in the times of *Gelon* and *Hiero* will cut off a year from the beginning or the end of the period here assigned to *Gelon*, *Hiero*, and *Thrasybulus*. But, as Diodorus is consistent in his dates^x, as *Hiero* survived the 78th Olympiad, as the period of *almost sixty years* brings down the expulsion of *Thrasybulus* to the end of B. C. 466, and as Diodorus is entitled to better credit upon *Sicilian* history than upon other parts of his subject, I have adopted his date for *Hiero*; which enlarges the chronology of Aristotle by the addition of one year, and makes the duration of this dynasty nineteen years instead of eighteen.

The elder *Dionysius* began to govern in the sixth month of the archon *Callias*, and survived the eighth month of the archon *Nausigenes*^y; a space of thirty-eight years and three months. The younger *Dionysius* was expelled in the beginning of the archonship of *Elpines*^z: about eleven years and a half from the death of his father. The collective amount of the two reigns is accurately stated at fifty years by *Theopompus*. *Nepos*^a has the same number: *quinquaginta annorum imperium*: perhaps derived from *Theopompus*. Diodorus, recording the Sicilian digression of *Theopompus* under the year of *Pythodotus* B. C. 343, has given occasion to *Wesseling*^b to animadvert upon the number, ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα. *Hæc vera esse non poterunt, si Theopompus cum ipso tyrannidis Dionysianæ principio exorsus fuerit: — a quo ad hunc annum abierunt plus sexaginta*. It is true that the actual interval from the archonship of *Callias* to the year of *Pythodotus* is sixty-three years: but, as fifty years express the real amount of the two reigns, there is no reason to suspect the authenticity of the numbers. The difficulty seems rather to arise from negligence or want of precision in Diodorus himself. It may be conjectured, that, although *Theopompus* might have continued his narrative of Sicilian affairs down to the year at which Diodorus records it, yet that he did not intend by fifty years to express the whole space of time down to B. C. 343^c, but only

him by *Palmerius Exercit. p. 405*. The authority of the series of Olympic victors (which rested on the *excerpta* of *Scaliger* before: *Conf. Palmerium l. c.*) is now confirmed by the Armenian copy of *Eusebius p. 153*, where *Idæus* is victor in Olymp. 126. *Hiero* boasts that his alliance with Rome had been of fifty years duration: *Liv. XXIV. 4*. He made his treaty with the Romans in the consulship of *Man. Otacilius* and *Man. Valerius* [B. C. 263]: *Polyb. I. 16*. so that the actual duration of his alliance had been forty-eight years.

^w *Syracuse* was taken in the third year: *Se quidem tertium annum circumsedere Syracusas. Liv. XXV. 31*. But the duration of the siege was not much more than two years complete. The commencement of the siege was subsequent to March B. C. 214, when *Marcellus* entered upon his third consulship. *Liv. XXIV. 9*. The first winter quarters of *Marcellus* in Sicily, at the close

of B. C. 214, are noticed in *Liv. XXIV. 39*. The city was taken in the consulship of *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Ap. Claudius* [B. C. 212]: *Liv. XXV. 3. 23*. In that year, *Marcellus* proceeded to press the siege in the beginning of spring: *initio veris. Liv. XXV. 23*. and his success was probably completed before the end of the summer. *conf. capp. 24. 30*. The siege is therefore inaccurately said to be of three years by *Blair*, and by *Du Fresnoy tom. I. p. 384*.

^x See the Tables, in the years of *Timosthenes* B. C. 478—of *Lysistratus* B. C. 467—and of *Lysanias* B. C. 466.

^y See the Tables B. C. 406, 367.

^z See B. C. 356.

^a In *Dione c. 5*.

^b Ad *Diod. XVI. 71*.

^c Apud *Diodor. XVI. 71*. See the original passage in the Tables B. C. 343, 3.

the amount of the two reigns,—*quingquaginta annorum imperium*—which terminated at the expulsion of the younger Dionysius in B. C. 356. Plutarch reckons only *ten* years for the younger Dionysius, and *forty-eight* for the two reigns^d. He might end his computation at the expedition of Dion, excluding the year of Agathocles from the account. Between *Callias* and *Agathocles* are forty-eight archons.

- 269 *Dion* was slain in the fourth year after his return to Sicily^e. He landed in the second month of *Agathocles*, from whence to the close of the year of *Diotimus* the actual time would be about three years and a half. And *Diotimus* is the fourth archon from *Agathocles*. *Diodorus*, then, and *Nepos* agree. The expedition of *Timoleon*, according to Plutarch, was twelve years after the first expulsion of *Dionysius*^f. With respect to the transactions of *Timoleon* after his landing, Mr. Mitford^g observes, “From *Diodorus* we have a coherent “account of the transactions of two summers and two winters after the arrival of *Timoleon*, “before he became master of the citadel of *Syracuse* ;” and condemns *Plutarch*^h for asserting that the whole was completed in fifty days. He is justly dissatisfied with the “fifty days” of *Plutarch*. But in *Diodorus* there is no vestige of *two* winters. Three archons, indeed, are specified : in the year of the first, *Timoleon* sailed ; in the year of the second he landed ; and in the year of the third he took the citadel. But, as the archons commenced at mid-summer, the operations of one campaign, comprehending a spring and autumn, would be distributed into two years by the annalist. Every campaign of the Peloponnesian war belonged to two Attic years. This we may trace in the narrative of *Diodorus*ⁱ upon this occasion : ‘Επ’ ἄρχοντος Εὐβούλου—Τιμολέων ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.—καταπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου εἰς τὸ Μεταπόντιον—ἐξέπλευσεν εὐθέως ἐκ τοῦ Μεταποντίου.—οὗτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐτέλει τὸν εἰς Ῥήγιον πλοῦν—καὶ καθωρμίσθη πλησίον τῆς πόλεως. ἐπικαταπλευσάντων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων—ἔλαθε διαδρᾶς—καὶ ταχέως ἐξέπλευσεν—εἰς τὸ Ταυρομένιον.—ἀναζεύξας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ταυρομενίου—ἀνελπίστως ἐπέθετο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰκέταν—καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἐκράτησε.—παραχρῆμα (δὲ) ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ἀφώρμησεν.—Ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Λυκίσκου—Τιμολέων μὲν Ἀδρανίτας τὰς Τυνδαρίτας εἰς συμμαχίαν προσλαβόμενος στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους παρ’ αὐτῶν παρέλαβεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Συρακούσαις πολλὴν ταραχὴν κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, κ. τ. λ. At this point we discern a winter : the winter of the archon *Lysiscus* B. C. 344½. But we are at a loss to discover a second. The operations of *Timoleon* are continued in the following spring [B. C. 343] ; still within the year of *Lysiscus*. And *Dionysius* retired to *Corinth* in the summer ; which brings the annalist to the year of *Pythodotus*. The actual interval from the setting forth of *Timoleon* might be little more than a year : from the last month of *Eubulus* [May B. C. 344] to the first month of *Pythodotus* [July B. C. 343]. In the whole period of *Timoleon* in Sicily *Diodorus* agrees with *Plutarch*. The death of *Timoleon* in the year of *Phrynichus*, towards the close of B. C. 337, would be accurately described as “not quite eight years” from his landing in the year of *Lysiscus* B. C. 344. The real space of time might be seven years and a half.

^d See the Tables B. C. 356.

^e See the Tables B. C. 353.

^f See the testimonies in the Tables B. C. 343.

^g Vol. VII. p. 263. note.

^h Timol. c. 16.

ⁱ XVI. 66—69.

XI.

DODWELL EXAMINED.

OUR obligations to Dodwell are very great for the diligence with which he has collected the testimonies and arranged the dates, in the period included within the "Grecian History" of Xenophon. It has been found necessary, however, to differ from him in some particulars, which it will be convenient to bring together into one point of view. The periods principally 270 concerned are, the chronology of the battle of *Ægospotami* and of the *Thirty* [B. C. 405, 404]; the times of *Thimbron*, *Dercyllidas*, and *Agesilaus* [B. C. 399—394]; the peace of *Antalcidas* [B. C. 387], and the congress at *Sparta* [B. C. 371].

I. *Ægospotami*. I have stated in the Tables that Dodwell fixed this victory to the fourth month before the surrender of Athens, upon the authority of the following passage^a. *Victi sunt ad Ægis fluvium Athenienses a Lysandro, anno Olymp. 93. 4.—Novo deinde victoriae terrore urbs ipsa sub ejusdem anni Attici finem obsessa est. ita scilicet ut Munychionis die 16. urbem Lysandro deditam testetur Plutarchus.—^bLysandrum vidimus bello ipsa hyeme, prælio fatali finem imposuisse.* According to these passages, the victory of Lysander is dated by Dodwell in the winter of Olymp. 93. 4 the winter of the archon Alexias, in the tenth month of whose year it is agreed that the city surrendered. It must not be concealed, however, that in another page^c he places this battle under Olymp. 93. 3: *Hoc anno [mense Posideone, qui ante Munychionem quartus erat, proinde Posideone II. qui cæpit Dec. 24] victi a Lysandro ad Ægospotamos Athenienses.* Here he dates the battle in the preceding year, the sixth month of the archon Callias, December B. C. 406. And yet in a subsequent passage^d he recurs to the former date: *Victoriam illam Lysandri ad Ægospotamos ad Olymp. 93 anni 4ⁱ mensem Atticum retulimus Posideonem. Inde ad Posideonem anni 2ⁱ Olymp. hujus 98 [December B. C. 387] anni integri numerantur octodecim.* Here the battle is referred to the sixth month of Alexias, or December B. C. 405. and that date for the victory at *Ægospotami* is made the basis of an argument. It constitutes a reason for assigning the peace of *Antalcidas* to the year B. C. 386. I conclude, then, from the tenor of this argument, that Dodwell placed the action at *Ægospotami* in the fourth month before Athens surrendered^e. Corsini^f follows Dodwell in the month: *Posideone mense Lysander Athenienses ad Ægospotamos superavit.* But, in asserting that he placed the battle in Olymp. 93. 4 Posideon of the archon Alexias, I have perhaps misrepresented him: for he fixes it to Olymp. 93. 3 and Posideon of the archon Callias^{ff}.

Neither of these dates, however, can be admitted. The date of Dodwell, which leaves only four months between the battle and the capture of Athens, is too short a space; the date of

^a Dodwell. Annal. Xenoph. p. 226.

^b Annal. Xenoph. p. 246.

^c Annal. Xenoph. p. 239.

^d Annal. Xenoph. p. 263.

^e He again insists upon the same date, the fourth month before the surrender, in Dissert.

VIII. p. 358.

^f Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 261.

^{ff} I speak doubtfully, because Corsini in another passage, which will occur for remark in a future note (p. 277), agrees with Dodwell in the year of Alexias.

Corsini, which extends the interval to sixteen months, is too long, to be consistent with the narrative of Xenophon.

The short space of *four* months is refuted by the intermediate transactions. It is related by Xenophon^g, that Lysander after his victory first sailed to Byzantium and Chalcedon; then returned to Lampsacus; then proceeded to Lesbos and Ægina, settling the affairs of both those islands: that he then reestablished the Melians, ravaged the island of Salamis, and finally anchored at the harbour of Piræus^h. We are told that the Athenians were besieged long enough to be pressed by famine, before Theramenes went out to Lysander; and that they had already sent two deputations: that Theramenes at last went to Lysander, with whom he remained *three months and more*, and returned in the *fourth*ⁱ. From these incidents it is manifest that the battle of Ægospotami could not have happened in Posideon of the archon *Alexias*, the fourth month before the surrender of the city. The stay of Theramenes with Lysander is alone equal to the whole time allowed by Dodwell.

But the date of Corsini, *Posideon* of the preceding year, is equally inadmissible. 1. It is not possible that the battle of Ægospotami could have occurred four months after the battle of *Arginusæ*^k. After the death of *Callicratidas*, the Chians and other allies sent deputies to Lacedæmon to desire Lysander for their commander. But some space had already intervened. Eteoniceus the Spartan, after the defeat of his party at Arginusæ, hastened to secure Chios^l. There, his soldiers ^{ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο—ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμὼν ἐγένετο, καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον, ξυνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις, κ.τ.λ.} He suppressed a rising mutiny: ^{ἢ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χίοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι συλλεγόντες ἐς Ἐφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο—πρέσβεις ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πέμπειν Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς.} Half the interval between September and December must have elapsed before Lysander arrived at Ephesus. On his arrival, he had not only to prepare but to *build* ships: ^{ο ἀφικόμενος ἐς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου ξὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ξυνήθροισεν, εἴ που τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τε ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυπηγεῖτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ᾗτει.} He afterwards attended Cyrus at Sardis a second time, and was dismissed with an injunction not to fight till he had a clear superiority of ships^p: ^{Λύσανδρον (ὁ Κῦρος) οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν—ἐὰν μὴ πολλῶ πλείους ναῦς ἔχῃ^q.} Between his second interview with Cyrus and his occupation of Lampsacus we collect that he visited the coasts of Caria and Rhodes^r, Attica and the adjacent islands^s. It is not credible that all these things were performed in the short space of a few weeks, and

^g Hel. II. 2, 1.

^h II. 2, 5—9.

ⁱ II. 2, 11. 16. 17.

^k The battle of *Arginusæ* was fought in the year of *Callias*: Athenæus (quoted in the Tables B. C. 406, 2) confirms Diodor. XIII. 97—100. in assigning the battle to that year.—not long before the *Apaturia*: Xenoph. Hel. I. 7, 8. which were in the month *Pyanepsion*: Theophrast. Char. 3. Harpocr. v. Ἀπατούρια. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 146. This action may therefore be fixed to the third month of Callias, Boëdromion of B. C. 406. It is placed in the year of *Antigenes* by Schol. Ran. 33. τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει [the year before the *Ranæ*] ἐπὶ Ἀντίνοῦ [i. Ἀντιγένοῦς] ὅτε περὶ Ἀργινοῦσαν ἐνίκων ναυμαχία. But that this is erroneous

is manifest from the times of *Alcibiades*, who in Boëdromion of that archon was yet at Athens. See the Tables B. C. 407, 2.

^l Xenoph. Hel. I. 6, 38. ^m Hel. II. 1, 1.

ⁿ II. 1, 6. ^o Hel. II. 1, 10. 11.

^p II. 1, 14.

^q To the same purpose Plutarch Lysand. c. 9. δεθεῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Ἀθηναίους πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι πάλιν—ἀνέβαινεν ὡς βασιλεία. Λύσανδρος δὲ, μήτε ναυμαχεῖν ἀγχωμάλῳ πλήθει δυνάμενος, μήτ' ἀργὸς καθέζεσθαι μετὰ νεῶν τοσούτων, ἀναχθεὶς ἐνέλας προσηγάγετο τῶν νήσων.

^r Xen. Hel. II. 1, 15. Diod. XIII. 104.

^s Plutarch. Lysand. c. 9. Diod. XIII. 104.

at the season of the winter solstice, when it was obviously the policy and interest of Lysander not to press the contest to a hasty decision^t. 2. Diodorus has preserved an incidental circumstance, from which we collect that in *Anthesterion* of the archon Callias Lysander was still at Ephesus. When he returned from his second interview with Cyrus, he was at Ephesus καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ τινὲς ὀλιγαρχίας ὀρεγόμενοι κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον—ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩΝ ὄντων^v. It might be supposed that the Ionian colonists would carry with them the ancient rites of the mother country; and that the *Dionysia* at Miletus would be celebrated at the same season as the more ancient *Dionysia* at Athens. And that this was actually the case is attested by Thucydides^u: τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια^x τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. The *Dionysia*, then, at Miletus were in *Anthesterion*, and in *Anthesterion* Lysander was still at Ephesus, making preparation for the future naval war. 3. The *Ranæ* of Aristophanes were exhibited in *Anthesterion* of the archon Callias. But, although *Arginusæ* is alluded to in that comedy, there is not the slightest hint whatever of *Ægospotami*; and whoever reads that drama with attention will be impressed with a conviction amounting to certainty, that at its representation the fatal action of *Ægospotami* had not yet taken place. 4. The date of Diodorus^y, who places the battle in the archonship of Alexias, is confirmed by Lysias^z. A client of Lysias served as a trierarch in that action, and brought home his ship: ὅτε ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ναυμαχίᾳ αἱ νῆες διεφθάρησαν, οὐδενὸς μοι συμπλέοντος στρατηγοῦ—ἐγὼ τὴν τε ἑμαντοῦ ναῦν ἐκόμισα καὶ τὴν Ναυσιμάχου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἔσωσα. But he returned home in the year of *Alexias*. His naval service of seven years had commenced in the archonship of Theopompus [B. C. 411], and had terminated in the year of *Alexias* [B. C. 405]: ἡ ἐδοκιμάσθη ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἀρχοντος—τὸν δὲ μετὰ χρόνον ἐτριηράρχουν ἐπὶ τῇ—κατέπλευσα δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου ἀρχοντος. The last naval action, then, was fought in the year of *Alexias*.

These reasons sufficiently establish that the victory of *Ægospotami* was not gained by Lysander in *Posideon* of the archon Callias: and that his naval operations were not carried on at the unusual season of the winter solstice, when those seas were impracticable or dangerous: and when the Greeks, except in extraordinary cases, forbore to navigate the

^t Mitford, truly collecting the sense of the original historians, has well explained the real state of things: "Lysander, arriving at Ephesus when winter was not yet far advanced, made it his first concern to provide that in *spring* he might have a fleet able to meet that of Athens." Vol. IV. p. 383.—"Lysander, returning to Ephesus thus abundantly supplied,—proposed to proceed upon offensive operation, but not to risk the uncertain event of a general engagement, which no necessity of his circumstances required." p. 386.

^v Diod. XIII. 104. Compare for the fact itself Plutarch. Lysand. c. 8.

^u II. 15.

^x At this more ancient and solemn festival of Bacchus the *king-archon* presided: Pollux VIII. 90. And the official qualifications of his wife,

the *basilissa*, were recorded upon a pillar preserved in that ancient temple: Demosth. Near. p. 1370. 1371. γράψαντες ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ἐν Λίμναις. καὶ αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστηκεν, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς δηλοῦσα τὰ γεγραμμένα.—καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγνωτάτῳ ἐν Λίμναις ἔστησαν, ἵνα μὴ πολλοὶ εἰδῶσι τὰ γεγραμμένα ἅπαξ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστον ἀνοίγεται τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός. These ancient *Dionysia*, τὰ ἐν Λίμναις, τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια, existed before the kingly government was abolished, and were naturally carried by the colonists under Neleus into Asia.

^y XIII. 104.

^z Ἀπολογία δωροδοκίας p. 162, 20.

^a Ibid. p. 161, 35—44.

Ægean^b. Lysander made his preparations during the winter; was still at Ephesus in Anthesterion; put to sea in the spring; and finally moved with his armament to Lampsacus in the course of the summer, in the beginning of the archonship of Alexias.

II. *The Thirty*^c. Dodwell^d supposes the administration of the Thirty to commence at 273 the regular Attic period, the summer solstice, Hecatombæon: although they were appointed at the surrender of the city. *Decretum de præficiendis XXX tyrannis Ol. 93. 4 condiderint Lacedæmonii—ipsum tamen magistratum tenuerunt Olymp. 94. 1. cujus proinde partem priorem ἀρχὴ postremam archonte Pythodoro designant.* ^e *Ab Hecatombæone, quo inibant XXX tyranni, et Olymp. 94. 1.* ^f *Jam octo mensibus tenuerant,—si a novi anni exordio Hecatombæone, tum Anthesterione.* Corsini^g follows Dodwell: *Mensibus octo,—hoc est, Posideone mense, si calculus a Piræi occupatione instituitur, aut Anthesterione, si a civilis anni principio.* And Wesseling^h. But there is no reason for making this distinction. Thrasybulus occupied Phylæ in winter; when snow fellⁱ: a description better agreeing with Posideon than with Anthesterion. Nor is there any hint that the Thirty, an illegal government, not appointed by any constitutional forms, would wait for the revolution of the civil year, like regular magistrates. They began their administration immediately. Thus the Four-hundred began to govern in the ninth or tenth month of the Attic year^k. And the Ten, the successors of the Thirty, began to govern immediately, that is, in the winter: not waiting for the end of the civil year. In fact, Xenophon^l intimates that the Thirty commenced their government without any delay: οἱ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τεύχη καθήρηθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧ τε ξυγγράψαι νόμους, κ.τ.λ. And he specifies that they were appointed before the departure of Lysander to Samos: ^m τοῦτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμονⁿ.

^b When Eurymedon was sent with ten ships from Athens to Syracuse at the winter tropic (Thucyd. VII. 16), there was an urgent and pressing necessity for haste. But the Greeks did not willingly put to sea in the winter. That *the seas were navigable from Elaphebolion, τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλοῖμον εἶναι*, is mentioned by Theophrastus Char. 3. as an instance of obvious and trite remark. At Athens, αἱ λήξεις τῶν δικῶν τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἔμμενοι εἰσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος μέχρι τοῦ μουνυχιῶνος (Demosth. in Apatur. p. 900), because the parties, being at home during the six winter months, were able to proceed to their action immediately. And yet we are to suppose that Lysander sailed from Ephesus to Caria; from Caria to Attica; from Attica to the Hellespont, in *December*: and this, when he had no necessity for haste; and when the original historians (Xenophon Hel. II. 1. Plutarch. Lysand. c. 9—13. Diodorus XIII. 105. 106) contain nothing to intimate that the hostile fleets engaged at such a season. In fact, the assumption of Posideon for the date is a mere conjecture of Dodwell's Dissert. VIII. p. 358 founded upon the supposition that Athens surrendered in the fourth month after

the defeat at Ægospotami. A conjecture, therefore, founded upon an impossibility.

^c The names of the Thirty are given in the text of Xenophon II. 3, 2. and are best illustrated by Taylor Vit. Lys. p. 129. 130. Reisk.

^d Annal. Xenoph. p. 226.

^e P. 240.

^f P. 241.

^g Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 264.

^h Ad Diod. XIV. 33. ⁱ Xenoph. Hel. II. 4, 3.

^k See the Tables B. C. 411, 2.

^l II. 3, 11.

^m II. 3, 3.

ⁿ A seeming discordance occurs between Lysias and Xenophon. The orator asserts that at the appointment of the Thirty the ships of Lysander were already at Samos: In Eratosth. p. 126, 36. Θηραμένης—μετεπέμψατο μὲν τὰς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου ναῦς ἐκ Σάμου, ἐπεδήμησε δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. The historian affirms that Lysander sailed to Samos after their appointment. Perhaps the fleet was already despatched to Samos, while Lysander himself remained in Attica.

With the return of Lysander from Samos the war was ended by the Lacedæmonian computation. Dodwell has sagaciously detected, and satisfactorily proved, the hand of an interpolator in

The expressions of Lysias^o imply that there was no interval between their appointment 274 and their government: ὁ Λύσανδρος εἰς τοὺς λιμένας—εἰσέπλευσε, καὶ αἱ νῆες παρεδόθησαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατεσκάφη καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν. But the testimony of another passage ^p is still more positive. *Lysias* and his brother *Polemarchus* were seized by the Thirty after that body had begun to abuse its power: consequently some space after their accession to office. And yet *Lysias* withdrew to Megara after this persecution, ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη μέλλας^q: after seven years' residence at Athens from his return in the year of *Callias*. But *Alexias* is the eighth archon, both inclusive, from *Callias*, in whose year [B. C. 414] he had returned. He withdrew, then, to Megara before the year of *Alexias* was ended; and the Thirty exercised their office from the tenth month of *Alexias*.

III. *Dercyllidas* and *Agesilaus*. Dodwell^{qq} supposes the spring mentioned by Xenophon III. 4, 16 in which the battle of Sardis was fought to be the last spring of *Agesilaus* in Asia, and the spring of the year of *Cnidus* and *Coronea*. But this is impossible for various reasons. 1. It is contradicted by Xenophon himself; who names another spring^r,

the dates inserted in Xenophon Hel. I. 2, 1. I. 3, 1. I. 6, 1. II. 1, 10. II. 3, 1. See Dissert. VIII. p. 340—359. But there is not equal reason for suspecting interpolation in the list of Spartan ephors: Hel. II. 3, 10. Xenophon states the war as the *Lacedæmonians* computed it. The *Athenians* reckoned it to terminate at the surrender of their city; the *Lacedæmonians* extended it to the return of *Lysander* to *Lacedæmon* after the reduction of *Samos*, about six months after the surrender of Athens, and in the autumn of B. C. 404. It was consistent with the plan of Xenophon to introduce the names of the ephors, by whose years the *Lacedæmonians* made their computation of time. He enumerates twenty-nine: 1. Αἰνησίππας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἀλωσιν τριακοντούτων σπονδῶν. μετὰ δὲ τούτων οἶδε. 2. Βρασίδας. 3. Ἰσάνωρ. 4. Σωστράτιδας. 5. Ἐξαρχος. 6. Ἀγησίστρατος. 7. Ἀγγελίδας. 8. Ὀνομακλῆς. 9. Ζεύξιππος. 10. Πιτύας. 11. Πλειστόλας. 12. Κλεινόμαχος. 13. Πάραρχος. 14. Λέων. 15. Χαλρίδας. 16. Πατησιάδας. 17. Κλεοσθένης. 18. Λυκάριος. 19. Ἐπήρατος. 20. Ὀνομάντιος. 21. Ἀλεξιππίδας. 22. Μισγολαΐδας. 23. Ἰσίας. 24. Ἀρακος. 25. Εὐάρχιππος. 26. Παντακλῆς. 27. Πιτύας. 28. Ἀρχύτας. 29. Εὐδίκος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν. That the ephors commenced in autumn, we know from Thucyd. V. 36. The first ephor, *Ænesias*, is recognised by Thucydides II. 2. and his seventh month would be conumerary with the tenth month of *Pythodorus* the Athenian archon. The eleventh ephor *Pleistolas* is conumerary with the archon *Alcaeus*, and with the tenth year of the war, in Thucyd. V. 19. He would enter upon office in the third month of *Alcaeus*, autumn B. C. 422. The twenty-first ephor

Alexippidas is conumerary with the twentieth year of the war, in Thucyd. VIII. 58. *Lysander* would return home, τελευτώντος τοῦ θέρους, in the beginning of the year of *Eudicus*, about October B. C. 404. Perhaps from this genuine list of ephors, the ephors of the four last years of the war have been inserted by the interpolator: *Euar-chippus* Hel. I. 2, 1. *Pantacles* I. 3, 1. *Pityus* I. 6, 1. *Archytas* II. 1, 10. with their corresponding archons. Of these, the two last are nearly in their right places; the two former are disjoined from the facts to which they belonged, and are placed each a year too high. *Pantacles* (according to the plan of the interpolator, who anticipates a few months) should have been inserted at I. 4, 2. and *Euar-chippus* at I. 3, 1. in the place now occupied by *Pantacles*. The years specified II. 3, 9. twenty-eight years and a half, cannot be the genuine number. If the *Lacedæmonians* computed the war from the attack upon *Plataea* in the seventh month of *Ænesias*, the duration was twenty-seven years and a half. If they computed from the battle of *Potidæa* and the congress at *Lacedæmon* in the autumn of B. C. 432, their reckoning would rise to twenty-eight years. But that point of time coincided with the fourteenth year of the truce, and not the fifteenth. See the Tables B. C. 432, 2. The numbers, then, in Xenophon are perhaps corrupted, and should express twenty-seven years and a half.

^o In Agorat. p. 133, 1.

^p In Eratosth. p. 120. Compare especially Xen. Hel. II. 3, 21.

^q See the Tables B. C. 411, 3. 404, 3.

^{qq} Annal. Xen. p. 249.

^r IV. 1, 41.

preceded by a *winter*^s. 2. It is inconsistent with the term of Agesilaus's command in Asia, which was of two complete years: Plutarch^t. ἤδη περιϋόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ δευτέρου τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, πολὺς ἄνω λόγος ἐχώρει τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου. This was before the order had arrived for his recall: ὃ ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἀφικνέεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐπικυδίδας ἀπαγγέλλων, κ. τ. λ. Xenophon^u confirms Plutarch: τὴν μὲν τῶν φίλων χώραν ἀδήλωτον παρέχων—ὥστε ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοίμῳ πλέον τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τῷ θεῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς δεκάτην ἀποθῆσαι. Dodwell^x only allows him eighteen months in Asia. He supposes him to have landed in the beginning of January B. C. 395, and rightly determines that he passed the Hellespont on his return in the beginning of July B. C. 394. 3. The events which happened between the battle of *Sardis* and the battle of *Corinth* could not have passed in so short a space of time as Dodwell assigns. The transactions were these. News of the battle near *Sardis* were sent to the court of *Persia*, and *Tithraustes* was appointed to supersede *Tissaphernes*. The distance from *Susa* to the coast^y would require some time, before *Tithraustes* could be invested with the command at *Sardis*. *Tissaphernes* had before asked and obtained of *Agesilaus* an armistice of three months, for the mere purpose of taking the king's pleasure upon what was proposed^z. According to *Diodorus*^a, *Tissaphernes* was executed while *Tithraustes* was yet at *Colossæ* in *Phrygia*, on his journey down. Accordingly, after the convention between *Tithraustes* and *Agesilaus*^b, it is *autumn*, when *Agesilaus* proceeds, ἄμα μετοπώρῳ, into *Phrygia*. Then followed the mission of *Timocrates* into *Greece*^d; evidently also ἄμα μετοπώρῳ. After the mission of 275 *Timocrates*, these events took place in successive order. He visits *Thebes*, *Corinth*, *Argos*, *Athens*; which leads to a coalition throughout *Greece*; and there ensued successively an incursion of the *Phocians* into *Locris*, an embassy to *Lacedæmon*, the march of a *Lacedæmonian* army into *Phocis*, the return of that army, and the deposition of *Pausanias*^e. A great combined force of troops from *Athens*, *Argos* and other states, to the amount of fifty thousand men, assembled near *Corinth*. Then the battle was fought before the summer solstice^f; consequently not later than the end of June. Was this the June of that same Julian year in which *Timocrates*, the author of all these movements, set out from *Asia* ἄμα μετοπώρῳ? Is it possible to imagine that only *three months* intervened between the battle of *Sardis* and the battle of *Corinth*? 4. The short space allowed is also inconsistent with the acts of *Agesilaus* in *Asia*. After the battle of *Sardis* he marched ἄμα μετοπώρῳ, into *Phrygia Minor*^g. Thence he penetrated into *Paphlagonia*^h, plundering as he went. Thence he proceeded to *Dascylium*, where, says the historianⁱ, he wintered. Thence marching to the plain of *Thebæ*, he was occupied in collecting forces. Here the order of recall met him, and he proceeded to the Hellespont. A march of eight or nine hundred miles is performed by an army, with several occasional pauses; one halt at *Dascylium* is specified, when five days are noticed, and yet, according to Dodwell, this expedition, beginning ἄμα μετοπώρῳ, is finished by the beginning of July! The *autumn*^j and the *winter*^k Dodwell gets rid of in the following manner^l: *Autumnus*—quocunque demum sensu, anni Olympici novi initio posterior,

^s IV. 1, 16.^t Agesil. c. 14.^v Id. c. 15.^u Agesil. c. 1, 34.^x Annal. Xenoph. p. 248. 251.^y Τριῶν μηνῶν ἢ ἁνοδος. Herodot. V. 50.^z Xenoph. Hel. III. 4, 6. Agesil. c. 1. s. 10.^a XIV. 80.^b Xen. Hel. III. 4, 26.^c Hel. IV. 1, 1.^d III. 5, 1.^e Hel. III. 5.^f See the reason in the Tables B. C. 394, 2.^g Hel. IV. 1, 1—3.^h IV. 1, 3.ⁱ Hel. IV. 1, 16.^j Hel. III. 4, 26.^k Hel. IV. 1, 16.^l In his account p. 250. of B. C. 394.

ut de frugibus maturis illum et mense Julio intelligamus.—Hunc, certe, ni fallor, intellexit autumnum, quo se superiori anno ad Ephesum contulerat hic idem Agesilaus. In hiberna nimirum, licet matura, quod maximos apparatus meditaretur in annum sequentem. Et talia quidem hiberna ejus in palatio Pharnabazi hoc ipso anno refert Xenophon. Then mentioning that on the 14th of August Agesilaus was in ipso introitu Bæotiæ, he rightly infers that illo quo Bæotiæ fines attigit die Aug. 14^o—nondum justum mensem ex quo Asia discessit impleverat. sic medio Julio ex Asia trajecerit. According to this reasoning, Agesilaus put his army into winter quarters in July!

The spring, then, mentioned by Xenophon^m, was not the spring of the year B. C. 394, because it was followed by a winter and another spring, which preceded midsummer B. C. 394; because it cuts off one campaign from the Asiatic command of Agesilaus; and because it was succeeded by a variety of complicated events negotiations and battles, which all happened before midsummer B. C. 394.

With the date of Agesilaus, the years of Dercyllidas must necessarily be also raised. Three seasons of action are distinctly specified within the command of Dercyllidas. The last of these was B. C. 397, because in B. C. 396 Agesilaus was already in Asia. The first, then, was in B. C. 399. This is confirmed by Xenophonⁿ, who connects the command of Dercyllidas in Asia with the Elean war: τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλλίδα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλείοις, κ. τ. λ. But, as the war with Elis ended in summer B. C. 399^o, Dercyllidas was necessarily in Asia in that year^p.

The source of the whole error of Dodwell has been the mistake of supposing that Thimbron the predecessor of Dercyllidas completed an entire year of command, and that his successor did not arrive till B. C. 398. Xenophon^q clearly shews that the termination of Thimbron's command was abrupt: δοκοῦντος αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισσαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν. ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἦδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευομένου, Δερκυλλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο.—ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίμβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε, καὶ ζημωθεὶς ἔφυγε. Can we suppose that a winter intervened between that order of the Ephori and Thimbron's preparation to obey the order? Besides, had Thimbron remained till the ensuing spring, he would have held his command a second year. For he was already in command when the Cyrean army was with Seuthes: ὁ Θίμβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν. He collected troops and was doing other acts of government, before he was joined by the Cyreans^r. This would not be later than midwinter; perhaps January B. C. 399. He is described then as being already at his post fifteen months before April B. C. 398; and from the autumn of B. C. 400 (the customary season for the commencement of Lacedæmonian command) to the same date would be eighteen months for the command of Thimbron. This officer, then, was recalled and disgraced before the expiration of his year, which commenced in autumn B. C. 400; and Dercyllidas was in Asia in the summer of B. C. 399.^{ss}

^m III. 4, 16.

ⁿ Hel. III. 2, 21.

^q Hel. III. 1, 7, 8.

^o See the Tables.

^r Xenoph. Anab. VII. 6, 1.

^p Dodwell puts aside this positive testimony in a singular manner: Ann. Xen. p. 245. *De fine Thimbronis potius quam Dercyllidæ, illa intelligenda esse censeo.* Was Xenophon mistaken, or Dodwell himself?

^s Hel. III. 1, 4—6.

^{ss} What is here said of the times of Thimbron has been misunderstood by Mr. Kruger in his edition of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon Hal. Sax. 1826. p. 560. who has the following remark: *Xenophon*

IV. *Peace of Antalcidas*. I have placed this treaty in the *beginning* of the year of Theodotus and of Olymp. 98. 2. Dodwell[†] places it in the *end* of that year, or spring B. C. 386. *Hoc anno 386, qui a vere incipit, pacem Antalcidæ acceptam arbitror.—Olymp. 98. 2 exeunte*. His arguments are: 1. The Lacedæmonians were prepared to march against the Argives, who pleaded in vain *μηνῶν ὑποφοράν*. Those months related to the Isthmian and Nemean truce: *itaque hic annus Isthmicus erat et Nemeus*. 2. Delay was interposed by the Thebans, and by the Argives who held Corinth. 3. Diodorus affirms that the war lasted eight years. But the first was Olymp. 96. 3 *exeunte* [spring B. C. 393]. The eight years, then, were not complete till Olymp. 98. 3: *nisi ad Olymp. 98. 3 pertigerit* [summer B. C. 386]. 4. Polybius fixes the peace to the *nineteenth* year from the battle of Ægospotami. But that battle was fought Olymp. 93. 4 *mense Posideone*: and eighteen years are completed in *Posideon* of Olymp. 98. 2 [December B. C. 387]; wherefore the nineteenth year is in spring B. C. 386.

If the expressions ^v *μηνῶν ὑποφορά* are to be understood of the Nemean or Isthmian truce, (which may be reasonably doubted^u;) yet no conclusion can be drawn from thence to establish the position of Dodwell. He had imagined, indeed, that the *Nemea æstiva* were in the beginning^w, and the *Isthmia hyberna* in the middle^x, of every *third* Olympic year. He therefore concluded that the war, which was in preparation against the Argives, was to be carried on in Ol. 98. 3, and that the preparations were consequently made Ol. 98. 2 *exeunte*, in the spring of B. C. 386. But Corsini^y has demonstrated that Dodwell had mistaken the 277 times of the Nemean games; which were celebrated, not, as he had supposed, in the *first* and *third* years of each Olympiad, but in the *second* and *fourth*. Accordingly, the *Nemea hyberna* of Olymp. 98 were celebrated in the winter of the archon Theodotus, in the second year of that Olympiad. The preparations, then, which preceded the Nemean truce, were made in the autumn: and the Argives expected an invasion of their territories (against which the Nemean truce would not protect them) in the beginning of the year of Theodotus,

A. C. 399 *Februario ad Thibronem proficiscitur*. *Thibronem jam Ol. 95, 1 haud dubie æstate in Asiam missum fuisse et Diod. XIV. 36 testatur et ipsa rerum series vincit*. V. *Xenoph. Hel. III. 1, 3 seq. Itaque fallitur Clinton*. But it is not here denied that *Thimbron* was in Asia in Ol. 95. 1; on the contrary, it is argued that he did not remain beyond it. My purpose was to shew that the stay of *Thimbron* in Asia was confined to that Olympic year, and was not extended into the next.

[†] Dodwell. *Annal. Xenoph.* p. 262.

^v In *Xenoph. Hel. V. 1, 29*.

^u See Weiske ad *Xenoph. Hel. IV. 7, 2*. *Thucyd. V. 54. Ἐπιδάριοι τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀπεκαλοῦντο ὧν τινές, οἱ μὲν τὸν μῆνα προῦφασίσαντο*. But this was the month *Carneus*, *Καρνεῖος μῆν, ἱερομηνία Δωρεῦσιν*. *Ibid.*

^w *Diss. VII. s. 2. p. 301.*

^x *Diss. VII. s. 7. p. 307.*

^y Corsin. *Agon. Nem. s. XVI. p. 80. Nemeades hybernae in medios secundos, æstivæ vero in quartos ineuntes Olympiadum annos inciderunt*. *conf. s. IV.*

p. 56. He establishes the year of the *Nemea æstiva* by four arguments. 1. News of the battle of Thrasymene were brought to *Philip* while he assisted at the Nemean games: *Polyb. V. 101, 6*. But, as that battle happened in the summer of U. C. Varr. 537 B. C. 217, it follows that the games were in Ol. 140. 4. 2. *Antigonus* after the battle of Sellasia was present at the Nemean games: *Polyb. II. 70. 4*. But, from the time of the battle, (which Corsini fixes to B. C. 221, a year lower than other computations make it,) those games were in Olymp. 139. 4 *ineunte*. 3. The Nemean games mentioned by *Livy XXVII. 30.* were in Ol. 142. 4. (See Corsini s. X. p. 65.) 4. The *Nemea* at which *Philopæmen* was present in his second pratorship (*Plutarch. Philopem. c. 11*) are determined to Olymp. 143. 4. The *Nemea æstiva* being fixed to the fourth years, it follows, since this was a *trieteric* festival, that the *Nemea hyberna* were celebrated in the second years of each Olympiad: *in medios fere secundos Olympiadum annos incidisse*. Corsin. p. 68.

the autumn of B. C. 387. The second argument is of no weight. For the preparations for a march into Argolis, Bœotia, and other provinces, as naturally refer to the *summer* of the year B. C. 387, as to the winter following. Thirdly, the true commencement of the Corinthian war was at the action in which *Lysander* fell B. C. 395: eight years were completed from that event in the *beginning* of the year of Theodotus; and Diodorus might compute eight years *current* from the year of Eubulides, his date for the beginning of the war^z. The fourth argument has been already refuted at large. It has been shewn that Posideon of Olymp. 93. 4 [December B. C. 405] could not be the date of Ægospotami; that the battle was fought at another season, and in the beginning of that Olympic year^a: consequently the eighteen years would be complete and the nineteenth current in the beginning of the archonship of Theodotus. The reasons for the earlier date of the peace are stated in the Tables^b. And to these it may be added, that the transactions of Antalcidas during the period of his command do not seem sufficient to fill the space assigned to it by Dodwell.

Corsini^c aggravates the error of Dodwell; whom he represents as dating the peace *ineunte anno 3 Olymp. 98*. But that would fall within the year of another archon *Mystichides*; contrary to all authorities. Corsini himself fixes it with Diodorus *ineunte Olymp. 98. 2*; conformably with the arrangement adopted in these Tables.

V. *Congress at Sparta*. Dodwell^d supposes the congress and peace which preceded the battle of Leuctra to have fallen within B. C. 372, a year before the battle, because the things transacted between the peace and the battle required a longer space than twenty days, and because *Iphicrates* was still in the command upon which he entered in B. C. 374. Some other reasons are added.

But, 1. the testimony of Plutarch is express, that twenty days, and no more, were the actual interval. And the author of the oration *κατὰ Νεαίρας*^e describes the battle as closely following the treaty: *ὥς οὖν γίγνεται ἡ εἰρήνη ἢ ἐπὶ Φρασικλείδου ἀρχοντος καὶ ἡ μάχη ἢ ἐν Λεύκτροις Θηβαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων*. The orator would not have dated the peace in the year of Phrasiclides, (which was really in the last month of Alcisthenes,) if the two events, 278 the peace and the battle, had not been contiguous and close upon each other. 2. If the peace had been made in Scirophorion B. C. 372, as Dodwell imagines, it would have fallen within the year of another archon *Asteius*: contrary to the testimony of Dionysius^f—*Ἀλκισθένην ἀρχοντα, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην*. 3. *Iphicrates* and *Callistratus* were at Athens in November B. C. 373, at the trial of *Timotheus*^g. *Iphicrates* allowed his soldiers to find subsistence

^z See the Tables B. C. 393, 2.

^a We may remark the singular uncertainty under which Corsini and Dodwell seem to labour, and the indistinctness of their ideas, on the subject of Ægospotami. Dodwell in three passages of his works places it in *Posideon* of the archon *Alexias*. In a fourth he places it in *Posideon* of the preceding year. The passages have been already quoted in the discussion of this point. Corsini adopts *Posideon* of the year of *Callias*, at Olymp. 93 $\frac{3}{4}$, p. 261. and yet at Olymp. 98 $\frac{1}{4}$, p. 293, speaking of the peace of Antalcidas he observes, *annum undevicesimum a victoria quam Ly-*

sander ad Ægospotamos reportavit. Victoria illa, Dodwello ipso teste, in Posideonem mensem anni 4. Olymp. 93 [the year of Alexias] inciderat; ergo Posideone mense anni 2. Olymp. 98 octodecim anni absoluti jam fuerant, &c. It has been already proved that neither of these dates was the true one for that victory.

^b B. C. 387, 2.

^c Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 293.

^d Annal. Xenoph. p. 275.

^e P. 1357.

^f Lysia p. 479.

^g Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1187. 1190.

by working for the Coreyreans^h. These things indicate that his command was a protracted one, and not limited to a single year. 4. It is not implied by Xenophon that the conditions of the treaty were completely executed and fulfilled, when the battle of Leuctra took place; they were only in the course of completion. The authority of Diodorus, whom Dodwell quotes, is of no weight upon this point, when opposed to the combined testimony of Dionysius and Plutarch.

The battle of Mantinea (with which the history of Xenophon concludes) is placed at its true date by Dodwell, upon the authorities adduced in the Tablesⁱ. Barthélemy^k also rightly dates the action B. C. 362; and Mr. Mitford^l remarks upon it "the battle was fought B. C. 362. about which I believe there is no difference." And yet Blair and the Tables in the seventh volume of Anacharsis place it in B. C. 363. And, what is more remarkable, Mr. Mitford himself^m, overlooking his own former opinion, dates the accession of Philip B. C. 360, "in the summer of the third year after the battle of Mantinea, which was fought in autumn." And in a subsequent pageⁿ he gives the date B. C. 363.

XII.

CYPRIAN WAR.

I HAVE preferred the authority of Isocrates derived from two treatises, the Evagoras and the Panegyric, to that of Diodorus for the dates of this war. The difficulties in the chronology of the Cyprian war are these. Isocrates^a mentions, as contemporary, facts which happened in B. C. 380. And six years of the war had then elapsed^b. The sixth year of the war, then, would terminate at B. C. 380. But Diodorus^c makes the war last ten years, and places the end of it in B. C. 385. Morus^d, the editor of the "Panegyric" of Isocrates, observes upon this discordance, *Diodorum consentientem fere chronologiæ Xenophontæ, tamque studiosum in notandis numeris, negligentia errorisque in omni illa serie arguere velle, temerarium fuerit*. And yet, after having thus mentioned the accuracy of Diodorus, in the course of a chronological discussion upon this subject he is obliged to desert his authority 279 and to pronounce him guilty of error. He concludes that the Panegyric oration was published some years earlier than B. C. 380; he supposes interpolation somewhere, and determines that the Cyprian war lasted only six or seven years, instead of ten, the number of Diodorus. * *Si tum, cum Isocrates hæc scripsit, sextus hujus belli annus exactus est, si eo*

^h Xen. Hel. VI. 2, 37.

ⁱ B. C. 362, 2.

^k Anacharsis, note to c. 39. tom. IV. p. 471.

^l Vol. VI. p. 452.

^m Vol. VII. p. 338.

ⁿ P. 379.

^a Panegyric. c. 35. p. 67. a. ^b C. 39. p. 70. a.

^c XV. 8, 9. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Δεξιθέου—[B. C. 38½]

ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐαγόρας—συνέθετο τὴν εἰρήνην, ὥστε βασιλεύειν τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον δίδόναι φόρον

κατ' ἐναντὸν, καὶ ὑπακούειν ὡς βασιλεὺς βασιλεῖ προστάττοντι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κυπριακὸς πόλεμος, δεκαετὴς σχεδὸν γεγενημένος, καὶ τὸ πλεόν τοῦ χρόνου περὶ παρασκευὰς ἀσχοληθεῖς, διετῇ χρόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι συνεχῶς πολεμηθεῖς, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατελύθη.

^d Ad Panegyric. p. xix.

^e Note i ad cap. 39.

anno clades navalis jam acciderat, et insula obsidebatur, non concedi potest Diodoro XV. 9. nono aut decimo anno finitum bellum. Nam finitum est hac ipsa obsidione, quæ, auctore Isocrate, in septimum annum belli incidit. et cur non adsentiamus, monente Wesselingio ad hunc locum Diodori, Isocrati, qui eo ipso tempore vixit? Quare Diodorus non accurate narravit decem annos insumptos esse.

Morus has misrepresented the reasoning of Wesseling, and has defectively stated the testimony of Isocrates. Isocrates himself^f expressly affirms that the war lasted *ten years*: Εὐαγόρα πολεμήσας ἔτη δέκα. And the reasoning of Wesseling^g is this: δεκαετής.) *Consentit hac quidem parte Isocrates Evag. cap. 23. In cæteris non item. Diodorus ait, duobus potissimum annis bellum arsisse, eoque tempore navali prælio victum Evagoram intra Salaminem fuisse conclusum. At Isocrates Panegy. c. 39. sextum ejus belli annum verti, jamque Evagoram maritimo certamine superatum esse. Cui, eadem tempestate viventi, cur tandem non accessero? Wesseling, then, justly concludes that Isocrates and Diodorus confirm each other in the duration of the war: but that Diodorus is refuted by the contemporary witness, Isocrates, in the detail of it. The direct reverse of the conclusion which is arrived at by Morus.*

Both writers, then, affirm that the Cyprian war lasted ten years. But according to Isocrates the *sixth* year was completed in B. C. 380, while according to Diodorus the *tenth* year was conumerary with B. C. 385. Out of these opposite accounts the following dates result.

Diodorus.		Year of the war.	Isocrates.	
Ol.	B. C.		B. C.	Ol.
96. 3. ...	394.	1.	385. ...	98. 4.
4. ...	393.	2.	384. ...	99. 1.
97. 1. ...	392.	3.	383. ...	2.
2. ...	391.	4.	382. ...	3.
3. ...	390.	5.	381. ...	4.
4. ...	389.	6.	380. ...	100. 1.
98. 1. ...	388.	7.	379. ...	2.
2. ...	387.	8.	378. ...	3.
3. ...	386.	9.	377. ...	4.
4. ...	385.	10.	376. ...	101. 1.

This absurdity arises out of the dates of Diodorus, that the first year of the ten is made to fall upon that precise juncture at which *Evagoras* was acting in concert with the Persian government and with *Conon* in B. C. 394. The victory near *Onidus* was gained by the joint forces of *Evagoras* *Conon* and *Pharnabazus*. This year, then, was not the first of the ten-years' war carried on by the Persians against *Evagoras*. Nor is it likely that the operations of the war were actively prosecuted only in the last two years, and that the first eight were wasted in preparation. *Artaxerxes* expended upon the war more than fifteen thousand 280 talents^h. An argument in itself of long continued hostilities.

^f *Evagor. c. 23. p. 201. e.*
^g *Ad Diod. XV. 9.*

^h In the former editions of *Isocrates*, fifty thousand talents: πλέον ἢ πεντακισμύρια τάλαντα. Iso-

Evagoras was engaged in hostile measures against the Persian court for some years before this war began. In B. C. 391, when *Teleutias* was the Lacedæmonian naval commander, assistance was sent ⁱ *Εὐαγόρῃ τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς βασιλέα*. This refers to the period at which *Evagoras* made himself master of the whole island ^k. Again in B. C. 388 *Chabrias* sailed to Cyprus to assist *Evagoras* ^l. On these accounts, *Evagoras* was excluded from the protection of the treaty of *Antalcidas*: ^m *ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔκδοτός ἐστιν*. and the king of Persia retained to himself ⁿ *τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύπρον*. After this treaty, the Persian government had leisure to prepare for the reduction of Cyprus; and the great naval action, described by *Diodorus* ^o, is placed by all the authorities after the peace of *Antalcidas*, and is referred by *Diodorus* to the year immediately following that treaty. But *Isocrates* ^p, so far from describing that as the last action of the war, describes it as the first: and plainly expresses, that at the period at which he wrote six years had followed it: (*Εὐαγόρας*) *κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν ΠΡΟΔΕΔΥΣΤΥΧΗΚΕΝ*—ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω ταπεινῆς δυνάμεως οὐ δύναται περιγενέσθαι βασιλεὺς πολέμων, ἀλλ' ἤδη μὲν ἐξ ἔτη διατέτριφεν. It appears, then, that *Evagoras*, although regarded as hostile some years before, yet was not attacked in earnest by the whole force of the Persians till after the peace of *Antalcidas*, and that he then sustained a war of ten years.

The tenor of the narrative in the “*Evagoras*” of *Isocrates* ^q is to the same effect: ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίησατο τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτόν· οὕτω δ' οὖν ὥρμησεν, ὥστε εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ταύτην πλέον ἢ τέλαντα πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια κατηνάλωσεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως—*Εὐαγόρῃ* πολεμήσας ἔτη δέκα, τῶν αὐτῶν κύριον αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν ὧν περ ἦν καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσελθεῖν. The ten years were subsequent to these great preparations. The march of the king in person, and the great sea-fight, in reality commenced the war; but that commencement was after the peace of *Antalcidas*. And *Evagoras* held out ten years. *Diodorus* has confounded the transactions of the war, and has mistaken the first operations for the last.

Diodorus is not only inconsistent with *Isocrates*, but with himself, if (as *Dodwell* supposes) he means the operations of B. C. 391 for the first year of that war, which he asserts to have lasted ten. The tenth year being B. C. 385, the first could not be B. C. 391. *Dodwell* ^r, therefore, making this the beginning of the war, adapts to it the six years of *Isocrates*: *Olymp. 97. 2. Evagoram Cypri regem a Persis defecisse docet Diodorus. Hoc anno, ut videtur, exeunte, ut sextum attingeret quo Persis bellum fecerit.* Again, *Diodorus* ^s relates that the first years were wasted in preparation, and that B. C. 386 was the first of active war. But the king in person is made to land in Cyprus in B. C. 391. ^t ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς—*μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Κύπρον*. Now, if the king landed in person at this period, that cannot be true which is asserted five years afterwards, that the first eight years were wasted in preparation. If on the contrary this latter account be true ^v, then the operations in B. C. 391

crat. *Evag.* c. 22. Estimated by *Mitford* vol. VI. p. 384. at more than ten millions sterling. The last editor, Mr. *Bekker*, in his valuable edition of the “*Attic Orators*,” has reduced the numbers to a more probable amount, by substituting on the authority of two manuscripts *πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια*, about three millions sterling.

ⁱ *Xenoph. Hel. IV. 8, 24.* ^k *Diod. XIV. 98.*

^l *Xen. Hel. V. 1, 10.*

^m *Isocrat. Panegyr. c. 39. p. 69. e.*

ⁿ *Xen. Hel. V. 1, 31.*

^o *XV. 2—4.*

^p *Panegyr. c. 39. p. 69. e. 70. a.*

^q *C. 23. 24. p. 201.*

^r *Annal. Xenoph. p. 255.*

^s See the passage in a preceding note: p. 278 = 336.

^t *Diod. XIV. 98. the year of Nicoteles B. C. 391.*

^v Given by the historian *XV. 9.*

could not have been so extensive. We cannot, then, safely follow Diodorus for the detail of 281 this war, when we find him not only at variance with Isocrates, a contemporary, but contradicting in one place the account which he himself had given in another.

Evagoras is mentioned by Xenophon ^a in the year B. C. 405. He died in B. C. 374 ; and consequently reigned or governed upwards of thirty years.

XIII.

KINGS OF BOSPORUS.

THE TAURIC CHERSONESE is compared by Strabo ^a to *Peloponnesus* in form and extent : ἡ μεγάλη Χερρόνησος τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ προσέεικε καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ^b. It is joined to the continent on the north-west by an isthmus of various breadth ^c, and separated from it on the north-east by a strait, the *Cimmerian Bosporus* ; whose breadth varies from thirty to seventy furlongs ^d. The southern coast of the Chersonese is rugged and mountainous, rising sometimes to the height of 1200 feet above the level of the Euxine. Towards either continent, the country becomes low and level ; and on the east, where the kingdom of Bosporus was seated, it was eminently fertile ^e. *Panticapæum* or *Bosporus* ^f, the metropolis, a Milesian colony, was situated on the western edge of the strait, where the breadth of the channel was about eight miles. Strabo ^g describes it thus : ἡ ἐξῆς ἐστὶν εὐγαιὸς χώρα μέχρι Παντικαπαίου τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Βοσποριανῶν, ἱδρυμένης ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος.—

^a Hel. II. 1, 29.

^a VII. p. 310. D.

^b Peloponnesus, as it is laid down in Arrow-smith's " Outlines of Greece and the Adjacent " Countries," (a map, which appears more accurate than any preceding one,) contains about 7779 square British miles. The principality of Wales, which may form a convenient standard of comparison, contains 7425 square British miles.

^c Strabo VII. p. 308. B. ὁ ἰσθμὸς, ὁ διείρων τὴν Σαπρὰν λεγομένην λίμνην ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ποιῶν τὴν Ταυρικὴν καὶ Σκυθικὴν λεγομένην χερρόνησον. οἱ δὲ τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ φασι.

^d Polyb. IV. 39. Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος, ὃ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ἔχει περὶ τριάκοντα στάδια τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἐξήκοντα στάδια· πᾶν δ' ἐστὶν ἀλιτεές. Strabo VII. p. 310. B. τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος καλεῖται μὲν Κιμμερικὸς Βόσπορος, ἀρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ μείζονος πλάτους, ἀπὸ ἐβδομήκοντά πον σταδίων· καθ' ὃ διαίρουσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παντικάπαιον τόπων εἰς τὴν ἐγγυτάτῳ πόλιν τῆς Ἀσίας, τὴν Φαναγορίαν· τελευτᾷ δ' εἰς πολὺ στενώτερον πορθμόν.

^e Strabo VII. p. 309. ἡ Ταυρικὴ παραλία, χιλίων πον σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, τραχεῖα καὶ ὀρεινὴ καὶ καταγίζουσα τοῖς βορέαις ἰδρυται. Idem p. 311. τῆς δὲ χερ-

ρόνησου, πλὴν τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ μέχρι Θεοδυσίας, ἡ γὰρ ἄλλη πεδιάς καὶ εὐγαιὸς ἐστὶ πᾶσα, σίτω δὲ καὶ σφόδρα εὐτυχής· τριάκοντα γοῦν ἀποδίδωσι διὰ τοῦ τυχόντος ὀρυκτοῦ σχιζομένη. His account of the face of the country is confirmed by modern observation : " M. Pallas says, that the Peninsula " of *Taurica*, which rises with an abrupt ascent " to the height of 1200 feet on the south side " towards the Euxine, sinks by degrees towards " the continent, and at last with so easy a slope, " as to lose itself insensibly in the great plain, of " which the adjacent country on the north is " chiefly formed ; and which plain is but little " elevated above the level of the sea." Rennell's Geography of Herodotus p. 68.

^f Larcher (Hérodote, Table Géographique, v. PANTICAPÉE) has shewn from Pliny that *Panticapæum* and *Bosporus* were different names for the same city. To the testimony of Pliny may be added that of the anonymous author of *A Periplus of the Euxine* p. 148. (ed. Gronov.) ἀπὸ Βοσπόρου ἦτοι Παντικαπαίου, ὥς πόλεως Χερσῶνος στάδια βσ'.

κ. τ. λ.

^g VII. p. 309. D.

χώρα πᾶσα σιτοφόρος, κόμας ἔχουσα, καὶ πόλιν ἐλλίμενον τὸ Νυμφαῖον καλούμενον. τὸ δὲ Παντικαπαῖον λόφος ἐστὶ πάντῃ περιουκούμενος ἐν κύκλῳ σταδίων εἴκοσι· πρὸς ἑω δ' ἔχει λιμένα καὶ 282 νεώρια, ὅσον τριάκοντα νεῶν· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἀκρόπολιν· κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ Μιλησίων. From *Panticapæum* the territory extended eastward on the opposite coasts of the strait ^h, and westward along a fertile line of coast, well known to the Athenian merchants ⁱ, for fifty-three or seventy miles ^j, to *Theudisia*, also a Milesian colony; and described by Demosthenes ^k in the reign of *Leucon* as not inferior to Bosphorus in wealth and commerce. Strabo and Arrian ascertain its position and origin: ^l ἡ Θεοδοσία κεῖται πόλις πεδῖον εὐγαιον ἔχουσα, καὶ λιμένα ναυσὶ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπιτήδειον. οὗτος δὲ ὄρος ἦν πρότερον τῆς τῶν Βοσποριανῶν καὶ Ταύρων γῆς. ^m αὕτη πάλαι ἦν Ἑλληνὶς πόλις Ἰωνικὴ, Μιλησίων ἀποικος. καὶ μνήμη ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἐν πολλοῖς γράμμασιν. Westward of *Theudisia* were the mountains by which the kingdom was bounded on the inland side. This fertile region was the granary of Greece, and especially of Athens; which drew annually from thence in the age of Demosthenes a supply of 400,000 ⁿ *medimni* of corn.

In this rich but narrow territory the following princes reigned within the period with which we are engaged.

	Y.	M.	B.C.
1. Archæanactidæ	42. ...	...	(480.)
2. Spartocus I. ⁿⁿ	7. ...	...	438.
3. Seleucus	4. ...	...	431.
* * *	(20.)...	...	(427.)
4. Satyrus I.	14. ...	...	(407.)
5. Leucon	40. ...	...	393.
6. Spartocus II.	5. ...	...	353.
7. Parysades	38. ...	...	348.
8. Satyrus II. ....	... 9.	...	310.
9. Prytanis			
10. Eumelus	5. ... 5.	...	309.
11. Spartocus III. .	20. ...	...	304.

^h Strabo VII. p. 310. A. αἱ πλησιόχωροι κατοικίαι πᾶσαι, αἱ περὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἐκατέρωθεν.

ⁱ The ship of the merchants Artemon and Apollodorus was wrecked in making the coasting voyage from *Panticapæum* to *Theudisia*: διεφθάρη παραπλέονσα εἰς Θεοδοσίαν ἐκ Παντικαπαίου. Demosth. in *Lacrit.* p. 933. 934.

^j Strabo VII. p. 309. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μεταξύ τῆς Θεοδοσίας καὶ τοῦ Παντικαπαίου στάδιοι περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ τριάκοντα. Arrian. *Peripl. Maris Euxini* p. 131. ed. Blancard. ἀπὸ Παντικαπαίου εἰς κόμην Καζέκα, ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ φκισμένην, στάδιοι εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. ἐνθένδε εἰς Θεοδοσίαν, πόλιν ἐρήμην, στάδιοι ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι. The distance of Strabo may be inland distance; that of Arrian, the winding circuit of the coast.

^k In *Leptin.* p. 466.

^l Strab. VII. p. 309. D.

^m Arrian. *Peripl. Mar. Euxin.* p. 131.

ⁿ Strabo VII. p. 311. Λεύκωνά φασιν ἐκ τῆς Θεοδοσίας Ἀθηναῖοις πέμψαι μυριάδας μεδίμνων διακοσίας καὶ δέκα. But Demosthenes is a better authority: *Leptin.* p. 466. 467. ὥστε δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι πλείστω τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτω σίτῳ χρώμεθα, πρὸς τοῖνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σίτος εἰσπλέων ἐστίν.—αἱ τοῖνυν παρ' ἐκείνου δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμεναι σίτου μυριάδες περὶ τετταράκοντά εἰσι. We may vindicate the accuracy of Strabo, by understanding the 210,000 *medimni* to be the corn imported from *Theudisia* alone; while the 400,000 *medimni* represent the total amount imported from the whole kingdom.

ⁿⁿ That this name is *Spartocus* in inscriptions appears from Boeckh. *Inscr. Gr.* N^o. 107. where the inscription names Σπάρτοκον Εὐμήλου. Conf. Boeckh, ad locum tom. I. p. 147.

The limits of the seven years (current) of *Spartocus I.* are fixed by Diodorus^o to the archonship of Theodorus [B. C. 43 $\frac{3}{4}$], when the forty-two years of the *Archæanactidæ*^p expired, and to the archonship of Apseudes [B. C. 43 $\frac{1}{2}$], when the four years of his successor commenced: ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Θεοδώρου—κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ τοῦ Κιμμερίου Βοσπόρου βασι- 283
λεύσαντες, ὀνομασθέντες δὲ Ἀρχαιανακτίδαι, ἤρξαν ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα. διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Σπάρτακος, καὶ ἤρξεν ἔτη ἑπτά. ^q ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀψεύδους—Σπάρτακος μὲν ὁ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας ἔτη δεκαεπτὰ [leg. cum Wess. ἑπτὰ] διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Σέλευκος καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα. As, however, there are only four archons between *Theodorus* and *Apseudes*, the reign of *Spartocus I.* could have been only of *six* years current, unless it commenced before the year of *Theodorus*, or was extended beyond the year of *Apseudes*. I have therefore placed the accession of *Seleucus* one year lower than the archonship of *Apseudes*.

Diodorus has assigned a date to the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus* and to the end of the reign of *Satyrus*: and, if the numbers ascribed to each, four years, and fourteen years, be genuine, there remains between these two reigns a space of twenty years, of which no account is given in Diodorus. The death of *Satyrus* is placed in the year of *Demostratus* [B. C. 39 $\frac{3}{4}$]: ^r περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Σάτυρος ὁ Σπαρτάκου μὲν υἱὸς βασιλεὺς δὲ Βοσπόρου ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας ἔτη δεκατέσσαρα· τὴν ἡγεμονίαν δὲ διεδέξατο ὁ υἱὸς Λεύκων ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα· which determines his accession to the year of *Antigenes* [B. C. 40 $\frac{1}{2}$]; twenty-four years after the death of his father *Spartocus*. He is mentioned by *Lysias*^s as already king of Bosphorus before the battle of *Ægospotami*: ἡμᾶς ὁ πατὴρ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ συμφορᾶς ὡς Σάτυρον τὸν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ διαιτησομένους ἐξέπεμψε.

The good understanding with Athens, which continued in the reign of *Leucon*, already subsisted in the time of *Satyrus*^t. *Isocrates*^v composed an oration for a subject of *Satyrus*, who was resident at Athens, and whose father had been promoted to offices of trust in the kingdom of Bosphorus. Among the motives which might win the favour of the judges, the favour shewn by *Satyrus* to the Athenians is mentioned: ^u ἄξιον δὲ καὶ Σατύρου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνθυμηθῆναι, οἳ πάντα τὸν χρόνον περὶ πλείστου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμᾶς ποιοῦνται, καὶ πολλάκις ἡδὴ διὰ σπάνιν σίτου τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπόρων ναῦς κενὰς ἐκπέμποντες ὑμῖν ἐξαγωγὴν ἔδοσαν ^x.

^o XII. 31.

^p On the *Archæanactidæ* see Wesseling ad Diod. XII. 31.

^q Diod. XII. 36.

^r Diod. XIV. 93.

^s Pro Mantitheo p. 145, 43.

^t Demosthenes Leptin. p. 467. speaking of *Leucon*: εὐεργέτηκεν ὑμᾶς οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι.

^v *Isocrat. Trapezit.* p. 359. 360. ἐμοὶ πατὴρ μὲν ἐστὶ Σωπαῖος, ὃν οἱ πλείοντες εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἅπαντες ἴσασιν οὕτως οἰκείως πρὸς Σάτυρον διακείμενον, ὥστε πολλῆς μὲν χώρας ἄρχειν ἀπάσης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου.—χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον διαβολῆς πρὸς Σάτυρον γενομένης, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ οὐμὸς ἐπιβουλευοὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ γὰρ τοῖς φυγάσι συγγιγνοίμην, τὸν μὲν πατέρα μου συλλαμβάνει.—μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀφικνοῦνται ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ ἀφείται, καὶ Σατύρῳ οὕτως ἀπάντων μεταμελεῖ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ὥστε πίστευς τὰς μεγίστας αὐτῷ δεδωκὼς εἶη, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι μείζω

πεποιηκὼς ἥς εἶχε πρότερον, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰληφὼς γυναῖκα τῷ αὐτοῦ υἱεῖ. These transactions happened about the time at which the Lacedæmonians were masters of the sea: p. 366. a. Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχόντων κατ' ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον τῆς θαλάττης. which establishes the date, and demonstrates that the *Satyrus* of *Isocrates* is the *Satyrus* of *Lysias* and of *Diod. XIV. 93*.

^u *Isocrat. Trapezit.* p. 370. b.

^x We may nearly determine the date of the *Trapezitiks* from these incidents. It was composed before the death of *Satyrus*, which happened B. C. 39 $\frac{3}{4}$. and, as it should seem, after the Lacedæmonians had ceased to command the sea. (See a preceding note.) If this last particular may be inferred from the expressions of *Isocrates*, we obtain the last year of *Satyrus* B. C. 393 for the date of that oration.

Satyrus was slain at the siege of *Theudosia*: ὁ Σάτυρος Θεοδοσίαν πολιορκῶν ἐτελεύτησεν.

The reign of *Leucon* son of Satyrus is determined to forty years by Diodorus; whose numbers are sufficiently consistent with his dates. ² ἦρχε Δημόστρατος [B. C. 39 $\frac{3}{2}$] — διεδέξατο Λεύκων ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. ³ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Διοτίμου [B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$] — κατὰ τὸν Πόντον Λεύκων ὁ τοῦ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδέξαμενος Σπάρτακος ὁ υἱὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη πέντε. He died in the 40th year current of his reign.

- 284 *Leucon* is described by various testimonies of ancient writers as a prudent, munificent, and powerful prince ^b; and the most eminent of this race of kings: on which account Strabo ^c, omitting to notice the earlier princes, speaks principally of *Leucon* and *Parysades* as the founders of the dynasty: ἐμοναρχεῖτο πολλὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ δυναστῶν τῶν περὶ Λεύκωνα καὶ Σάγαυρον [Σάτυρον *Casaub.*] καὶ Παιρισάδην, αὕτη τε καὶ αἱ πλησιόχωροι κατοικίαι πᾶσαι αἱ περὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἐκατέρωθεν, μέχρι Παιρισάδου τοῦ Μιθριδάτη παραδόχτου τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ τύραννοι, καί περ οἱ πλείους ἐπιεικεῖς γεγονότες, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Παιρισάδου καὶ Λεύκωνος.

The five years of *Spartocus* son of *Leucon* are repeated by Diodorus ^d under the year of *Callimachus* B. C. 34 $\frac{2}{5}$. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Καλλιμάχου — ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Σπάρτακος ὁ τοῦ Πόντου βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη πέντε. τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν διαδέξαμενος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Παρυσάδης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τριακονταοκτώ. And the death of *Parysades*, βεβασιλευκότος ἔτη τριάκοντα ὀκτώ, is recorded under the year of *Hieromnemon* ^e, between whom and *Callimachus* are thirty-eight archons. His reign, then, was of thirty-eight years complete, and may be supposed to commence at the end of the archonship of *Callimachus*, in B. C. 348. Within the period of the reign of *Parysades*, *Dinarchus* ^f names the tyrants *Birisades*, *Satyrus*, and *Gorgippus*, as living in B. C. 324. προῖκα τοῦτον (Δημοσθένην) οἶσθε γράψαι — τὸ χαλκοῦς ἐν ἀγορᾷ στήσαι *Βιρυσάδην* καὶ *Σάτυρον* καὶ *Γόργιππον* τοὺς ἐχθίστους τυράννους, παρ' ὧν αὐτῷ χίλιοι μόδιοι τοῦ

^y Harpocrat. v. Θεοδοσίαν.

^z XIV. 93.

^a XVI. 31.

^b The passages which mention *Leucon* have been collected by Perizonius ad *Ælian*. V. H. VI. 13. Wesseling ad *Diod.* XIV. 93. Wolf ad *Demosth.* Leptin. p. 249. These testimonies may be thus arranged: 1. *Demosth.* Leptin. p. 466, 467. from whom we learn that *Leucon* was admitted with his sons to the freedom of the city of Athens, in return for the privileges of a free trade granted to the Athenians; and that he acquired possession of *Theudosia*. (at the siege of which his father *Satyrus* had fallen.) 2. *Chrysippus* apud *Plutarch.* Mor. p. 1043. C. D. p. 1061. D. with which may be compared *Strabo* VII. p. 301. B. 3. *Æneas Tacticus* c. 5. Λεύκων ὁ Βοσπόρου τύραννος καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς χρεωφειλέτας διὰ κυβείαν ἢ δι' ἄλλας ἀκολασίας ἀπομίσθους ἐποίει. 4. *Dio* orat. II. p. 101. Reisk. τὸν δὲ γε ἀνδρείον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὖνον — τῆς ἀρετῆς (ὁ Ζεὺς) ἀγάμενος, ὡς τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἄγει πρὸς γῆρας. καθάπερ ἀκούομεν Κῦρον τε καὶ Δηϊόκην τὸν Μῆδον καὶ Ἀγάθυρσον τὸν

Σκύθην καὶ Λεύκωνα. 5. *Polyænus* VI. 9. who relates some incidents of his war with *Heraclea* in *Bithynia*. In another passage (V. 44, 1) he mentions a war which was prosecuted by *Memnon* the *Rhodian* against *Leucon*: Μέμνων ἐπιθέμενος Λεύκωνι τῷ Βοσπόρου τυράννῳ. *Memnon* is noticed by *Demosthenes* *Aristocrat.* p. 672 as a young man in B. C. 352. He died B. C. 333, in the course of *Alexander's* second campaign in Asia: *Arrian.* II. 1. His war with *Leucon* must have occurred at the end of that prince's reign. 6. *Athenæus* VI. p. 257. c. 7. We may add the allusion of *Ælian* V. H. VI. 13. μνημονεύονται — εἰς ἐγγόνους διαρκεῖσαι (τυραννίδες) αἶδε' ἥτε Γέλωνος ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ ἡ τῶν Λευκωνιδῶν [sic emendat *Scalig.* pro vulg. Λευκανίων] περὶ Βόσπορον, καὶ ἡ τῶν Κυψελιδῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ. 8. *Nonni* in comment. ad *Gregor. Naz.* See the passage in Wolf ad *Leptin.* p. 250. To these must be added *Strabo*, whose words are given in the text.

^c VII. p. 310.

^d XVI. 52.

^e *Diod.* XX. 22.

^f In *Demosth.* p. 95. 36.

ἐνιαυτοῦ πυρῶν ἀποστέλλονται ; That these were princes of Bosphorus may be concluded from their names, and from the early connexion which the family of Demosthenes had with that kingdom ^g. These three princes were contemporary, and may be supposed (according to the conjecture of Wesseling) to have reigned jointly over different portions of the country. In Βηρισάδης we may recognise the *Parysades* of Diodorus ^h ; in the twenty-fourth year of whose reign that oration of Dinarchus was delivered. The *Satyrus* of the orator may perhaps be 285 Satyrus eldest son of Parysades, reigning jointly with his father ; mentioned by Diodorus as succeeding to the kingdom fourteen years afterwards. The name of *Gorgippus* among the princes of Bosphorus occurs in Polyænus ⁱ : ὁ Σάτυρος ἐτελεύτησε, Γόργιππος δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος, κ. τ. λ. But whether these were the individual princes mentioned by Dinarchus we cannot affirm. In the long period of two hundred years between the first and the last Parysades ^k, other kings of this race might have borne the names of Satyrus and Gorgippus.

In the archonship of Hieromnemon B. C. 342 a civil war arose among the three sons of *Parysades*, which ended in the establishment of *Eumelus*. His reign of five years and five months would terminate about the year B. C. 304. The notes of time supplied by Diodorus are these : ^l περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς [the year of Hieromnemon] ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ μετὰ τὴν Παρυσάδου τελευτὴν, ὃς ἦν βασιλεὺς τοῦ Κιμμερικοῦ Βοσπόρου, διετέλουν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ διαπολεμοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, Εὐμηλὸς τε καὶ Σάτυρος καὶ Πρύτανις· τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Σάτυρος ὢν πρεσβύτερος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρειλήφει τὴν ἀρχὴν, βεβασιλευκότος ἔτη τριάκοντα ὀκτώ. Satyrus died of wounds received in battle, ^m ἐννέα μόνον μῆνας βασιλεύσας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν Παρυσάδου. *Prytanis*, who attempted to seize the vacant kingdom, was overthrown and slain by *Eumelus* ⁿ. *Eumelus* himself, who appears to have possessed talents for govern-

^g Gylon the grandfather of Demosthenes had settled in Bosphorus : *Æschin. in Ctes. p. 78, 15.* Γύλων ἐκ Κεραμείων—ἀφικνέεται εἰς Βόσπορον, κακεὶ λαμβάνει δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τοὺς ὀνομασμένους κήπους, καὶ γαμεί γυναῖκα πλουσίαν μὲν καὶ χρυσίον ἐπιφερομένην πολλὸν, Σκύθην δὲ τὸ γένος. The mother of Demosthenes was the issue of this marriage. The *tyrants* mentioned in the plural number by *Æschines* may have reigned in that intermediate space preceding the reign of Satyrus I. which is omitted by Diodorus. This would suppose Gylon to have settled there about thirty years before the birth of his grandson Demosthenes.

^h Wesseling ad *Diod. XIV. 93.* seems to agree that the *Berisades* of Dinarchus is the *Parysades* of Diodorus : *Satyro Polyæn. VIII. 55. successit filius Gorgippus. Gorgippum autem Demostheni æqualem perhibet Dinarchus p. 95. viderique adeo posset Satyri ejus filius qui Berisadi successit, ni ea obstarent quæ auctor [XX. 22] de Satyro eo memorie tradidit. Opinor in parte aliqua Ponti regnasse et Berisadi æquævum fuisse.* But he afterwards changes his opinion : ad *Diod. XVI. 52. Doctissimo de Boze—re curatius examinata assentiri non possum Berisadem, de quo Dinarchus p. 95.*

eundem ac Parisadem arbitrato. Nam Berisades ille in parte Thracia regnavit, nunquam Ponti rex. Docet id clarissime Demosthenes Aristocrat. p. 430. [p. 624. Reisk.] But the *Berisades* of Demosthenes, who was king of Thrace jointly with *Amadocus* and *Cersobleptes*, was already dead in B. C. 352. τελευτήσαντος Κότυος Βηρισάδην καὶ Ἀμάδοκον καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην τρεῖς ἀνθ' ἑνὸς γενέσθαι Θράκης βασιλείας.—ἐνὸς τελευτήσαντος τῶν βασιλέων, Βηρισάδου, Κερσοβλέπτης ἐξέφερε πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς Βηρισάδου παῖδας. While the *Berisades* of Dinarchus was still living in B. C. 324. The opinion, then, which Wesseling rejects, is more just.

ⁱ VIII. 55.

^k *Mithridates Eupator*, to whom the last Parysades surrendered his kingdom (*Strabo VII. p. 309. A. 310. A.*), began to reign about B. C. 120, and might acquire the peninsula of the Tauric Chersonese about two hundred years after the death of Parysades I.

^l XX. 22.

^m XX. 23.

ⁿ Diodorus XX. 24. He adds : μόνος διέφυγεν Εὐμηλον ὁ παῖς ὁ Σατύρου Παρυσάδης, νέος ὢν παντελῶς τὴν ἡλικίαν· ἐξιππεύσας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατέφυγε πρὸς Ἀγαρον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σκυθῶν.

ment, was suddenly cut off before he could perfect his designs for the enlargement of his kingdom: ^o ἐπεχείρησε πάντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνη καταστρέφειν, καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, εἰ μὴ σύντομον ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν. πέντε γὰρ ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ἴσους μῆνας βασιλεύσας κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. Eumelus in the year of Pherecles B. C. 304 was succeeded by his son *Spartocus*, who reigned twenty years: ^pΕὐμηλος μὲν ὁ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς βασιλεύων ἔκτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτησε· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος Σπάρτακος ὁ υἱὸς ἤρξεν ἔτη εἴκοσι. Our present copies of Diodorus desert us at this point.

XIV.

PRINCES OF CARIA.

THE account of Strabo ^a is clear and satisfactory: "*Hecatomnus* king of Caria had three sons, *Mausolus*, *Idrieus*, and *Pixodarus*; and two daughters, of whom the eldest, *Artemisia*, was married to *Mausolus* the eldest brother. The other daughter, *Ada*, was married to the second brother *Idrieus*. *Mausolus* reigned, and died without children; and was succeeded by his wife *Artemisia*, who erected the celebrated monument to his memory. She dying, *Idrieus* reigned; and his wife *Ada* succeeded him. *Pixodarus*, the remaining brother, expelled *Ada* and seized the government. When Alexander conquered Caria, *Ada* prevailed upon him to restore her."

	Y.	B. C.
1. Hecatomnus . . . .	. . .	[385.]
2. Mausolus	24. . . .	(377.)
3. Artemisia	2. . . .	353.
4. Idrieus	7. . . .	351.
5. Ada	4. . . .	344.
6. Pixodarus	5. . . .	340.
Interval	1. . . .	335.
Ada restored . . . .	. . . .	334.

1. *HECATOMNUS* in the Cyprian war was commanded by the king of Persia to attack *Evagoras*^b, whom he secretly favoured^c. He was appointed commander of the Persian fleet in that war, according to Theopompus^d: ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐαγόρα συνεπέισθη πολεμῆσαι, στρατηγὸν ἐπιστήσας Αὐτοφραδάτην τὸν Λυδίας σατράπην, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἑκατόμνων. Isocrates^e in B. C. 380 speaks of Hecatomnus as prince of Caria: Ἑκατόμνωσ ὁ Καρίας ἐπίσταθμος τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πολλὸν ἤδη χρόνον ἀφέστηκεν.

^o Diod. XX. 25.^p Diod. XX. 100.^p *ρίας* δυνάστου λάθρα συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ χρημάτων ἔλαβε πλῆθος.^a XIV. p. 656. 657.^b Diod. XIV. 98. Ἑκατόμνω τῷ Καρίας δυνάστῃ προσέταξε πολεμεῖν τῷ Εὐαγόρᾳ.^d Apud Phot. Cod. 176. p. 389.^c Diod. XV. 2. Εὐαγόρας παρ' Ἑκατόμνου τοῦ Κα-^e Panegy. c. 43. p. 74. d.

2. MAUSOLUS. His death is placed by Diodorus^f in the year of Eudemus B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$. ἐπ' ἀρχontos Εὐδήμου—Μαύσωλος ὁ Καρίας δυνάστης ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας ἔτη εἰκοσιτέσσαρα· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένη Ἀρτεμισία ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ ἐδυνάστευσεν ἔτη δύο. He is mentioned by Diodorus^g in the year of Molon B. C. 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ as following Artaxerxes to the Egyptian war. And it is attested by Demosthenes^h that he was the mover of the Social war: φανήσεται ὁ πρωτανεύσας τὰτα καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλος. He was therefore living in B. C. 358, when that war began. And Plinyⁱ has committed an error in his account of the time of Mausolus: *Is obiit Olympiadis centesimæ anno secundo, Urbis Romæ anno 302 [375].* that is, in B. C. 379.^k But the date of Diodorus for his death, which is confirmed by Demosthenes^l, would place the commencement of his reign of twenty-four years in Olymp. 100. 4 B. C. 37 $\frac{3}{4}$, within two years of the date of Pliny; who perhaps by mistake has substituted *Mausolus* for *Hecatomnus*.

3. ARTEMISIA, who only survived her husband two years, was still living in B. C. 351 upon the testimony of Demosthenes. Diodorus, who had recorded her accession under the archonship of Eudemus, records her death under the year of Thessalus B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{10}$. ἡ Ἀρτεμισία ἡ Καρίας δυναστεύουσα μετέλλαξεν ἄρξασα ἔτη δύο· τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν Ἰδριεὺς ὁ ἀδελφὸς διεδέξατο, καὶ ἥρξεν ἔτη ἑπτὰ. Her death was attributed to grief: ἡ Θυγάτηρ μὲν ἦν Ἑκατόμου γυνὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Μανσώλου· ἣν φησὶ Θεόπομπος φθινάδι νόσφ' ληφθεῖσαν διὰ τὴν λύπην ἀποθανεῖν.

Besides erecting the celebrated *Mausoleum*, Artemisia proposed a prize of eloquence and 287 poetry in honour of her husband. This contest is determined to the 107th Olympiad, and the archonship of Aristodemus, for the reason assigned in the Tables^o. The testimonies on this subject are these: Gellius^p:—*Astemisia ἀγὼνα laudibus (Mausoli) dicundis facit; ponitque præmia pecuniæ aliarumque rerum bonarum amplissima. Ad eas laudes decertandas venisse dicuntur viri nobiles ingenio atque lingua præstabili Theopompus, Theodectes, Naucrites. Sunt etiam qui Isocratem ipsum cum iis certavisse memoriæ mandaverint. Sed eo certamine vicisse Theopompum judicatum est. Is fuit Isocratis discipulus. Exstat nunc quoque Theodecti tragædia, quæ inscribitur Mausolus: in qua eum magis quam in prosa placuisse Higimus in exemplis refert.* The Pseudo-Plutarch^q:—ἡγωνίσατο δὲ (Ἰσοκράτης) καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Μανσώλῳ τεθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀρτεμισίας ἀγὼνα. τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον οὐ σώζεται. Theopompus himself^r:—(Θεόπομπος) ὑπερφρονεῖ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην, καὶ νενικῆσθαι ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ λέγει κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ Μανσώλῳ ἀγὼνα τὸν διδάσκαλον. Suidas^s:—Ἰσοκράτης Ἀμύκλα τοῦ φιλοσόφου, Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἢ Ἡρακλείας—μαθητὴς καὶ διάδοχος τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰσοκράτους, διακούσας δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Θεοδέκτῳ τῷ ῥήτορι καὶ τραγωδιοποιῷ, καὶ Θεοπόμῳ τῷ Χίῳ, ἅμα τῷ Ἐρυνθραίῳ Ναυκράτῃ διηγωνίσατο περὶ λόγων εἰς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον Μανσώλου τοῦ Καρός. In another passage^t, which has been partly given in the Tables^v, Suidas adds this circumstance:—(Θεοδέκτης) ἐνίκησε μάλιστα εὐδοκμήσας ἐν ᾗ εἶπε τραγῳδίᾳ. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ Θεόπομον ἔχειν τὰ πρωτεία. From a comparison of Gellius with Suidas we may collect that there were

^f XVI. 36. ^g XV. 90. ^h Pro Rhod. p. 191.

ⁱ Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 6.

^k Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 300. has repeated this erroneous date. Afterwards, tom. IV. p. 26. he records the date of Diodorus: but without any censure of the erroneous date of Pliny.

^l See the Tables B. C. 351, 3.

^m XVI. 45.

^o B. C. 352, 4.

^q Vit. X. or. p. 838. B.

^r Apud Euseb. Præp. X. 3. p. 464. C.

^s V. Ἰσοκράτης Ἀμύκλα.

^t V. Θεοδέκτης Ἀριστάνδρου.

^v B. C. 352, 4.

ⁿ Harpocrat. v. Ἀρτεμισία.

^p X. 18.

two prizes proposed, one in tragedy and one in oratory. Theodectes obtained the prize in the one, and Theopompus in the other. According to Suidas ^u Isocrates of *Apollonia* was a candidate for this prize. But Ruhnkenius ^x has shewn that the authority of Theopompus himself is justly to be preferred to any other upon this point. The *Athenian* Isocrates, then, was the competitor on this occasion; whose panegyric upon Mausolus was judged inferior to that of his pupil Theopompus.

4. IDRIEUS, who reigned after Artemisia seven years, died in the archonship of Lyciscus B. C. 34 $\frac{1}{2}$. ^y ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Λυκίσκου—κατὰ τὴν Καρίαν Ἰδριεὺς ὁ δυνάστης τῶν Καρῶν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας ἔτη ἑπτὰ· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένη Ἀδα, ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ, ἐδυνάστευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα. The testimonies to his time are consistent. Diodorus ^z mentions him in B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ (the year of Thessalus) as having lately succeeded: Ἰδριέα τὸν τῆς Καρίας δυνάστην, ἄρτι μὲν παρεληφότα τὴν ἀρχήν. Isocrates ^a notices Idrieus in B. C. 346. καὶ μὴν Ἰδριέα τὸν εὐπορώτατον τῶν νῦν περὶ τὴν ἡπειρον προσήκει δυσμενέστερον εἶναι τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι τῶν πολεμούντων· ἢ πάντων γ' ἂν εἴη σχετλιώτατος, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο καταλελύσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αἰκισαμένην μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολεμήσασαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν. Demosthenes ^b speaks of Idrieus in the same year B. C. 346, by the description of τὸν Κᾶρα, and enumerates his acquisitions: τὸν Κᾶρα τὰς νήσους καταλαμβάνειν Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον. A more ancient Idrieus is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium ^{bb}.

5. ADA succeeded her husband in the year of Lyciscus B. C. 34 $\frac{1}{2}$. Her expulsion by Pixodarus is placed by Diodorus ^c in the archonship of Nicomachus B. C. 34 $\frac{1}{2}$. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Νικομάχου—Πιζώδαρος ὁ νεώτερος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας Ἀδαν, καὶ ἐδυνάστευσεν ἔτη πέντε, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. The five years of Pixodarus expired in the archonship of Euænetus. After a short interval, Alexander restored Ada in 288 B. C. 334, at the close of his first campaign in Asia: ^d τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπείῃν ἔταξεν Ἀδαν θυγατέρα μὲν Ἑκατόμνον γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδριέως, ὃς καὶ ἀδελφὸς, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰδριεὺς τελευτῶν ταύτῃ ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα—Πιζώδαρος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατεῖχε τὰ πράγματα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιζωδάρου, Ὀροντοβάτης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς εἶχε, γάμβρος ὢν Πιζωδάρου.

XV.

ALEXANDER OF PHERÆ.

IT is recorded by Diodorus ^a that ALEXANDER of PHERÆ was assassinated in the year of Agathocles B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$. His death is noticed by Xenophon ^b. And yet the death of *Xeno-*

^u See the Tables 352, 4.

^x Hist. Crit. Or. Græc. p. 161. Reisk.

^y Diod. XVI. 69.

^z XVI. 42.

^a Philipp. c. 43. p. 102. e.

^b De Pace p. 63.

^{bb} Steph. Byz. Εὐρώμος πόλις Καρίας ἀπὸ Εὐρώμου

τοῦ Ἰδριέως Καρός. Idem Εὐρωπος. (πόλις) Καρίας, ἣν Ἰδριάδα ἀπὸ Ἰδριέως τοῦ Χρυσάορος. Idem. Ἰδριάς. πόλις Καρίας ἡ πρότερον Χρυσάορις, ἀπὸ Ἰδριέως παιδὸς Καρός.

^c XVI. 74.

^d Arrian. I. 23.

^a XVI. 14.

^b Hel. VI. 4, 35.

phon himself is placed by Stesiclides in the year of Callimedes B. C. 369. Wesseling^c has detected this incongruity: *Verum esse non potest—Xenophontem Ol. 105. 1 mortem cum vita commutasse.* That *Xenophon* lived somewhat longer is indeed probable^d. But it may be conjectured, on a nearer view of *Diodorus* himself, that the death of *Alexander* is to be placed earlier than the archonship of *Agathocles*.

Diodorus^e gives the following narrative: ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀγαθοκλέους—κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς Θήβης καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Λυκόφρονος καὶ Τισιφώνου ἐδολοφονήθη. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς τυραννοκτόνοι μεγάλης ἐτύγχανον ἀποδοχῆς· ὕστερον δὲ μετανοήσαντες—ἀνέδειξαν ἑαυτοὺς τυράννους—οἱ δ' Ἀλενάδαι—προσελάβοντο Φίλιππον σύμμαχον τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα. οὗτος δ' ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν κατεπολέμησε τοὺς τυράννους. He has here placed together the transactions of several years; partly anticipating, and partly taking a retrospective view of occurrences. The expulsion of the tyrants by *Philip* was accomplished five years afterwards in B. C. 352, according to his own account. In that year, ^f Φίλιππος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Λυκόφρονι τὸν Φερῶν τύραννον.—and expelled *Lycophron* and *Pytholaüs*, or *Peitholaüs*, the third brother, whom *Diodorus* had omitted to mention before: οἱ τῶν Φεραίων τύραννοι Λυκόφρων καὶ Πειθόλαος—τὰς Φερὰς παρέδωσαν τῷ Φίλιππῳ. And the death of *Alexander*, who reigned *eleven* years, must have happened two years earlier than the year of *Agathocles* at the least. *Alexander* began to reign in the autumn of B. C. 369, in the commencement of the archonship of *Lysistratus*. That this was the true date of his accession may be proved from *Xenophon*^h. But from this period to the year of *Agathocles* would be *thirteen* years instead of *eleven*. If we understand the *eleven* years of his reign as *eleven* years *current*, or *ten* years complete, they would terminate in B. C. 359, in the beginning of *Olymp. 105. 2*. Which supposes an error of only a single year, as far as *Alexander* of *Pheræ* is concerned, in the date of *Stesiclides* for the death of *Xenophon*. *Tisiphonus* alone, the elder brother, is mentioned by *Xenophon*ⁱ as the successor of *Alexander*: ἄχρῃς οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο, *Tisiphonos*, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν. It is probable that *Tisiphonus*, whose death *Diodorus* omits to notice, filled the interval between the assassination of *Alexander* and the archonship of *Agathocles*, when 289 *Lycophron* began to govern; and that *Diodorus* deferred the notice of *Thessalian* affairs till that year, because in that year *Philip* first gained a footing in *Thessaly*^k.

^c Ad *Diod.* XV. 76.

^d See the Tables B. C. 359, 3.

^e XVI. 14. ^f XVI. 35.

^g XVI. 37. See the Tables B. C. 352, 2.

^h See the Tables B. C. 370, 2. 369, 2.

ⁱ *Hel.* VI. 4, 37.

^k *Corsini Fast. Att. tom. IV. p. 21.* gives the following representation of the *Parian Marble*, No. 78. [77.] ἀφ' οὗ Τιμόθεος βίωσας ἔτη ΠΔΔΔΔ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, καὶ Φίλιππος τὴν πόλιν ἔκτισεν ὁ Φίλιππος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φεραῖος ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ τοὺς Διονυσίου στρατηγούς ὁ Δίων ἐνίκησεν, ἔτη ΠΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν

Ἀγαθοκλέους. Ita nimirum laceras *Marmoris* voces ad *historiæ fidem* supplendas esse *Prideauxius* ostendit. This passage of the *Marble* may serve as an example to instruct us with what caution that monument must be quoted, where its *lacunæ* are supplied by conjecture. In the more accurate edition of *Chandler*, all that is legible upon the *Marble* is thus expressed: ἀφ' οὗ Τιμόθεος βίωσας ἔτη ΠΔΔΔΔ ἐτελεύτησεν κεδόνων βασιλεύει καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἐτελεύτησεν Ὁχος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς β ἐνίκησεν, ἔτη ΠΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγαθοκλέους.

XVI.

ELATEA—CHÆRONEA.

CORSINI^a has taken occasion to arrange the circumstances of the Amphiſſian war. He fixes the appointment of *Philip* as Amphiſtyonic general to the spring of the archon Lysimachides B. C. 338, and assumes six months as the interval between that appointment and the battle of Chæronea. His arrangement of the incidents of this period is in substance as follows.

- 16 *Anthesterion*. [February B. C. 338.] *Æschines Pylagoras eligitur, simulque duplex Amphiſtyonici concilii decretum verno conventu factum, quo Philippus Amphiſtyonum dux est designatus*^b. [Demosth. de Coron. p. 279.]
- 25 *Elaphebolion*. A decree at Athens to send an embassy to Philip, proposing an armistice till Thargelion [June]. [Demosth. p. 282.]
- 30 *Munychion*. A decree to send another embassy to Philip. [Demosth. p. 283.]
- [13] *Sciophorion*. Philip seizes Elatea. [Demosth. p. 284.]
- 16 *Sciophorion*. Decree of Demosthenes for negotiating alliance with the Thebans. [Demosth. p. 288.]
- 7 *Metagitnion*. Battle of Chæronea.

A difficulty lies in the way of this arrangement, from the mention of the month *Boëdromion* which occurs in a letter^c written by Philip after he was nominated general of the Amphiſtyons. In that letter, Philip calls upon the Amphiſtyonic states to meet him with troops in the war against the Amphiſſians: *συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπιστιςμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῶφου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πάνεμον*. Corsini argues that this letter was written *before* the battle of Chæronea, and *after* the Thebans were separated from Philip by the treaty with Athens; consequently after the 16th *Sciophorion*. He therefore concludes the word *βοηδρομιῶνος* to 290 be corrupt, and substitutes *ἐκατομβαιῶνος* in its stead. He justifies this emendation by other testimonies^d. 1. Plutarch affirms *Loüs* to be coincident with *Hecatombæon*. 2. Galen makes *Hyperberetæus* (the third month from *Loüs*) to correspond with *Boëdromion*. 3. According to another passage of Galen, *Loüs* began at the summer solstice. 4. From Plutarch and Ælian it may be collected that *Dæsius* corresponded to *Thargelion*. Corsini determines that the spuriousness of the date *Boëdromion* in the letter of Philip is established by these arguments. The events of the Amphiſſian war point out *Hecatombæon* as the true date of that summons addressed to the Amphiſtyonic states; and other authorities combine to prove that *Hecatombæon* in reality coincided with the Macedonian *Loüs*.

Taylor^e examines minutely the positions of Corsini; retains the date *Boëdromion* in that

^a Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 140—144.

^b To the same purpose in p. 147. *Æschines* 16. *Anthesterionis die Pylagoras electus fuit, atque Philippus in eodem illo conventu dux designatus.*

^c Apud Demosth. de Coron. p. 280.

^d Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 459. 461.

^e Ad Demosth. Coron. p. 280. Reisk.

letter of Philip; and adopts a different arrangement of the Amphissian war. He contends that the letter was written before the occupation of Elatea; consequently before the 16th Sciophorion: that Philip was elected general in the spring of B. C. 339, eighteen months before the battle of Chæronea, and that the letter might be dated in Boëdromion of B. C. 339, eleven months before that battle ^f. The following dates are the consequence.

	B. C.	
16th <i>Anthesterion</i>	339	Æschines Pylagoras; and Philip elected general.
<i>Boëdromion</i>	339	The letter of Philip is addressed to the States.
<i>Sciophorion</i>	338	Occupation of Elatea.
7th <i>Metagitnion</i>	338	Battle of Chæronea.

Wesseling^g has arrived at the same conclusions as Taylor respecting this war: *Theophrasto archonte bellum in Amphissenses Amphictyonum decreto mandatum est Philippo, quod gessit Lysimachide prætore, quando et Elateam occupavit.*

The objection of Taylor, that Corsini has placed the Amphissian war in the year of a wrong archon, is perfectly just; and the conclusions of Corsini must wholly fail, if it be necessary to his system that a war, which according to Æschines was begun in the year of *Theophrastus*, should not commence until the eighth month of *Lysimachides*. But both are partly in the wrong upon this question. There is one error common to them both; that they confound together two distinct transactions, the mission of Æschines as Pylagoras, and the nomination of Philip to be general; and consider these as the occurrences of the same Amphictyonic meeting: whereas they were separate events, and divided from each other by a series of intermediate proceedings. Æschines was sent as Pylagoras at the vernal session of the year of *Theophrastus*; but Philip was not appointed general till the ensuing spring meeting, the 291 spring of the archon *Lysimachides*.

The Amphissian war was excited by Æschines at the vernal session of the Amphictyons in the year of *Theophrastus* ^h: ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἀρχοντος, ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου, πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἰλεσθε Μειδίαν τε ἐκείνουν τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον, ὃν ἐβουλόμην ἂν πολλῶν ἔνεκα ζῆν, καὶ Θρασυκλέα τὸν ἐξ Οἴου, καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. συνέβη δ' ἡμῶν ἀρτίως μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφίχθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ τὸν ἱερομνήμονα Διογνήτου πυρέττειν.—οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συνεκάθητο Ἀμφικτύονες. Then the proceedings followed ⁱ from which the war originated: κ τῇ

^f *Hæ res non, ut rem reputavit Corsinus, intra spatium VIII [VI] mensium sunt concludendæ. Nimirum inter Æschinis munus Pylagoricum et res infeliciter Chæroneæ gestas non VIII sed XX menses intercedebant. [he should have said non VI sed XVIII menses—] Nam Theophrasto archonte missus est Pylagoras; archonte autem Chæronda pugnatum est Chæroneæ. Lysimachide prætore captam esse Elateam disertissime testantur Dionysius et Diodorus. Id vero contigit, ut vidimus, juxta Sciophorionem, mensem anni postremum; et eadem æstate, anno autem vertente, Chæronda prætore pugnatum est Chæroneæ, ut omnes norunt. Ergo mense Boëdromione Olymp. 110. 2 exarari potu-*

erunt literæ Philippi, ea nempe æstate quæ consecuta est vernum istum conventum Amphictyonicum, in quo Æschines imperium Philippo comparabat, et diutius, antequam Elatea occuparetur et Philippi concilia patefierent. Eo igitur errore abreptus est Corsinus, quod munus Æschinis Pylagoricum Ol. 110. 2 non Ol. 110. 1, ut debuit, assignaverit. Taylor apud Reisk. App. Crit. ad Demosth. tom. I. p. 267.

^g Ad Diod. XVI. 84.

^h Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 69, 39.

ⁱ Detailed by Æschines p. 70. 71.

^k Æschin. p. 71, 4.

ὑστεραία—κατέβημεν εἰς τὸ Κιρράϊον πεδῖον, καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασκάψαντες καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπήσαντες ἀνεχωροῦμεν. ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν πραττόντων οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς—ἦκον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μεθ' ὅπλων πανδημεῖ. Then followed another Amphictyonic meeting, before the regular time of their session¹, when *Cottyphus* was appointed general and led the first expedition against the Amphissians: ¹ ψηφίζονται ἦκειν τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας, ἔχοντας δόγμα καθ' ὃ τι δίκην δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς.—οἱ δὲ Ἀμφικτύονες συνελέγησαν—καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον,—οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος.—καὶ παρελθόντες τῇ πρώτῃ στρατείᾳ καὶ μάλα μετρίως ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσιν. This first expedition is not omitted by Demosthenes²: προβληθεὶς πυλαγόρας οὗτος—ἀνεβρίθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας—πέιθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὔσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν.—περιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτύωνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἅπαντας κατηκόντισαν.—ὥς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτύωνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν. But, when the check which they received from *Cottyphus* was not effectual, the Amphictyons elected *Philip* general at the next spring session. This we collect from the two orators. According to *Æschines*³, the party of *Cottyphus* χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ἐξημίωσαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ προείπον τῷ θεῷ καταθεῖναι.—ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔτε τὰ χρήματα ἐξέτινον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς τ' ἐναγείς κατήγαγον—οὕτως ἤδη τὴν δευτέραν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο, πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον, ἐπανελλυθότος Φιλίππου ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας στρατείας. According to Demosthenes⁴, ὥς οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν πυλαίαν⁵ ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι ποιητοὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν.—καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν,—ἡ ἐκείνων αἰρεῖσθαι. These various transactions occurred after Anthesterion of the archon Theophrastus B. C. 339, when *Æschines*, from whom the proceedings originated, attended as *Pylagoras*; and *Philip* was nominated general in B. C. 338, in Anthesterion of the archon *Lysimachides*.

A second argument for establishing that the nomination of *Philip* was in the year of *Lysimachides* is supplied by the subsequent transactions. The vote appointing *Philip* general was immediately followed up by his advancing into Greece, and seizing *Elatea*: ἡρέθη 292 ἡγεμῶν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρράϊαν, ἐβρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρράϊοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἑλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. But the occupation of *Elatea* was in Scirophorion of the archon *Lysimachides*⁶: the decree was therefore passed in the year of the same archon, and his election was four months before his march to *Elatea*: the chronology of Taylor, which supposes a space of sixteen months between the nomination of

¹ Which would have been in the ensuing autumn, the commencement of the year of *Lysimachides*: Strabo IX. p. 420. δις κατ' ἔτος οὔσης τῆς συνόδου, ἕαρος τε καὶ μετοπώρου.—τὴν δὲ σύνοδον Πυλαίαν ἐκάλουν, τὴν μὲν ἑαρινήν, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινήν.

² *Æschin.* p. 71, 12—42. In the intermediate time this δόγμα was discussed in the Athenian assembly, and Demosthenes prevented the attend-

ance of the Athenian deputies at the ensuing extraordinary meeting. *Æschin.* p. 71.

³ *De Coron.* p. 277. ⁴ In *Ctesiph.* p. 71, 72.

⁵ *De Coron.* p. 277.

⁶ *Idem* p. 278. ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας ἔδοξε—πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον, κ. τ. λ.

⁷ *Demosth. de Cor.* p. 278.

⁸ See the Tables B. C. 338, 2.

Philip and his march to execute the functions of his office, is wholly irreconcilable with the plain words of *Demosthenes*.

We may remark, in the third place, that, at the time of the extraordinary session of the Amphictyons at which *Cottyphus* was appointed general, *Philip* was absent in *Scythia*; but, at the following vernal session in which he was elected, we may collect that he had returned to *Macedonia*: for in the δόγμα of the Amphictyons[†] it is directed τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν ὑ' Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιούν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ.—But it is not likely that *Cottyphus* would have been sent upon such a mission, if *Philip* had been still in *Scythia*: ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος[‡]. An additional reason for concluding that his election to the office of Amphictyonic general occurred in the year of *Lysimachides*.

With respect to the date of *Philip's* letter, it is argued by *Taylor*[×] against *Corsini*, that this letter must have been written before the seizure of *Elatea*: consequently before the 12th or 13th *Sciophorion* B. C. 338. *Ante captam Elateam ad Peloponnesenses et socios literas dedit Philippus. Demosthenes enim disertissime scribit, eum, cum hæc scripserit, dissimulatis insidiis quas Græciæ struxerat, videri Amphictyonica mandata exsequentem. Atque eadem pariter ex literis ipsis Philippi colligimus.* But this does not invalidate the position of *Corsini*. The seizure of *Elatea* by the forces of *Philip* is undoubtedly represented by *Demosthenes*, whose object and policy it was to magnify that matter, as an act of open hostility; at least against *Athens*. But it is not to be supposed that *Philip* himself would acknowledge²⁹³ that measure to be any violation of his functions as Amphictyonic general. It would be a necessary step to cover the advance of his forces into *Phocis*. We may even discern in the very considerations urged by *Taylor* a reason for the publication of that letter after the

[†] Apud *Demosth.* p. 279.

[‡] So all the copies: but it is probable that we should read, from *Æschines* p. 71, 40. Κόττυφον τὸν Φαρσάλιον. *Reiske* ad *Æschin.* p. 519. has perceived the difficulty.

[×] According to *Æschines*, *Philip* was engaged in his *Scythian* expedition in the summer of B. C. 339. The testimony of *Æschines* confirms and verifies *Justin* in his account of that war, which he places immediately after the failure of *Philip* at *Byzantium*. We may collect the transactions of *Philip* in B. C. 339 to be these. He raised the sieges of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* in the spring, towards the close of the archonship of *Theophrastus* (see the Tables B. C. 339, 2); being repelled in that quarter by an *Athenian* force under *Phocion*: *Diod.* XVI. 77. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἔκριναν τὸν Φίλιππον λευκέναι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συντεθείσαν εἰρήνην, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικὴν ἀξιολογον ἐξέπεμψαν βοηθήσουσαν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις. *Plutarch.* *Phocion.* c. 14. ὁ δῆμος—ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον (τὸν Φωκίωνα) ἐτέραν προσλαβόντα δύναμιν βοηθεῖν τοῖς συμμάχοις εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον.—οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τότε καὶ κατεφρονήθη, δοκῶν ἄμαχός τις εἶναι καὶ ἀναναγώνιστος· ὁ δὲ Φωκίων καὶ ναῦς τινας εἶλεν αὐτοῦ. Disappointed in his

views at *Byzantium* and the *Hellespont*, he turned his arms against the *Scythians*, and advanced as far as the *Danube*: *Justin.* IX. 2. *Philippus, soluta obsidione Byzantii, Scythica bella aggreditur, præmissis legatis, quo securiores faceret, qui nuntient—dum Byzantium obsidet vovisse se statuum Herculi: ad quam in ostio Istri ponendam se venire.* In his return from this *Scythian* war, he engaged the *Triballi* and was wounded: *Justin.* IX. 3. *Revertenti ab Scythia Triballi Philippo occurrunt: hinc prælium.—ubi ex vulnere primum convalescit, diu dissimulatum bellum Atheniensibus infert.* These affairs occupied *Philip*, after he withdrew from the *Hellespont*, during the remainder of the year B. C. 339. Upon his failure at *Byzantium* he concluded a peace with the *Athenians* and their allies, which is mentioned by *Diodorus* XVI. 77. τὴν πολιορκίαν τῶν πόλεων ἔλυσε, καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας—συνέθετο τὴν εἰρήνην. *Diodorus* is confirmed by *Demosthenes* de *Cor.* p. 282. who produces a decree passed in the following spring, where this treaty is referred to: τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. During the existence of this peace, *Philip* prosecuted the war in *Scythia*.

[×] Ad *Demosth.* de *Cor.* p. 280. *Reisk.*

occupation of Elatea. A summons addressed at that juncture to the Amphictyonic states of Peloponnesus (for Athens and Thebes are not named in the requisition) was calculated to remove the impression, which might be made to his disadvantage by the hostile party, who represented the occupation of Elatea as a measure of violence and danger to all Greece; and to shew that he was proceeding in the exercise of his constitutional Amphictyonic powers ^γ. The emendation, then, of Corsini, which is otherwise founded upon substantial arguments, is rendered highly probable by the course of events.

Mitford supposes a winter to pass between the occupation of Elatea and the battle of Chæronea. His narrative supplies the following notes of time. After the occupation of Elatea ^z, he notices the negotiation with Thebes ^a; and then remarks, “^b It was already late “in autumn B. C. 338 Ol. 110. 3.”—“^c Two battles were fought, the latter not till winter “was already set in.”—“^d It was Philip’s business during the winter to assemble from the “confederated states a force sufficient for the support of their common cause.”—“^e In the “preceding autumnal campaign Stratocles had commanded the Athenian troops.” Then he mentions ^f the great and decisive battle. After the battle of Chæronea, “^g the winter passed “(B. C. 337 Ol. 110. 4) without any event.”—“^h In the next spring” (the spring of Ol. 110. 4), Philip caused a congress to be assembled at Corinth. The result of these dates will be, that the battle of Chæronea happened in the archonship of *Phrynichus*, about fourteen months after the occupation of Elatea, and less than a year before the death of Philip.

A single word in Demosthenes ⁱ has probably led Mr. Mitford to this arrangement: *δις συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν ΧΕΙΜΕΡΙΝΗΝ, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε.*—ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. And it must be confessed that the conclusion drawn from this passage derives support from the following passage of Plutarch ^k: *εἰσῆχθη ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφὴ κατὰ Κτησιφώντος, γραφεῖσα μὲν ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχontos μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῶν Χαιρωνικῶν.* That impeachment was instituted by Æschines in the *ninth* month of the archon *Chærondas* ^l: it would follow, then, that the battle, which was subsequent, occurred in the second month of the next archon, *Phrynichus*.

But, on the other hand, three writers, Dionysius of Halicarnassus ^m, the author of the *βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων* ⁿ, and Diodorus ^o, all concur in the year of *Chærondas* as the date. And this is confirmed by the orator Lycurgus ^p; who prosecuted Leocrates in the *eighth* year after his flight from Athens, which was subsequent to the battle of Chæronea. But that cause had already been determined at the time of the cause of the Crown, because the acquittal of 294 Leocrates is noticed by Æschines ^q: *ἕτερος δ' ἰδιώτης ἐκπλεύσας εἰς Ῥόδον, ὅτι τὸν φόβον ἀνάν-*

^γ Philip might justify himself by the position of Elatea. That town commanded the entrance into Phocis. Strabo IX. p. 418. A. marks its importance as a military position: *Ἑλάτεια—ἐπικαιροτάτη διὰ τὸ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς στενοῖς, καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἔχειν τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν.* It was distant about seven miles eastward from the point at which the road from *Thermopylae* to *Amphissa* crosses the Cephissus. *Cytinium*, one of the Dorian Tetrapolis, which Philip occupied at the same time (see the Tables B. C. 338, 2), might

be twice that distance westward from the same point.

^z Vol. VIII. p. 419.

^a P. 428.

^b P. 430. ^c P. 431.

^d P. 438.

^e P. 440. ^f P. 442. ^g P. 467. ^h P. 467.

ⁱ De Coron. p. 300.

^k Demosth. c. 24.

^l *Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχontos ἐλαφροβουλῶνος ἔκτη ἱσταμένον.* Demosth. de Coron. p. 243.

^m In Isocrat. p. 537.

ⁿ P. 837. E.

^o XVI. 84.

^p See the Tables B. C. 330, 3.

^q In Ctesiph. p. 89, 34.

δρως ἤνεγκε, πρώην ποτὲ εἰσηγγέλλθη, καὶ ἴσαι αὐτῶ αἱ ψῆφοι ἐγένοντο· εἰ δὲ μία μόνον μετέπεσεν, ὑπερώριστ' ἂν ἢ ἀπέθανεν. The impeachment, then, of Leocrates, since it preceded the cause of the Crown, must be placed in the close of the year of Aristophanes and of Olymp. 112. 2; which carries us back to the archonship of Chærondas for the date of the battle^r.

In the next place, the transactions recorded of that war will not justify the supposition of fourteen months between the march to Elatea and the decisive battle. Æschines^s, after mentioning the return of Philip from Scythia, and τὴν δευτέραν στρατείαν against the Amphisians, proceeds immediately to the circumstances of the battle as the next event: οὐ Δημοσθένης τὸ τελευταῖον ἀθύτων καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων ὄντων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὸν πρόδηλον κίνδυνον; He calls the march of the Athenian forces, (to which Demosthenes^t refers, ἐξῆγε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, κ. τ. λ.) their final expedition: τὴν πανυστάτην ἐξοδον. Plutarch^u describes the embassy to Thebes, and then speaks of the battle as the next occurrence. The biographer of the ten orators^x places the decisive battle immediately after Elatea: Φιλίππου Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβανομένου, καὶ αὐτὸς (ὁ Δημοσθένης) τοῖς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μαχεσαμένοις συνεξήλθε. Diodorus^y connects the two events in the same manner; placing both in the archonship of Chærondas. As it is frequently his practice to relate together transactions which made a part of the same campaign, although they did not fall within the same civil year, we may infer that Diodorus in the author whom he followed found the two events contiguous, and parts of the same campaign. And this is confirmed by his narrative. After mentioning the success of Demosthenes in the negotiation with Thebes, he proceeds^z—ὁ δῆμος τῇ τῶν Βοιωτῶν συμμαχίᾳ διπλασιάσας τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν δύναμιν—εὐθὺς στρατηγούς κατέστησε τοὺς περὶ Χάρητα καὶ Λυσικλέα^a, καὶ πανδημεὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. τῶν δὲ νέων ἀπάντων προθύμως εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα καταντώντων, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁδοιπορήσαντες ἦγον εἰς Χαιρώνειαν τῆς Βοιωτίας· οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ—ἀπήντησαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ κοινῇ στρατοπεδεύσαντες ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν πολέμιων ἐφοδον. Is it credible that Philip should remain with his army a whole year in Phocis, when nothing was transacted^b? or that the republics, with

^r If the text of Dionysius ad Amm. p. 746. were genuine,—Ἀριστοφάντος ἄρχοντος, ὁ γδῶφ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην ἔκτω δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν—it would be conclusive against the date of Mitford, which only leaves a year between Chæroneia and the death of Philip. But as this reading of the passage, however probable, is only a conjecture proposed by Bentley Diss. Phal. p. 528, I forbear to produce it as evidence.

^s In Ctesiph. p. 72.

^t De Cor. p. 299.

^v In Ctesiph. p. 88, 40.

^u Demosth. c. 18. 19.

^x Vit. X. or. p. 845. F.

^y XVI. 84.

^z C. 85.

^a Stratocles is mentioned as general by Æschin. in Ctes. p. 74, 8. Στρατοκλέα τὸν ἡμέτερον στρατηγόν, and by Polyænus IV. 2, 2. Φίλιππος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ παρατασσόμενος Ἀθηναίους, εἶξας ἐνέκλινε. στρατηγὸς Στρατοκλῆς ἐκβοήσας, κ. τ. λ. Wesseling ad Diod. XVI. 88, when he pronounced Polyænus guilty of error, overlooked this testimony of Æschines. But

the name of *Lysicles* is verified by the oration of Lycurgus against him. It is probable that both *Stratocles* and *Lysicles* were among the nine generals who were the colleagues of Chares. Mitford, in pursuance of his arrangement of this war, imagines (p. 440) that Stratocles had commanded in the preceding autumnal campaign. But it is manifest from Polyænus, that Stratocles was among the commanders on the day of Chæroneia.

^b Polyænus IV. 2, 8. mentions the occupation of Amphissa as a transaction of this war: Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσέων ἐστράτευεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τὰ στενὰ προκατελάβοντο.—ἐξαπατᾷ τοὺς πολέμιους Φίλιππος, ἐπιστολὴν πεπλασμένην Ἀντιπάτρῳ πέμψας εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ὥς τὴν μὲν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπ' Ἀμφισσείας ἀναβάλλοιτο σπεύδει δὲ εἰς Θράκην.—ὁ γραμματοφόρος διήει διὰ τῶν στενῶν. οἱ στρατηγοὶ, Χάρης καὶ Πρόξενος, αἰροῦσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνόντες πιστεύουσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν στενῶν ἀπολείπουσι. Φίλιππος δὲ—τῆς Ἀμφίσσης ἐκράτησε. But this event happened when Chares com-

295 their narrow revenues, would maintain their forces in the field through so long a period?

Mr. Mitford^c, indeed, supposes that the auxiliaries to the number of seventeen thousand, whom Demosthenes collected, were not obtained till after the treaty with Thebes; and that the exertions of Demosthenes for this purpose were made during the ensuing winter. But this is not warranted by ancient writers. Plutarch^d affirms the contrary: Βυζαντίους ἐβοήθησε καὶ Περικλοῖς (ὁ Δημοσθένης).—ἔπειτα πρεσβέων καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ παροξύνων συνέστησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον.—ἐπηρμένης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, καὶ συνισταμένων κατ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις Εὐβοέων, Ἀχαιῶν, Κορινθίων, Μεγαρέων, Λευκαδίων, Κερκυραίων, ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο τῷ Δημοσθένει τῶν ἀγόνων Θηβαίους προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ συμμαχίᾳ^e. The auxiliaries, then, from these states were prepared before, and the alliance with Thebes was the last point accomplished.

I therefore conclude that the actions mentioned by Demosthenes were partial encounters, and preludes to the general action. The decisive battle was fought fifty days^f after the news arrived at Athens of Philip's entrance into Phocis. Within this period occurred the capture of Amphissa, and the two engagements designated by Demosthenes as τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ and τὴν ἐν χειμερινῇ. These two encounters would happen in the neighbourhood of Chæronea. Whether the date of Plutarch in the passage already quoted, in which he makes the battle subsequent to the ninth month of Chærondas, is to be imputed to negligence, or whether we are to conclude with Corsini^h that Chærondas there mentioned is an *archon pseudonymus*, will occur for inquiry hereafterⁱ.

I have argued against Corsini and Taylor that Philip was not appointed general at the spring Amphictyonic meeting of B. C. 339, and against Mitford that no winter intervened between the occupation of Elatea and the battle of Chæronea. Mr. Boeckh agrees in these propositions, but differs from me in one particular. I have placed the appointment of Philip at the spring of B. C. 338, and have adopted the conjecture of Corsini, who substitutes Ἐκατομβαιῶνος for Βοηδρομιῶνος in Philip's letter; Mr. Boeckh places the appointment in the autumnal meeting preceding, and retains Βοηδρομιῶνος in that letter of Philip. Mr. Kruger

manded the Athenian troops; and consequently, by Mr. Mitford's Chronology Vol. VIII. p. 440, a year would have already passed before the occupation of Amphissa.

^c Vol. VIII. p. 438. ^d Demosth. c. 17.

^e Diodorus, indeed, XVI. 84. imagines that the Athenians were unprepared, and taken by surprise: Φίλιππος ἐφίλοσιμείτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταπληξάμενος ἀδρήριον ἔχειν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. διόπερ ἄφνω καταλαβόμενος Ἐλάτειαν πόλιν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς ταύτην ἀθροίσας διέγνω πολεμεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ἀπαρασκεύων δ' ὄντων αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν συντεθειμένην εἰρήνην, ἥλπιζε ῥαδίως περιποιήσασθαι τὴν νίκην. We know from the orators that this was not the fact. Four months before the occupation of Elatea, the Athenians had refused to concur with the other Amphictyons in the election of Philip; and three months before, it is manifest from a decree (preserved by Demosthenes p. 282) that they already regarded him as an adversary.

^f Let those, who incline to think that the

space of fifty days between the 15th Scirophorion and the 7th Metagitnion is an interval too short for this war, call to mind the narrow limits of the field of action. Elatea was about 43 English miles from Thebes, 78 from Athens, and 23 from Amphissa. The road from Athens and Thebes to Elatea was through Chæronea; which was distant from Thebes about 27 English miles, from Elatea 16, and from Athens 62. Let the duration of the renewed French war in 1815 be compared. A war of infinitely greater importance, in which far greater forces were collected from far more distant points. And yet that war was terminated in three months after its commencement.

^g The word χειμερινῇ is probably corrupt; perhaps capable of another interpretation. Corsini Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 146. suspects the word; although his conjectural emendation is not fortunate. Reiske renders χειμερινῇ by *procellosam*.

^h Fast. Attic. tom. I. p. 310. 359.

ⁱ See c. 20. of this Appendix.

gives his argumentⁱⁱ to the following effect : *Mensis quo Philippus in epistola apud Demosthenem convenire jubet sic definitur : τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Λόφου ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι Βοηδρομιώνος. Μὴν ἐνεστῶς est mensis instans, proximus ei qui agitur, ut Corp. Inscr. N^o. 1543 extr. neque alio ac Metagitnionē mense posse hanc epistolam scriptam esse docet rerum nexūs statim afferendarum. Ceterum rejectis Corsini rationibus Boëdromionē Hecatombæonem substitui cupientis et mensem hunc Ol. 110. 3 tribuentis Taylorus Boëdromionem Ol. 110. 2 intelligit verissime. Boëdromio vero quomodo Macedonico Loo responderit docui in Comm. de Dem. Mid. Conf. Introd. Bæot. cap. III. in Corp. Inscr. Gr. Sed temerariam Corsini conjecturam sequitur Clintonus p. 148. 289. propterea quod Philippus Anthesterionē Ol. 110. 2 imperator Amphictyonum creatus sit, ea vero epistola postea debeat scripta esse : unde jam colligitur non potuisse epistolam illam mense ante Boëdromionem Ol. 110. 2 proximo scriptam esse. Sic coactus fuit in epistolam Philippi Hecatombæonem Ol. 110. 3 intrudere. Erroris vero causa est quod Philippum dicit in verna Pylæa Anthesterionē Ol. 110. 2 Amphictyonum esse imperatorem constitutum : quo mense, sed Ol. 110. 1, Pylagoras electus est Æschines, non imperator creatus Philippus. Quod ubi tenueris, facile tantos compones fluctus. Ol. 110. 1 archonte Theophrasto, Anthesterionē ad vernam Pylæam proficiscitur Æschines, et in ea Pylæa fit decretum Amphictyonum prius de ulciscendis Amphissensibus. Sed Philippus proxima insequente Pylæa (εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν Dem. de Cor. p. 277) imperator constitutus est, hoc est, in autumnali Pylæa Ol. 110. 2 Metagitnionē mense, quo ὀπώρας tempestas est. Tum scriptum est alterum Amphictyonum decretum, Æschine etiam tum Pylagora, eodem anno Amphictyónico, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειωγόρου. Quod sequitur, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, id patet facili mutatione corrigendum esse ὀπωρινῆς Πυλαίας. Jam missi confestim ad Philippum legati ; et Philippus semper paratus in proximum Boëdromionem convocat socios Peloponnesiacos, quod Thebani non obtemperabant. Moram tamen huic festinationi injectam esse probabile est, quum fortasse non convenissent socii, ut Elei omnino non paruerunt Philippo neque ad Chæroneam depugnarunt in illius sociis : Pausan. V. 4. Attamen Philippus non interea nihil egit, sed jam incipiente proximo vere, postquam per hiemem sese videtur magis parasse, plures urbes cepit et vastavit, qua de re Athenienses in decreto mense Elaphebolionē scripto conqueruntur. Mox, paucis mensibus post, Scirophorionē Elateam occupat. His non obsunt verba Demosthenis p. 278. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς ὁ Φίλιππος δύναμιν συλλέξας κ. τ. λ. Atque hæc necessario sic statuenda sunt, quod neque in Philippi epistola Boëdromio in Hecatombæonem mutari potest nec Philippi epistola in primos menses Ol. 110. 3 differri, bello jam Metagitnionis 7^o confecto : ut proinde socios in Boëdromionem demum convocare non potuerit. Quid quod illa Philippi epistola cum ea erat simulatione scripta, velle sese adversus Amphissenses pugnare non contra Thebanos et Athenienses ? At hoc Ol. 110. 3 ne exeunte quidem Hecatombæone simulare potuit ; quod jam ante pugnam Chæronensem duo cum Atheniensibus prælia commisit, quorum alterum est ἡ χειμερινὴ μάχη dictum, non quia hieme pugnatum sit sed quod die procelloso, alterum ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ob quæ quum Athenis sint pompæ diis habitæ patet ea certe jam exeunte Hecatombæone accidisse. His de caussis etiam verba Demosthenis ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θεβαῖοι non possunt ad ea referri quæ post captam Elateam acta sunt (Dem. p. 291 Diod. XVI. 85), sed ad illud tempus quod paulo ante diximus pertinent, eodemque referuntur verba Philippi in Epistola ad Thebanos Dem. p. 284. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνω-*

ⁱⁱ At the end of this chapter p. 307. ed. Lips. Hic subjiciam quæ Boeckhius in dissertatione de archontibus pseudonymis de his rebus disputavit

p. 13 sq. KR. This dissertation I have not been able to procure.

σκοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. ex quibus intelligitur jam ante Ol. 110. 2 extr. per aliquod tempus alienatos a Philippo Thebanos esse deinde cum illo in gratiam redisse priusquam cum Atheniensibus societatem inirent. Postremo Philippi epistolam qua socios ad bellum Amphissense convocavit ante captam Elateam scriptam esse colligimus e Demosthene p. 278. ubi ejus πάροδος ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιββάλαν ac proinde Amphissensis belli incipiendi consilium ante captam Elateam ponitur. Nec si Philippum vere demum Ol. 110. 2 in verna Pylæa creatum imperatorem dices, conciliari res possunt. Æschines enim jam Ol. 110. 1 pylagoras creatus est; quæ electio quum in Anthesterionem referenda sit exactus Æschinis annus ante vernam Pylæam Ol. 110. 2 erat: et tamen is, quum Philippus dux fieret, fuit pylagoras. Nunc ne me quis in disputatione paullo intricatiore secus ac volo intelligat, tabulam addam temporum.

Archon Theophrastus Ol. 110. 1.

Anthest. 16^o pylagoras creatur Æschines.

Pylæa verna habetur paullo post, et fit prius adversus Amphissenses decretum, anno Amphictyonico fere incipiente.

Archon Lysimachides Ol. 110. 2.

Sub autumnum, Metagitnion mense incipit Pylæa autumnalis sex fere mensibus post priorem quam dixi Pylæam.

In hac Æschine adhuc pylagora Philippus dux constituitur. Thebani non obtemperant.

Eodem mense socios convocat Philippus ad bellum Amphissense ut convenient in proximum mensem Boëdromionem.

Philippus, ut conjicio, copias parat per hiemem.

Sub ver, mense fere Anthesterione, exit Clinagoræ et Æschinis annus Amphictyonicus.

Eodem fere tempore vel mense insecuto Elaphebolione, complures urbes capit et vastat Philippus, &c.

In what follows there is no difference between us.

The assumption of *Metagitnion* for the date of *Philip's* appointment and of *Philip's* letter makes the preceding interval too short, and the space which follows too long, for the events recorded. The period which follows is too long, because we hear no more of *Philip* till *Elaphebolion*. After his appointment an interval of eight months passes of complete inaction, for which Mr. Boeckh has not accounted; which is contrary to the known activity of *Philip*—*Philippus semper paratus*—and completely adverse to the expression of Demosthenes, *μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς*. But if the spring of B. C. 338 is assumed as the date, all the transactions are consistent and natural. He is appointed in February; he is in action in March (*Elaphebolion*); he occupies Elatea in June (*Scirophorion*); he requires the forces to meet him in July (*Hecatombeon*). Mr. Boeckh puts aside the expression *εὐθύς* in Demosthenes. But that expression does not stand alone. It is confirmed by others. The short interval which precedes *Metagitnion* is still more at variance with the facts. In Mr. Boeckh's Table the next event to the spring meeting in *Anthesterion* Ol. 110. 1 is the autumnal meeting six months after. But between these many transactions occurred, which Mr. Boeckh here passes

over in silence, but which are detailed in my Appendix^k. The vernal session was held at the end of *Anthesterion*. After that vernal session, with some intervening space, an extraordinary session was held. After that extraordinary session *Cottyphus* led an expedition, fined the refractory, and appointed a stated time for payment. After that stipulated time had elapsed^l, *Philip* was elected general. The space allotted by Mr. Boeckh is too short for all these occurrences. Nor will τῆς ἐπιούσης πνλαίας in Demosthenes determine the election to the autumnal meeting, for he is there arrived at a point of time when the transactions directed by *Cottyphus* had ceased: which will bring it down to the autumn, and beyond the period of the autumnal session. Hence, "the next meeting" will there imply the meeting in the spring. Moreover *Philip* was engaged in Scythia during the campaign of 339.¹¹ But in the spring of that year he was still at Byzantium; and afterwards penetrated to the Danube. Now it is not likely, especially as he was wounded in his return, that he should have reached Greece within the month *Metagitnion*, which ended in that year on the 5th of September. It is argued, that if the letter of *Philip* had referred to *Hecatombæon* 338 he could not have concealed his intention of fighting the Athenians, because the two actions, ἡ χειμερινὴ μάχη, and ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, occurred in that month. But, if those engagements occurred at the end of *Hecatombæon*, the letter might still have been written at the beginning. Mr. Boeckh, however, himself removes all difficulty here by his interpretation of ἐνεστῶτος, for that interpretation would determine that the letter was written in the preceding month: written therefore in *Scirophorion*. All these particulars—the course of events before the election—the course of events after it—the term μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς—are further confirmed by the expression in the text of Demosthenes ἐαρινῆς πνλαίας, marking the appointment of *Philip* in the spring: and this word ἐαρινῆς, being consistent with the other facts already mentioned, I should not be inclined to alter upon conjecture into ὁπωρινῆς.

The emendation of Corsini is founded on the consideration that *Boëdromion* never could concur with *Loüs*. Mr. Boeckh argues^m that this might happen from the variation produced

^k See above p. 291. They are enumerated by Mr. Boeckh himself on another occasion: Corp. Inscr. Gr. p. 809. b. *Resistentibus Locris bellum adversus illos Amphictyonicum decretum est et post primam expeditionem multa imposita: quam quum non solverent, Philippo Macedoni mandatum bellum est.*

^l A time was allowed by law for payment of an Amphictyonic fine: Diod. XVI. 29. τὴν δίκην οὐκ ἐκτινύντων κατὰ τὸν ὀρισμένον ἐκ τῶν νόμων καιρὸν. This legal time of course was allowed upon this occasion.

¹¹ See p. 291. and 292. u.

^m Boeckh. Introd. Bæot. cap. III. Corp. Inscr. Gr. p. 734. b. *Variorum populorum menses qui sibi secundum legitimos annorum cardines respondent non quovis conveniunt anno nisi cycli intercalationum utrique populo idem sit. Ubi differunt cycli, altero populo prius intercalante mensem dum non intercalat alter, eorum qui non intercalant mensis certus cedit jam in eum mensem alterorum*

qui præcedit illum cui vulgo respondet certus iste mensis. Sic Panamus Bæoticus, Atticis Metagitnion, haud dubie non diversus est a Corinthiorum et Macedonum Panamo, licet Corinthiorum Panamus a Philippo in epistola æquiparetur Macedonico Loo et Attico Boëdromioni; quippe hoc illo tantum anno Ol. 110. 2 acciderat, et solebat accidere quoties differebant illi cycli: mensem nondum intercalant Macedones et Athenienses, intercalant jam Corinthii: igitur Loüs Macedonicus post Panamum Macedonicum proximus et Boëdromion Atticus post Metagitnionem proximus concurrat jam cum Corinthio Panamo, cui vulgo respondebat Panamus Macedonicus et Metagitnion Atticus. And yet Mr. Boeckh in another place, Inscr. Gr. Addend. p. 904. b. denies that in B. C. 479, before the Metonic correction of the Calendar, when the Attic year was yet irregular, the 27th of Panamus could fall upon the 3rd of Boëdromion: Pugnam Plataicam Plutarchus secundum Athenienses perhibet 3^o vel 4^o Boëdromionis incipientis pugnatam esse,

by different periods of intercalation. But the variation from this cause would have its limits. The lunar year fell annually back eleven days; the intercalary month carried it eighteen or nineteen days forward. From this fluctuation *Loüs* would sometimes be thrown back upon *Sciophorion*, and sometimes brought forward to *Metagitnion*: but no part of *Loüs* could be carried down into the third month *Boëdromion*. Nor would it satisfy the difficulty if the last days of *Loüs* had concurred with the first days of *Boëdromion*: for by the interpretation of *ἐνεστῶτος* the beginning of the month is implied. But even the last days of *Loüs* could not reach *Boëdromion*. We will assume that *Loüs* in this year was brought down to the lowest possible date in the Macedonian Calendar. The Macedonian year began with *Dius* at the new moon nearest to the autumnal equinox Sept. 29. The lowest possible date, then, for the 1st of *Dius* would be Oct. 28. This would make July 31 the lowest possible date for the 1st of *Loüs*, the tenth month of the preceding year; and the last day of *Loüs* might be Aug. 30. But as the intercalary month was interposed between *Loüs* of the intercalary year and *Dius* of the year following, throwing back the last day of *Loüs* 30 days farther from Oct. 28th than August 30th, the lowest date for *Loüs* would occur not in the intercalary year itself but in the year which followed^{mm}; and when *Dius* commenced on Oct. 28, *Loüs* would terminate on the 18th of August. But we know that in Ol. 110. 2 *Boëdromion* began Sept. 6. If, then, *Loüs* had been brought down to the lowest possible point, the last day of *Loüs* would have fallen upon Aug. 18=12 *Metagitnion*, and no part of *Loüs* could have touched upon *Boëdromion*; and Corsini on this account, not rashly but reasonably, in my opinion, rejected *Βοηδρομιῶνος* and substituted *Ἐκατομβαιῶνος*.

Mr. Boeckh supposes that *Æschines* and *Clinagoras* each held office a year; that they both entered office in *Anthesterion* Ol. 110. 1 B. C. 339, and both quitted it in *Anthesterion* Ol. 110. 2 B. C. 338. I apprehend an error in this proposition. Dodwell Diss. p. 239 and Corsini F. A. tom. II. p. 437—444 had imagined that the Delphian year began in the spring. They supposed that the *Pythia* were celebrated in spring in the month *Bysius*, and they conjectured that month of the Pythian games to be the beginning of the Delphian year. But, as the *Pythia* were neither celebrated in the spring nor in the month *Bysius*, their inference is without foundation. *Bysius* was in the beginning of spring, and belonged to the second half of the Delphian yearⁿ. But if the second half of the year was already commenced in the beginning of spring, the first had already commenced in the beginning of autumn. Mr. Boeckhⁿⁿ for this reason justly rejects the account of Dodwell, and thinks it likely that the Delphian year began at the summer solstice: *Nihil est probabilius quam Delphici anni initium concinuisse cum initio Attici ac proinde Olympici anni*. The Delphian year, then, commenced in the summer: consequently the autumnal Amphictyonic session was the first in each year, and the vernal was the second. There were two Amphictyonic sessions in the year, one at Thermopylæ and one at Delphi°. But the vernal session was at Delphi:

sed secundum Bæotos 4° Panami exeuntis: qui dies quum, contra quam Plutarchus putat, non potuerint congruere, Plutarchum jam olim monui diem pugnae ex diebus solemniis indicasse. To this opinion I do not assent.

^{mm} See F. H. III. p. 363. v.

ⁿ See above c. 1. p. 201=249.

ⁿⁿ P. 814. b.

° The two places of session and the two seasons are marked by Libanius tom. III. p. 430. *ἐμοὶ μὲν μὴ γένοιτο τὴν Πυλαίαν μὴ Δελφοὺς ἰδεῖν*—*σκοτεινὸν μὲν τὸ ἔαρ ἀτερπὲς δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον*. He refers to Delphi again Ibid. p. 403. 2. 421. 16. 425. 22. and to Thermopylæ p. 425. 11. Strabo IX. p. 420. *συνήεσαν τε βραδίως ἐκείσε (εἰς τοὺς Δελφοὺς) μάλιστα δ' οἱ ἐγγύθεν*· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ Ἀμφικτυο-

Æschin. p. 70. Demosth. p. 278. Confirmed by Inscript. Gr. Boeckh. N°. 1694 p. 823. ἐπὶ Ἀρισταγόρα ἀρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς πυλαίας ἡρινῆς, ἱερομνημονούντων Αἰτωλῶν, Πολεμάρχου κ. τ. λ. The session, then, at Thermopylæ was held in autumn. And this is implied in Æschines p. ψηφίζονται ἡκεῖν τοὺς ἱερομνημόνας πρὸ τῆς ἐπιούσης Πυλαίας ἐν ῥητῷ χρόνῳ εἰς Πύλας.—(Δημοσθένης) κωλύει εἰς τὸν σύλλογον τὸν ἐν Πύλαις ἀπαντᾶν, ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐμελλε χρόνου γίνεσθαι. The spring meeting had been held at Delphi; the next autumnal meeting would have been at Thermopylæ, where this extraordinary meeting, which was in anticipation of the regular autumnal session, was accordingly ordered to assemble. And hence we may explain Theophrast. Hist. Plant. IX. 10, 2. ὁ δὲ ἐλλέβορος ὁ λευκὸς—ὥραϊος μετοπώρου, τοῦ δ' ἥρος ἄωρος· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν πυλαίαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς Οἰτῆς συλλέγουσι· πλείστος γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄριστος γίνεται. Schneider⁹ finds an ambiguity: *Tempus conventus duplex fuit, vernum et autumnale. At si verno et autumnno fuit conventus Pylaicus celebratus, inepte tempus colligendi hellebori significavit Theophrastus verbis* πρὸς τὴν πυλαίαν. But there is no ambiguity if we remember that the session at Thermopylæ was in autumn. This commodity was gathered on the adjacent mountain, and brought down to Thermopylæ for sale, when a multitude was annually collected there for traffic and for other purposes⁹⁹ at the proper season for gathering the plant. The session, then, at Thermopylæ in the autumn was in the first six months of the year, and the session at Delphi in the spring was in the second. Hence perhaps Thermopylæ is named first: Pausan. VII. 24, 3.—ἀθροίζεται, καθότι ἐς Θερμοπύλας τε καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. Æschin. p. 71. τοὺς Πυλαγόρους πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων. Inscr. Gr. Boeckh. N°. 1689 p. 816. ὑπηρετῶν τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι ἐν Πύλαις καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς. Now if Clinagoras the Amphictyonic ἱερεὺς, who presided at the vernal session of Ol. 110. 1, held his office a year, he had already presided at the preceding autumnal session, and the autumnal meeting of Ol. 110. 2 would fall within another year. The name, then, of Clinagoras in that second edict in Demosth. p. 278 will not fix it to the autumn more than to the spring. Æschines is elected Pythagoras at the second meet-

νικὸν σύστημα ἐκ τούτων συνετάχθη περὶ τε τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσόμενον καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔξον κοινοτέρων.—τὰ πάλοι μὲν οὖν ἀγνοεῖται. Ἀκρίσιος δὲ τῶν μνημονευομένων πρῶτος διατάζει δοκεῖ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ πόλεις ἀφορίσαι τὰς μεθεξούσας τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ ψήφον ἐκάστη δοῦναι κ. τ. λ.—αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται δώδεκα συνελθεῖν λέγονται πόλεις· ἐκάστη δ' ἔπεμπε Πυλαγόραν, δις κατ' ἔτος οὗσης τῆς συνόδου, ἑαρός τε καὶ μετοπώρου—τὴν δὲ σύνοδον Πυλαίαν ἐκάλοιον τὴν μὲν ἑαρινὴν τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινὴν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Πύλαις συνήγοντο ἅς καὶ Θερμοπύλας καλοῦσιν· ἔθνον δὲ τῇ Δημητρὶ οἱ Πυλαγόροι. Schol. Eur. Orest. 1087. Ἀκρίσιος κατὰ ζῆλον τοῦ Ἀμφικτυονικοῦ συνεδρίου, ὃ κατεστήσατο Ἀμφικτύων ὁ Δευκαλίωνος ἐν Θερμοπύλαις τῆς Θεσσαλίας, ἕτερον ἐν Δελφοῖς κατεστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀναλαβὼν τὰς συνόδους ἀντὶ μιᾶς δύο πεποίηκε, καὶ νόμους ἔθετο καθ' οὓς ἐμελλον ἕκαστα διοικεῖν, ἀτελείων τε προεῖπεν ἐφ' ἑκατέραις ταῖς συνόδοις, καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν Δελφῶν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἐπέτρεψε. Amphictyon and Acrisius are also both named by Libanius l. c. p. 427. 5. The session at Thermopylæ is marked by

Herodotus VII. 200. Sophocles Trachin. 639. et Schol. ad loc. Hesychius v. Πυλαγόροι repeated by Gl. Victor. ad Aristoph. Nub. 624. : πυλαία ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς Πύλας, τὰς Θερμοπύλας, γινομένη σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτύωνων. Harpocr. v. Ἀμφικτύονες. συνέδριον Ἑλληνικόν, συναγόμενον ἐν Θερμοπύλαις. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἥτοι ἀπὸ Ἀμφικτύονος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, ὅτι αὐτὸς συναγαγε τὰ ἔθνη βασιλεύων, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν ὁγδόῃ—ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιοίκους εἶναι τῶν Δελφῶν τοὺς συναχθέντας, ὥς Ἀναξιμένης ἐν πρώτῃ Ἑλληνικῶν. Partly repeated by Suidas. Harpocr. v. Πύλαι. ὅτι τις ἐγένετο σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτύωνων εἰς Πύλας Ὑπερίδης τε ἐν ἐπιταφίῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ εἰρήκασιν.

p. P. 71.

⁹ Ad loc. p. 760.

⁹⁹ That a large assembly was annually collected at the Amphictyonic session at Thermopylæ is attested by Hesychius v. Πυλατίδες ἀγοραί (commenting on Soph. Trachin. 639). ὅπου συνίασιν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Πυλαίαν ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει.

ing for the last six months of the year : whence we may collect that his office was only for six months, analogous to the period of the Delphian senators, two of whom were in office for the first six months : τὰν πρῶταν ἐξάμηνον—Inser. Gr. Boeckh. N°. 1705. a. 1706. 1709. and two others for τὰν δευτέραν ἐξάμηνον—N°. 1699. 1700. 1704. Nor is it implied by Æschines himself^r that he was still Pylagoras when *Philip* was elected : nor by Demosthenes^s ; by whom οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι are mentioned. *Clinagoras* the Amphictyonic ἱερεὺς was an Hieromnemon. But the Hieromnemones held their office for life^t : οὐδεὶς ἱστορήσε κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἱερομνήμονα εἶναι τὸν Ὑπέρβολον. οὐδέπω γὰρ διέπρεπε, Κλέωνος ἔτι ζῶντος. *Cleon* therefore was Hieromnemon for life°. And this is confirmed by Æschines^{oo} : ἱερομνήμονος ὄντος Διογνήτου Ἀναφλυστίου, πυλαγόρους ὑμεῖς εἴλεσθε Μειδίαν τε καὶ Θρασυκλέα καὶ τρίτον δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἐμέ. The Hieromnemon was already in office when these Pylagoræ were elected. Again P : τὸν ἱερομνήμονα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ τοὺς πυλαγόρους τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας. The difference in the description implies a difference in the tenure of these offices. The expression in the one case simply τὸν ἱερομνήμονα, and in the other τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας, “the Pylagoræ for the time being,” will here mark that the Pylagoræ held their office for a limited term, which was not so limited in the case of the Hieromnemon. But if the Hieromnemones were appointed for life, the Amphictyonic ἱερεὺς, who was one of them, might also hold his office for life, or at least for a longer term than a year : and this will explain why the name of *Clinagoras* appears in two edicts, which according to any interpretation belonged to two different years. In a later time the Delphian archon of the year was prefixed to Amphictyonic edicts, instead of the ἱερεὺς : Inser. Gr. Boeckh. N°. 1689. ἐπὶ Νικοδάμου ἄρχοντος. N°. 1694. ἐπὶ Ἀρισταγόρα ἄρχοντος. N°. 1705. ἄρχοντος Νικοδάμου. But if the office of ἱερεὺς was not annual, they might prefix the Delphic archon instead of the Amphictyonic ἱερεὺς, in order the better to mark the date by the name of an annual magistrate.

In the Tables B. C. 338 I have supposed the date ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἑκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ in Demosth. p. 279 to mark the day of the second edict. I now agree with Corsini and Mr. Boeckh that it refers solely to the day of the election of Æschines at Athens. *Demosthenes*, to increase the charge against his adversary, has there laid together the two edicts, although passed in different years, and then subjoins, λέγε δὴ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. He gives the date of the election of Æschines, which coincides with the period of the first edict ; and he considers the second edict to grow out of the first, and to be the consequence of the policy of Æschines^q.

^r P. 71.

^s At p. 277.

^t Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 624.

^o Corsini Notæ Græcor. p. CXIV. quoting this passage of the Scholiast overlooked this expression when he inferred that the office of Hieromnemon was annual : *Pylagoras, Hieromnemones, quotannis eligi consuevisse, quamvis id a nullo observetur, ex Aristophane tamen Nub. 623., λαχὼν Ὑπέρβολος τῆτες ἱερομνημονεῖν, non obscure colligi vel inferri posse putaverim.* But that passage occurs in a *parabasis* written (or revised) after the death of *Cleon* : conf. v. 553. 582—587. *Hyperbolicus*, then, was appointed after the death of his predecessor. The Scholiast, not knowing that this pas-

sage was added after the death of *Cleon*, and referring it to the date of the second edition of the *Nubes* B. C. 422, when *Cleon* was still living, naturally remarked οὐπω διέπρεπε.

From the expression λαχὼν we learn that the Hieromnemon was chosen by lot ; but the Pylagoras was elected by the vote of the people : χειροτονηθείς Æschin. p. 69.

^{oo} P. 70.

^p P. 71. Repeated Ibid. τὸν ἱερομνήμονα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πολ. τοὺς ἀεὶ πυλαγοροῦντας.

^q We may observe that the expression κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους does not mark the date precisely, but will signify “near” or “about” the time.

XVII.

296

KINGS OF LYDIA.

THE years of the KINGS of LYDIA, from GYGES to CRÆSUS, are thus stated by Herodotus.

	Y.
1. Gyges	38 ^a
2. Ardys	49 ^b
3. Sadyattes	12 ^c
4. Alyattes	57 ^d
5. Cræsus	14 ^e
	<hr/> 170

Dionysius of Halicarnassus^f computes two hundred and forty years before B. C. 479, including that year, as the era of the accession of *Gyges*: which will give B. C. 718 for the first year of *Gyges* and B. C. 548 for the last year of *Cræsus*. In another passage^g he has a different number: 'Ἡρόδοτος ἀπὸ τῆς Λυδῶν βασιλείας ἀρξάμενος—διεξελθὼν τε πράξεις Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἔτεσιν ὁμοῦ διακοσίοις καὶ εἴκοσι γενομέναις ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἡπείροις, καὶ παραγράφας τῆς Ξέρξου φυγῆς τὴν ἱστορίαν, κ. τ. λ.—Whence some have proposed^h to correct in the other passage τεσσαράκοντα into εἴκοσι. But, since Dionysius is here speaking of the Lydian kingdom as it is described by Herodotus, he certainly never could have meant to express the beginning of that kingdom by 220 + 478, or B. C. 698, because that would bring the capture of *Cræsus* down to B. C. 528, when *Cambyses* was king of Persia. The shorter number, then, is to be corrected by the larger; and for εἴκοσι we must read τεσσαράκοντα. Dionysius, then, dated the commencement of this dynasty B. C. 718.

Some historians, however, brought the dates of the Lydian kingdom lower. Ἰσωικράτης δέ φησι πρότερον Κροίσου τελευτῆσαι Περίανδρον ἔτεσι τετταράκοντα καὶ ἐνὶ πρὸ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐνάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. According to this computation, the overthrow of *Cræsus* (for of this we must suppose *Sosicrates* to speak) happened forty years later than Olymp. 48. 4 B. C. 585. And we obtain B. C. 585—40=B. C. 545 for the capture of Sardis; B. C. 559 for the accession of *Cræsus*; and B. C. 715 for the accession of *Gyges*.

But the accounts of the time of *Gyges* are various. Tatian^k places him near the 23d Olympiad [B. C. 688]: ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίλοχος ἤκμασε περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστήν, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδόν. B. C. 688 would coincide with the twenty-eighth year of *Gyges*, and *Archilochus* might flourish in the latter part of his reign. Clemens^l however places the beginning of his

^a Herodot. I. 14.^b I. 16.^c Ibid.^d I. 25.^e I. 86.^f See the Tables B. C. 546, 2.^g Tom. VI. p. 773. Reiske.^h Scaliger Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 79. adapts the numbers of Dionysius to the chronology of Eusebius by reading ρκ'. *Locum Dionysii*

[tom. VI. p. 820] corruptum esse fidem fecerit alius ejusdem, in qua ρκ' legitur.

ⁱ Laërt. I. 95.^k Or. ad Græcos p. 109. Repeated by Eusebius Præp. X. 11. p. 492. C.^l Strom. I. p. 327. B.

reign in the 18th Olympiad: κατὰ Γύγην, ὃς βασιλεύειν ἤρξατο ἀπὸ τῆς ὀκτωκαδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. And Pliny^m has preserved the same date: *Duo de vicesima Olympiade interiūt Can- daules; aut, ut quidam tradunt, eodem anno quo Romulus.* The latter date of Pliny has
297 been noticed in the Tablesⁿ. His former date, which is the date of Clemens, would bring down the commencement of *Gyges* to B. C. 708; and, if we compute with Herodotus one hundred and seventy years for the duration of the dynasty, would give B. C. 538 for the capture of Sardis.

The Parian Marble mentions the Lydian kings in three passages: N°. 36. ἀφ' οὗ Ἀ Λυδ σιλευσ ΔΔΔΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοκλέους. N°. 42. ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος . . . Ἀσίλας . . . Δελφο . . . ἂ ΔΔΔΔΙΙ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν δημοῦ. N°. 43. ἀφ' οὗ Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σάρδεις ἔλαβε καὶ Κροῖσον ὑπο ἡς σφαλ —. Corsini^o infers that the first of these epochs records a date equivalent to B. C. 605 for the accession of *Alyattes*; that the second places the beginning of the reign of *Cræsus* in B. C. 556; and that the third supplies B. C. 542 as the true date of the capture of Sardis. We may, with Larcher^p, justly object to Corsini that he has not distinguished between what was legible on the Marble and what was supplied by the conjectures of its editors. In epoch 36 we can only guess the number to be 341, equivalent to B. C. 605. In epoch 42 the Marble did not mention the accession of *Cræsus* but the consultation of the oracle. As the number in epoch 43 is wholly obliterated, Corsini is reasoning without a foundation, when he supposes Olymp. 59² B. C. 542 to be the true date of the capture of Sardis, because a corresponding number is expressed by the Marble. Nothing now exists on that monument to countenance the later dates for the reign of *Cræsus*.

We cannot know that all those, who placed *Gyges* at the 18th Olympiad, followed Herodotus in the duration of the five reigns^q. What their date, therefore, was for the end of the Lydian monarchy cannot be safely assumed. The Marble affirms nothing in its present mutilated state. The only ancient testimonies, then, for the date of that event are *Dionysius*, *Sosicrates*, *Solinus* (quoted in the Tables B. C. 546, 2), and *Eusebius*; who all concur in placing the capture of Sardis within Olymp. 58.^r The variation in the chronology of the reign of *Cræsus* is only of two or three years at the most.

But, although *Cræsus* reigned only fourteen years, yet it seems probable that he was associated in the government by his father; as Larcher^s argues at large. And Wesseling^t has concisely but clearly pointed out a strong argument to this purpose in Herodotus himself. During this period of joint government many of those things might have been transacted, which are ascribed to *Cræsus king* of Lydia. 1. According to Herodotus^v he received advice

^m Hist. Nat. XXXV. 8.

ⁿ B. C. 546, 2.

^o Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 66. 104. 113.

^p Hérodote tom. VII. p. 207.

^q Authors differed as to the number of years assigned to this dynasty. Eusebius in Chron. makes its duration 153 years. He has the following dates p. 323—333 ed. Armen.

Ol.	B. C.	ann.
20. 3.	698	<i>Gyges</i> 36
29. 3.	662	<i>Ardys</i> 38

Ol.	B. C.	ann.
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39. 1.	624	<i>Sadyattes</i> 15
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42. 4.	609	<i>Alyattes</i> 49
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55. 1.	560	<i>Cræsus</i> 15
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^r Eusebius in Hieronymi Chron. ed. Pontaci places it one year higher: Ol. 57. 4 *Cyrus Sardes capit.* But in the Armenian copy p. 333 at Ol. 58. 3 anno 1470.

^s In his note to Herodot. I. 27.

^t Ad Herodot. I. 30.

^v I. 27.

from Pittacus, who died in B.C. 570. an argument adduced by Larcher. 2. Alemæon received presents from Cræsus, in the generation before the marriage of Agaristê daughter of Clisthenes of Sicyon^u. But the dynasty of which Clisthenes was the last reigned in Sicyon one hundred years^x; and these hundred years were terminated before B.C. 548, because they commenced before B.C. 648, when *Myron* grandfather of *Clisthenes* gained an Olympic 298 prize^y. Moreover Clisthenes was already tyrant of Sicyon at the time of the Cirrhæan war^z, more than thirty years before the commencement of the sole reign of Cræsus. These circumstances are an argument that Cræsus must have seen Alemæon earlier than B.C. 560. 3. The transactions of Cræsus are these: first, the siege of Ephesus; secondly, the subjugation successively of all the towns of Ionia and Æolis; then, χρόνον επιγινομένου, when Sardis had arrived at its full complement of riches, the wise men of Greece resorted to his court^{zz}. Then followed the death of the son of Cræsus, who mourned for him two years: μετὰ δὲ, after this period, he becomes jealous of the rising power of Cyrus. All these particulars could scarcely have occurred within the space of ten or twelve years, to which the limits of the reign of Cræsus would confine them. Probably, then, the conquest of Ionia and of the other countries was in part effected during the lifetime of Alyattes. 4. Among the nations subjected by Cræsus, in the enumeration of Herodotus, are the *Carians*. But the conquest of Caria is distinctly ascribed to Alyattes by Nicolaus Damascenus^a, from Xanthus Lydus: and Cræsus, who was at that time invested with the government of Adramyttium and the adjoining country, (so that Æolis is already conquered,) was required to join his father with troops to assist in the war. Æolis, then, and Caria, part of the conquests ascribed to Cræsus, were subjected in the reign of his father. 5. The passage produced by Wesseling, ^b ἐπεὶ, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, superadded to the preceding considerations, scarcely leaves it doubtful that Cræsus was admitted to the government in the lifetime of Alyattes.

The difficulties in the chronology of the travels and death of *Solon* would be lessened by this hypothesis. The legislation of *Solon* is fixed by a general concurrence of authorities to the 46th Olympiad: ^c Σόλων ἤκμαζε περὶ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἔκτην ὀλυμπιάδα, ἧς τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει ἤρξεν Ἀθηναίων, καθὰ φησι Σωσικράτης· ὅτε καὶ τίθησι τοὺς νόμους. ^d ἤκμασεν οὖν ὁ Σόλων κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἔκτην ὀλυμπιάδα. ^e τεσσαρακοστῇ ἔκτη ὀλυμπιάδι Σόλων νενομοθέτηκε. Eusebius concurs with these authorities; placing the legislation of *Solon* in Olymp. 46. In the present text of Tatian^f *Solon* is thus mentioned: Δράκων δὲ περὶ ὀλυμπιάδα τριακοστὴν καὶ

^u Herodot. VI. 126. μετὰ δὲ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον, [after his visit to the court of Cræsus,] Κλεισθένης μιν ὁ Σικυῶνος τύραννος ἐξήειρε.

^x Aristot. Polit. V. 9, 21. πλείστον ἐγένετο χρόνον ἢ περὶ Σικυῶνα τυραννίς ἢ τῶν Ὀρθαγόρου παίδων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀρθαγόρου. ἔτη δ' αὕτη διέμεινεν ἑκατόν· τούτου δ' αἴτιον, ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδούλευον· καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος.

^y Pausan. VI. 19, 2. Μύρωνος ἀνάθημα τυραννήσαντος Σικωνίων· τοῦτον ἐκοδόμησεν ὁ Μύρων νικήσας ἄρματι τὴν τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. [B.C. 648.] Myron was the grandfather of Clisthenes: Herodot. VI. 126. Κλεισθένι τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου τοῦ Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀνδρέω.

^z See Appendix c. 1. p. 195=239.

^{zz} Herodot. I. 28, 29.

^a Nicol. Damascen. p. 243. Coray. ὅτι Ἀλυάττης ὁ Κροῖσου πατὴρ τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως, ἐπὶ Καρίαν στρατεύων, παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἄγειν εἰς Σάρδεϊς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τακτῇ. ἐν οἷς καὶ Κροῖσος, ὅστις ἦν αὐτοῦ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων, ἄρχειν ἀποδειγμένος Ἀδραμυττίου καὶ Θήβης πεδίου. Creuzer Histor. Fragm. p. 203 with reason suspects that Nicolaus derived these particulars from the ancient historian Xanthus.

^b Herodot. I. 92.

^c Laërt. I. 62.

^d Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 302. B.

^e Cyrill. adv. Julian. I. p. 12. D.

^f Or. ad Græc. p. 141.

ἐνάτην εὐρίσκεται γεγυνώς· Σόλων περὶ μ'. As Solon would not be placed by Tatian within four years of *Draco*, we may with certainty conclude that the number is defective; and replace with Meursius μς'. Suidas names the 47th Olympiad: Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου Ἀθηναῖος, φιλόσοφος νομοθέτης καὶ δημαγωγός· γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μς' ὀλυμπιάδος· οἱ δὲ, νς'. The 47th Olympiad sufficiently agrees with the preceding testimonies. Plutarch, without naming the date, records his archonship: ἡρέθη δ' ἄρχων μετὰ Φιλόμβροτον ὁμοῦ καὶ διαλλακτῆς καὶ νομοθέτης. The successor of Solon is named by Philostratus^h: Δρωπίδην—ὃς μετὰ Σόλωνα Ἀθηναίων ἡρξεν. The years in which *Philombrotus*, *Solon*, and *Dropides*, were successively *archontes eponymi* would doubtless be well ascertained; and we may agree in the year B. C. 594 as the date of the legislation of Solon.

- 299 He had already been consulted upon the Cirrhaean war, which began about B. C. 595.ⁱ His share in that transaction is thus described by Plutarch^j: ἤδη μὲν οὖν—ἐνδοξος ἦν ὁ Σόλων καὶ μέγας. ἐθανμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη μάλλον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἰπὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὡς χρὴ βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν Κιβράλους ὑβρίζοντας.—πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες, ὡς ἄλλοι τε μαρτυροῦσι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονύκων ἀναγραφῇ, Σόλωνι τὴν γνώμην ἀνατιθεῖς. οὐ μέντοι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπεδείχθη τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς λέγειν φησὶν Ἑρμιππος Εὐάνθη τὸν Σάμιον. οὔτε γὰρ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ τοῦτ' εἴρηκεν, ἐν τε τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν^k Ἀλκμαίων, οὐ Σόλων, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἀναγράφεται.

g Solon. c. 14.

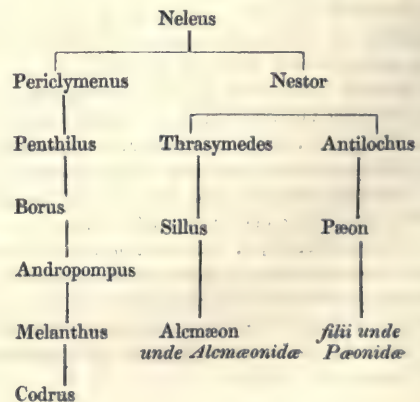
^h Vit. Sophist. I. 16.

ⁱ See above c. 1. p. 195=239. ^j Solon. c. 11.

^k The *ALCMAEONIDÆ* are mentioned by Pindar Pyth. VII (who celebrates a Pythian victory of *Megacles*) as one of the most illustrious families in Greece. He records that they had rebuilt the temple at Delphi; (see the Tables B. C. 548, 2.) and enumerates *five* Isthmian, *one* Olympic, and *two* Pythian prizes obtained by *Megacles* and his ancestors. Larcher in a note on Herodot. VI. 125 has these remarks on the *Alcmaeonidæ*: "Le premier *Alcmaeon*, de qui ils descendoient, vivoit du temps de *Thésée*, selon *Suidas* au mot Ἀλκμαιωνίδαί." BELLANGER. *M. Bellanger auroit dû citer Harpocrate plutôt que Suidas, puisque Suidas avoit emprunté cet article de cet auteur. Quoi qu'il en soit, Alcmaeon, contemporain de Thésée, quoique de la même maison, n'étoit pas un des ancêtres de celui dont parle Hérodote. Celui-ci remontoit en ligne directe à Alcmaeon, qui fut le dernier des archontes perpétuels, et par conséquent à Nélée, roi de Pylos. Voici sa généalogie.*

Nelée
Nestor
Périclýménus
Penthilus
Borus
Andropompus
Mélanthus
Codrus.

—*Médon, fils aîné de Codrus, fut le premier archonte perpétuel. Il y en eut treize qui se succédèrent de père en fils.*—*Mégacles, qui fut archonte annuel l'an 612 avant notre ère,—remontoit en ligne directe à Alcmaeon, dernier archonte perpétuel.* Larcher has decided too hastily against Harpocratio. 1. There is no proof that the perpetual archons succeeded lineally from father to son. 2. The *Alcmaeonidæ* were not descended from *Melanthus*, but from another branch of the *Neleidæ*. Pausanias II. 18, 7. ἐκβάλλονσιν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσηνίας τοὺς Νέστορος ἀπογόνους, Ἀγκμαίωνα Σίλλου τοῦ Θρασυμήδους,—καὶ τοὺς Παιῶνος τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου παῖδας· σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Μέλανθον τὸν Ἀνδροπόμπου.—οἱ δὲ Νηλεῖδαι ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοιτο· καὶ τὸ Παιωνιδῶν γένος καὶ Ἀλκμαιωνιδῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠνομάσθησαν. Μέλανθος δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. The genealogy, then, is as follows (see F. H. I. p. 112. n):



Solon, therefore, was already eminent in Ol. 46 B. C. 595 thirty-five years before the usurpation of Pisistratus. Demosthenes¹ mentions him in the following terms in the year B. C. 343: ἀπὸ Σόλωνος ὁμοῦ διακόσιά ἐστιν ἔτη καὶ τετταράκοντα εἰς τὸν νυνὶ παρόντα χρόνον. The genuineness of these numbers is established against the corrections of Meursius and Corsini by the Scholiast on Plato^m: Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας· “Καίτοι τὸν μὲν “ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον οὕτω πεντήκοντα ἔτη φασὶν ἀνακεῖσθαι Σαλαμῖνιοι. ἀπὸ Σόλωνος δ' ἐστὶν [sic “leg. videtur] ὁμοῦ σ' ἔτη καὶ μ'.” But B. C. 343 + 240 will give B. C. 583 for the ἀκμή of Solon, (to which we may reasonably suppose that Demosthenes refersⁿ), eleven years later 300 than his archonship.

The travels of Solon, and the time of his death, are involved in great obscurity. Two motives of travel are ascribed to him. He went abroad to allow time for his laws to acquire stability^o, and he withdrew from Athens on account of the usurpation of Pisistratus^p. During his ten years' travel, he visited Egypt^q, Cyprus^r, and Sardis. The testimony of Herodotus^s is express as to the motives for his travels, as to their duration, and as to the countries which he visited: ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε—καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι τῶν ἔθετο.—αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροῖσον. With respect to Cræsus, Plutarch^t, as is well known, intimates that a doubt existed: τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐνιοι τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πέπλασμένην ἐλέγχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον οὕτω καὶ τοσοῦτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα, καὶ, ὃ μείζον ἐστι^v, πρέποντα τῷ Σόλωνος

It is true, Alcæon was not contemporary with Theseus, who flourished with Neleus four generations before. But Harpocratio does not mention Theseus: Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι, γένος ἐπιφανές Ἀθήνησιν, ἀπὸ Ἀλκμαίωνος. The words κατὰ Θησέα are an addition of Suidas, in an article not derived from Harpocratio.

¹ Fals. Leg. p. 420. ^m Ruhnken. p. 10.

ⁿ Corsini Fast. Att. tom. III. p. 101. proposes to alter the numbers of Demosthenes: *Si annorum numerus a Demosthene expressus non a Solonis principatu sed a morte subducatur, erunt anni 214. adeoque in Demosthenis textu non ν' [the conjecture of Meursius,] sed potius ι' aut κ'. aut potius ιδ' rescribendum esse putaverim.* But, 1. the date of the death of Solon is a disputable point. 2. It is very unlikely that Demosthenes should have referred to it. He would more naturally refer to the ἀκμή than the death of Solon. If the texts of ancient writers were to be altered upon no better grounds than these, no texts would be safe.

^o Plutarch. Solon. c. 25. ταῖς ἀπορίας ὑπεκστήναι βουλόμενος—πρόσχημα τῆς πλάνης τὴν ναυκληρίαν ποιησάμενος ἐξέπλευσεν, δεκαετὴ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδημίαν αἰτησάμενος. ἤλαπιζε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι συνήθεις.

^p Laërt. I. 50. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Πεισιστράτου) κρατοῦντος οὐ πείθων—ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ

εἰς Κύπρον· καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἦλθεν, κ. τ. λ. Suidas v. Σόλων. ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τυράννου ἀπεδήμησεν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ ἔκτισε πόλιν ἣν Σόλους ἐκάλεσεν.

^q His Egyptian travels are attested by Plato Timæo p. 21. and recorded by Plutarch Solon. c. 26.

^r Solon commemorates his Cyprian visit and the foundation of Soli in his own verses: Plutarch. Solon. c. 26. πλεύσας εἰς Κύπρον ἡγαπήθη διαφερόντως ὑπὸ Φιλοκύπρου τινὸς τῶν ἐκεῖ βασιλέων.—τῷ Σόλωνι τιμὴν ἀποδιδούς—τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Σόλους προσηγόρευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέμνηται τοῦ συν-οικισμοῦ. προσαγορεύσας γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις τὸν Φιλόκυπρον· “Νῦν δέ,” φησί, “σὺ μὲν Σολίοισι πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἀνασσών,” κ. τ. λ. Herodot. V. 113. Φιλοκύπρον—τὸν Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον, ἐν ἔπεισι αἶνεσε τυράννων μάλιστα.

^s I. 29. 30.

^t Solon. c. 27.

^v Plutarch must have had a very imperfect idea of the nature of historical evidence, if he could imagine that the suitableness of the story to the character of Solon was a better argument for its authenticity, than the number of witnesses by which it was attested. Those who had invented the scene (supposing it to be a fiction) would surely have had the skill to adapt the discourse to the characters of the actors.

ἦθει, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἄξιον, οὗ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὓς μυρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδέν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστήσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. The difficulties are obviated by the supposition that Solon visited Lydia about B. C. 570, in the lifetime of Alyattes, during the joint reign of Croesus with his father. As Amasis began to reign in B. C. 569, the voyage to Egypt would be subsequent to that date. We may assume as probable, that he left Athens in B. C. 575, about twenty years after his archonship, and returned thither in B. C. 565, about five years before the usurpation of Pisistratus.

On his return to Athens, he found the state divided between *Lycurgus*, *Megacles*, and *Pisistratus*: ^u οὕτω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων, ὁ Σόλων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας αἰδῶ μὲν εἶχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ κοινῷ λέγειν—οὐκ ἔτ' ἦν δυνατὸς οὐδὲ πρόθυμος ὑπὸ γήρως. Upon the usurpation of Pisistratus he withdrew from Athens, according to Laërtius and 301 Suidas; and died at Soli in Cilicia: but according to Plutarch he remained at Athens, where he was treated with respect by Pisistratus. His death is thus related by Plutarch*: ἐπεβίωσε δ' οὖν ὁ Σόλων ἀρξαμένου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου τυραννεῖν, ὡς μὲν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ιστορεῖ, συγχρὸν χρόνον ὡς δὲ Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἐλάττονα δυοῖν ἐτῶν. ἐπὶ Κωμίον μὲν γὰρ ἤρξατο τυραννεῖν Πεισιστράτος, ἐφ' Ἡγεστράτου δὲ Σόλωνα φησὶν ὁ Φανίας ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ μετὰ Κωμίων ἄρξαντος. The time of his death must therefore remain in uncertainty. What was doubtful in the age of Heraclides cannot become certain now. The duration of his life is stated differently: by Lucian^y at one hundred years; by Laërtius^z at eighty: ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Κύπρῳ βιοὺς ἑτη ὀγδοήκοντα. If he was eighty years of age in B. C. 559, he would have been born in B. C. 638, and would have been forty-four at the period of his archonship. This is probable: but, since both his age and the time of his death are doubtful, nothing can be with certainty affirmed of the year of his birth.

XVIII.

KINGS OF PERSIA.

WHEN it is said in the Introduction^a that the reign of *Cyrus* coincides with that point of time at which sacred history first touches upon profane, the reader will of course understand that this is intended in a chronological sense. There are doubtless many occasional facts in early profane history, in which the obscure and uncertain traditions preserved to us by the Greeks derive light and confirmation from the authentic narrative of Scripture. But the reign of *Cyrus* at Babylon is the point at which the chain of sacred chronology is taken up and continued by profane history. In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* king of Judah we arrive at the epoch at which sacred history is met by profane testimony. The fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, in which the captivity commenced^b, was in the *seventieth* year before the first of

^u Plutarch, Solon. c. 29.

^x Solon. c. 32.

^y Macrobius, c. 18.

^z Laërt. I. 62.

^a Page i.

^b The commencement of the captivity is clearly

marked: Jerem. XXV. 1—11. The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadrezzar king of Baby-

Cyrus at Babylon. At the termination, then, of the captivity, in the first year of *Cyrus*, Scripture chronology is measured with profane. By determining the position of this date we determine all the preceding epochs; the revolt of the ten tribes; the election of *Saul*; the division of the lands of Canaan; from whence we ascend to the birth of *Abraham* and the patriarchal genealogies.

The adjustment of this period of seventy years to the reigns of the Babylonian kings is perplexed and embarrassed with many difficulties, and has been made the subject of much controversy and dispute. Although this is not the occasion for entering upon a large inquiry into all the topics connected with this subject, yet a short survey of the Babylonian dynasty, and an exposition of the chief points in dispute, is due to the importance of the conjuncture, at which sacred history is first connected with profane, and necessary to the task which I have undertaken of illustrating the reign of *Cyrus*.

These Babylonian reigns are thus delivered in the Astronomical Canon.

	Y.	N. E.	B. C.
1. Nabocolassar (Nebuchadn.)	43. ...	144. ...	604.
2. Ilvarodamus (Evil Merodach)	2. ...	187. ...	561.
3. Nericassolassar	4. ...	189. ...	559.
4. Nabonadius	17. ...	193. ...	555.
	66.		
Cyrus	9. ...	210. ...	538.

An obvious difference presents itself between the numbers in the Canon and the amount of years expressed in Scripture. The first of *Cyrus* at Babylon is the sixty-seventh year from the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign instead of the seventieth, a deficiency of three complete years in the term of the captivity. The reign of Nebuchadnezzar is stated at forty-three years by all the copies of the Canon^c; and that number is assigned to him by Berosus^d. Something more than that amount may be collected from Scripture, which antedates the years of this Babylonian king; computing to his reign the last year of his father, and placing the fourth of Jehoiakim and the beginning of the captivity in the year of Nabonassar 143, equivalent to B.C. 605.^e The first year, then, of the seventy preceded the

*lon.—Thus saith the Lord; Behold I will send Nebuchadnezzar my servant—and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. Daniel I. 1. In the third year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, &c. The first of Nebuchadnezzar is therefore "coincident with the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth year of Jehoiakim." W. Lowth on Jerem. XXV. 1. The first year, then, of the captivity (which was the twenty-third from the thirteenth of Josiah: Jerem. XXV. 3) was connumerary with the fourth year of Jehoiakim. The last year of the captivity was the first of *Cyrus* at Babylon: Ezra V. 13. In the first year of *Cyrus* king of Babylon, the same king *Cyrus* made a decree, &c.*

^c Both the correct copy of Dodwell, and the two corrupted copies given by Syncellus p. 207. 208. When it is said that both the copies are corrupted, this description is to be understood of the period between Nabonassar and *Cyrus*, the period with which we are now engaged. The subsequent reigns of the Persian kings, with the exception of Darius III., are accurately given by Syncellus in his first list p. 208.

^d Josephus Ant. X. 11, 1. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσορος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία βασιλεύσας τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. He had these numbers from Berosus: λέγει γὰρ οὕτω Εὐρωσσὸς διὰ τῆς τρίτης· Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν—μετελλάξατο τὸν βίον βεβασιλευκὸς ἔτη τεσσαρακοντατρία. In Apion. I. 20. p. 1176.

^e Jackson asserts that only forty-three years are given to Nebuchadnezzar in Scripture. He collects the numbers thus: "Nebuchadnezzar

303 forty-three years of Nebuchadnezzar, and the year of Nabonassar 144 [B. C. 604] was connumerary with the second year of the captivity. There still remain two deficient years. Between Nebuchadnezzar and the first of Cyrus are required twenty-five years, and the Canon only expresses twenty-three. The most easy and obvious solution of the difficulty is, to accept the chronology offered by Josephus. From that writer we collect the following distribution ; although the second and third reigns are corrupted in his present text.

Y. M.
43

Ναβουχοδονόσορος ^f } [18] 2^h
 Ἀβιλαμαρῶδαχος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησε μετὰ ἑτῆ [ὀκτωκαδέκα] τῆς
 βασιλείας ε. }

"reigned 36 [37 current] (2 Kings XXV. 27)
 "+ 7 [8 current] (2 Kings XXIV. 12)=43.
 "which agrees with the Astronomical Canon."
 He had been preceded by Perizonius Orig. Babylon. p. 358. *In Judæorum chronologia non plus quam 43 anni huic regi adscribuntur. Liqueat id ex 2 Reg. XXV. 27. Jerem. LII. 31. ubi dicitur Jechonias 37^o anno ab sua deportatione productus in aulam ab Evilmerodacho, primo hujus regni anno. His vero 37 si addas septem qui a Nebuchadnezzaris primo secundum Judæos usque ad Jechoniæ deportationem numerantur, reperies 44. quorum 43 sunt Nebuchadnezzaris, qui autem superest, annus primus est Evilmerodachi.* This is more specious than accurate. Usher with better reason concluded that this king, in Scripture computation, reigned about twenty months with his father, and forty-three years by himself. The basis of our computation of this reign is 2 Kings XXV. 27. *In the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiakin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, (twenty-fifth day: Jerem. LII. 31.) Evil Merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiakin out of prison.* Jehoiakim reigned more than ten years, because he reached the eleventh year current. At the accession of Nebuchadnezzar less than three years had elapsed, for the third year was current. From this point then to the end of his reign are considerably more than seven. To these are to be added the three months and ten days of Jehoiakin. The eighth year then of Nebuchadnezzar was nearly completed at the captivity of Jehoiakin : and 8 + 36 will give the 44th year nearly completed. To this we must add some portion of the 37th of Jehoiakin, which will give the full term of 44 years.

Dr. Hales has a slight inconsistency in his computation of the reign of Jehoiakim. He lays down these principles Vol. II. p. 477. "Nebuchadnezzar succeeded B. C. 604, according to the Canon. And the first year of his reign is said to

"correspond to the third of Jehoiakim ; Dan. I. 1.
 "but to the fourth, Jer. XXV. 1. 2 Kings XXIV.
 "1. Josephus X. 6, 1. The variation may be
 "easily reconciled by supposing that Jehoiakim
 "was appointed king about the month of July,
 "whereas the *thoth*, or accession, of Nebuchadnezzar commenced Jan. 21 B. C. 604. So that
 "the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was partly the
 "third, and partly the fourth of Jehoiakim." On these principles, the fourth of Jehoiakim commenced in July B. C. 604. and consequently the first of Jehoiakim began in July B. C. 607. But Hales, in all his Tables, (as vol. I. p. 103. vol. II. p. xxxiv. 407.) places the accession of Jehoiakim in B. C. 608. There is also this farther objection to his reasoning ; that the *thoth* of the first year of Nebuchadnezzar is assumed to be the true commencement of his reign ; whereas it is admitted by all, and explained by Hales himself, that the *thoth*, or first day of each reign, in the Canon, was a technical date ; always preceding the true commencement, and often preceding it by many months.

^f Ant. X. 11, 1.

^g Ant. X. 11, 2.

^h Two years may be restored to the second reign upon the testimony of Syncellus p. 226. A. who attests that Josephus followed Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus in assigning two years to Evil Merodach :—*ἑτῆ δύο ἐβασίλευσεν, ὡς μαρτύρουσιν οἱ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συγγραφάμενοι, Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἀβυδηνός, οἷς καὶ Ἰώσηπος καὶ πάντες ἐν τούτῳ ἔπονται.*—And of Josephus himself Apion. I. p. 1176. *λέγει γὰρ οὗτω Βηρωσσός. Τῆς βασιλείας κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐεῖλμαράδουχος. οὗτος προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ Νηριγλισσοόρου ἀνιρέθη, βασιλεύσας ἑτῆ δύο.* The third reign may be re-trenched to its true amount, four years, from the conformity of this number with the whole period, the other component parts of which are stated by Josephus ; and from the numbers of Berosus quoted by Josephus himself Apion. I. p. 1176. *μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον [Evil M.] διαδεξάμενος*

Νιγλίσσαρος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνει· καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν	Y.	M.
ἔτη [τεσσαράκοντα] (<i>legendum</i> τέσσαρα) καταστρέφει τὸν βίον i. . . }	[40]	4 ^h
Λαβοσόρδαχος.—μετ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λαβοσόρδαχον ἀφικνεῖται ἡ διαδοχὴ, καὶ μῆνας ποιήσασα παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς πάντας ἑννέα τε-		
λευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ μεταβαίνει πρὸς Βαλτάσαρον κ. }		9 ^l 304
Βαλτάσαρος ὁ καλούμενος Ναβοάνδηλος.—ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα ^m }		17 ⁿ
Δαρείος. Δαρείῳ δὲ, τῷ καταλύσαντι τὴν Βαβυλωνίων ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ		
Κύρου τοῦ συγγενοῦς, ἔτος ἦν ἐξηκοστὸν δεύτερον ὅτε τὴν Βαβυλῶνα	(2)	
εἶλεν· ὃς ἦν Ἀστυάγους υἱός ο. }		
Κῦρος. τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας, τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐβδομηκοστὸν		1
ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας μεταναστῆναι τὸν λαόν p. }		
		69. 9

We may collect that Josephus completed the interval by inserting the reign of *Darius the Mede*; who compensates for the deficiency of two years in the Babylonian dynasty. The Astronomical Canon omitted the reign of *Laborosoarchod*, because it was less than a year; and took no account of *Darius the Mede*, because his two years were included in the nine years of Cyrus. This scheme has been adopted by Vignoles, Perizonius q, and Usher. The capture of Babylon N. E. 210 B. C. 538 was followed by the reign of *Darius the Mede*: and the *first* of *Cyrus* according to Scripture was the *third* according to the Canon.

τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας Νηριγλισσόδορος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τέσσαρα. Syncellus p. 226. A. has also reported four years as the amount.

ⁱ Ant. X. 11, 2.

^k Ant. X. 11, 2.

^l The nine months of Laborosoarchod are expressed by Berosus apud Joseph. Apion. I. p. 1176. τοῦτον υἱὸς Λαβοροσοάρχοδος ἐκυρίενσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν μῆνας ἑννέα· ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ, διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπαίνεσθαι. and by Syncellus p. 226. A.

^m Ant. X. 11, 4.

ⁿ Berosus apud Josephum l. c. κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδω τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος. οὔσης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαδικάτῳ ἔτει, προσεξηλυθὼς Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος—ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.

^o Ant. X. 11, 4.

p Ant. XI. 1, 1.

q Perizon. Orig. Babylon. p. 359. *Initium Nebuchadnezzaris concurrat in quartum Joakimi annum. hinc jam*

Nebuchadnezzaris anni .	43
Evilmerodachi	2
Neriglissoris cum filio .	5
Belsazaris seu Nabonidi	17
His adde Darii Medi .	2
	69

Sed hujus annos Berosus omisit, ut et Canon

Babylonicus, qui Cyro eos adscripsit—Inde vero exoriantur anni 69. Deest ergo unus, sed qui rejici in Cyri annum primum potest. As far as *Darius the Mede* is concerned, this computation is right. Usher had adapted to this distribution an incidental notice in Xenophon Cyrop. VIII. 7, 1. μάλα δὲ πρεσβύτης ὢν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἑβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. "B. C. 536. Cyrus "is possessed of the empire; from which time "Xenophon reckons the seven years of his reign, "and the Holy Scripture reckons this his first "year." Vignoles, after having reviewed the opinions of his predecessors, Scaliger, Petavius, Usher, Marsham, Pezron, and others, thus delivers his own sentiments: tom. II. p. 510. *Le seul titre de Mède, joint au nom de Darius, me fait conclure d'abord que ce n'est aucun des derniers rois de Babylone, dont Megasthène Bérose et le Canon Astronomique nous ont conservé les noms, avec la durée de leurs regnes, jusqu'à la conquête de Cyrus. Quoique les noms de ces rois s'écrivent et se prononcent fort diversement, il n'y en a point qui ait le moindre rapport avec celui de Darius.* And he justly concludes p. 518. *qu'après les rois de Babylone, originaires du pais, un Mède nommé Darius obtint ce royaume immédiatement après Nabonide, et immédiatement avant que Cyrus eût établi dans la Ville de Babylone le siège de son empire.*

This arrangement has been disputed by other chronologers. It is argued that the history of these Babylonian kings is otherwise described by Berosus and Megasthenes^r: that, according to these writers, upon the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, Nabonadius the last king was not slain, but fled to Borsippa, and was allowed to retire into Carmania. Upon this narration it has been assumed that Darius the Mede took possession of the kingdom peaceably; that he appointed Nabonadius, a Babylonian lord, his viceroy; and that the seventeen years of this prince intervened between the death of *Belshazzar* and the capture by *Cyrus*. Jackson^s thus states the argument: "The feast in which *Belshazzar* was slain was not a general feast, as when Cyrus took the city, but only a feast for a thousand of his nobles in the palace. (Dan. V. 1.) *Belshazzar* was slain by his courtiers: ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμpanίσθη. (Joseph. Apion.) In the confusion upon the murder of *Belshazzar*, *Astyages*, then the most powerful monarch of Asia, and besides heir to the crown in right of his sister, married to *Nebuchadnezzar*, would seize the government: therefore the Babylonian lord *Nabonadius*, one of the conspirators against *Belshazzar*, was elected king by the nobles of Babylon, and confirmed in the kingdom by *Darius the Mede*, (who took the kingdom,) that is, *Astyages*, who made him tributary." Hales with some variation adopts this system. Jackson supposes *Laborosoarchod* to be *Belshazzar*, and *Astyages* to be *Darius the Mede*. According to Dr. Hales, *Nerighissar* is *Belshazzar*, *Cyazares II.* is *Darius the Mede*, and appoints *Nabonadius* his viceroy.

A comparative view of the two schemes is exhibited in the following table^t.

^r Megasthenes apud Euseb. Præp. IX. 41. p. 457. B.—Εὐίλμαλδούρουχος ἐβασίλευε. τὸν δὲ ὁ κηδεστής ἀποκτείνων Νηριγλισάρης λείπε παῖδα Λαβασσοάρασκον. τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος βιαίῳ μὶν, Ναβοννίδου ἀποδείκνυσιν βασιλεία προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν. τῷ δὲ Κύρος, ἐλὼν Βαβυλῶνα, Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίην δωρεῖται. Berosus apud Joseph. Apion. I. p. 1176. Ναβόννηδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστος συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηῶν πόλιν. Κύρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι—ἀνέβηκεν ἐπὶ Βόρσιππον ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον. τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννίδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρήσαντος αὐτὸν, πρότερον χρησάμενος Κύρος φιλανθρώπως, καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγερόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

^s Vol. I. p. 416.

^t In forming the first column upon Josephus, I have introduced some corrections; omitting the months of *Laborosoarchod*, which were doubtless included by the author of the Canon in the adjacent reign: and placing the first year of the captivity in N. E. 143. So that the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the Canon is connumerary with the second year of the captivity. The second column is adapted to the theory of Hales; which is in many points an improvement upon that of Jackson: but it will also illustrate the hypothesis of Jackson: the main question at issue being this, whether it is consonant with sacred and profane accounts that *Darius the Mede* should precede *Nabonadius*. In this table, the years in the first column are the years of the captivity.

Y.	N. E.	B. C.	JOSEPHUS, &c.	JACKSON and HALES.
45	187	561	1. Evil Merodach.	1. Evil Merodach.
46	188	560	2.	2.
47	189	559	1. Neriglissar.	3.
48	190	558	2.	1. BELSHAZZAR. (Neriglissar.) [<i>Daniel's vision. c. VII.</i>]
49	191	557	3.	2.
50	192	556	4. Laborosoarchod 9 m.	3. [<i>Daniel's vision. c. VIII.</i>]
51	193	555	1. BELSHAZZAR. (Nabonadius.) [<i>Daniel's vision. c. VII.</i>]	4.
52	194	554	2.	5. Laborosoarchod 9 m.
53	195	553	3. [<i>Daniel's vision. c. VIII.</i>]	1. Nabonadius. 1. DARIUS the MEDE. [<i>Daniel's prayer. c. IX.</i>]
54	196	552	4.	2. 2.
*	*	*	*	*
67	209	539	17.	15.
68	210	538	1. Cyrus takes Babylon. 1. DARIUS the MEDE. [<i>Daniel's prayer. c. IX.</i>]	16.
69	211	537	2. 2.	17.
70	212	536	3. Edict of Cyrus. 1. CYRUS	1. Cyrus takes Babylon. Edict of Cyrus.
	213	535	4. 2.	2.
	214	534	5. [<i>Daniel's vision. c. X.</i>] 3.	3. [<i>Daniel's vision. c. X.</i>]

This radical objection immediately occurs to the scheme of Jackson and Hales, that a 306 Median king is made to reign at Babylon seventeen years before the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus^v. Another objection is, that this scheme does not agree with the duration of the Babylonian dynasty. "*Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king.*" This is understood to mean one kingdom, and to express the duration of the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar^x. But, according to Jackson and Hales, the *Babylonian* kingdom ended in the fifty-third year of the captivity, and the last seventeen years belonged to the *Median* monarchy. Larcher, to reconcile Scripture with Herodotus, adopts another hypothesis. *Evil Merodach* is *Belshazzar*; *Neriglissar*^y, his brother-in-law, who slew him, is *Darius the Mede*; not a Median king, but a Mede by birth. Nabonadius is *not related to his predecessor*^z, and yet is *son of Nebuchadnezzar*^a. The daughter of Nebuchadnezzar marries a Mede (Darius the Mede, or Neriglissar); the younger son of Nebuchadnezzar (after the death of this stranger, Darius the Mede,) recovers the throne by destroying *Laborosoarchod*, son of the usurper, and reigns by the name of *Nabonadius*.

This hypothesis obviates the preceding objections; but other difficulties still remain. *Darius the Mede* is connected with *Cyrus* by *Daniel*. The threatened judgment upon Bel-

^v Larcher urges this: Hérodote tom. VII. p. 175. *A quel titre un roi de Médie seroit-il devenu roi de Babylone? Ce ne pouvoit être par droit de conquête. Il n'en est fait mention ni dans l'écriture ni dans les auteurs profanes.* et cet.

^u Isaiah XXIII. 15.

^x "Nebuchadnezzar began his conquests in the first year of his reign; from thence to the taking of Babylon by Cyrus are the seventy years: and these limit the duration of the Babylonish monarchy." Bp. Lowth. Jackson himself understands it in the same sense, Vol. I. p. 349, 350. "The Babylonian empire was destroyed by Cyrus:—this empire lasted just seventy years.

"And this gives great light to the prophecy of "Isaiah."

^y *Nériglissar étoit étranger, et n'avoit par lui-même aucun droit à la couronne. Mais le crédit qu'il avoit acquis à la faveur de son mariage, l'ascendant que lui donnoit le service qu'il venoit de rendre à l'état, en le délivrant d'un tyran détesté, sa qualité d'époux d'une fille du grand Nabuchodonosor, étoient de puissans motifs.* Hérodote tom. VII. p. 176. Conringius and Boubier had held the same opinion.

^z Megasthenes apud Euseb. Præp. IX. 41. *Ναβονίδου προήγοντά οι οὐδέν.*

^a According to Herodotus I. 188.

shazzar was, that his kingdom should be given to the *Medes and Persians*^b. The laws administered by Darius are the *laws of the Medes and Persians*^c. The one hundred and twenty princes appointed by Darius^d correspond to the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces of Ahasuerus^e, and to the enlarged extent of the empire under Cyrus. It may be farther observed, that Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, is much more likely to have reigned towards the close of the seventy years captivity. In the first year of his reign,^f *Daniel understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem*. That address of Daniel was more naturally made a year or two before the restoration of the Jews, than seventeen or twenty-two^g years before that event. Again,^h *Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian*. This implies that the two reigns were successive, rather than divided by an intermediate reign of seventeen years.

- 307 Other difficulties lie in the way: *Evil Merodach* could hardly be *Belshazzar*, for he treated the Jews favourably, by releasing Jehoiakin from prison, while *Belshazzar* oppressed them. *Laborosoarchod* could not be *Belshazzar* (as Jacksonⁱ supposes), because *Belshazzar* reigned three years at the least, and *Laborosoarchod* only nine months^k. *Neriglissar* could not be *Belshazzar* (who was the son or grandson of *Nebuchadnezzar*), unless we reject the accounts of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, which make him a stranger. The accounts of these two writers are irreconcilable with those of *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*. *Nabonadius*, a Babylonian lord, the viceroy of a Median king, is not consistent with *Labynetus* son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. According to *Berosus* the last king of *Babylon* fled: according to *Xenophon*^l he perished at the capture of the city.

Jackson^m, indeed, charges *Herodotus* with mistake in his account of the last king of *Babylon*. I should rather determine in favour of *Herodotus* and against *Berosus*. *Herodotus*, at the distance of eighty years from the event, might collect facts respecting the cap-

^b Dan. V. 28.

^c Dan. VI. 8.

^e Esther I. 1.

^d Dan. VI. 1.

^f Dan. IX. 1. 2.

^g Twenty-two years would be the result of *Larcher's* scheme, according to my dates: but *Larcher* himself places the first of *Darius* the Mede *forty* years before the end of the captivity. His chronology will occur for observation in a future page.

^h Dan. VI. 28.

ⁱ Vol. I. p. 406.

^k The description of *Belshazzar* in Dan. V. 1—3. cannot be applied to *Laborosoarchod*, who was a child, or boy; *παῖς*, according to the accounts transmitted of him.

^l *Cyrop.* VII. 5, 1—32.

^m Vol. I. p. 421. "Herodotus by mistake makes the last king of *Babylon*, whom he calls *Labynetus*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*; (his elder *Labynetus*, and whose queen was *Nitocris*) who inherited, he says, from his father the king-

"dom of *Assyria*." *Xenophon* is also charged with error: "By his account, this young king who was slain could not be the last king of *Babylon*, who reigned seventeen years, as *Berosus* and *Ptolemy* agree. Farther, *Babylon* was not taken by *Cyrus* till B. C. 536. Hence it appears that *Xenophon's* last king of *Babylon* could be no other than *Laborosoarchod*, the *Belshazzar* of *Daniel*. *Xenophon*, therefore, not being acquainted with the *Chaldean* annals, has confounded the *Babylonian* history by an error of seventeen years." This is inaccurate. *Xenophon* concurs with the *Canon* in the time of the capture of *Babylon*. See the *Tables* B. C. 538, 2. This event is the last military action of *Cyrus* recorded by *Xenophon*. After this conquest, the civil and domestic arrangements of *Cyrus* are described: *Cyrop.* VII. 5, 32—VIII. 4, 36.—his progress into *Persis* is related: VIII. 5.—the distribution of his time: VIII. 6, 22.—and his death after the seventh visit to *Persis*: VIII. 7.

ture of Babylon and its last king from oral information. Megasthenes and Berosus could only compile from books. The value of the materials which would be in their hands we shall not estimate very highly, when we consider the character of those materials. In the great monarchies of Asia, Oriental history has seldom been faithfully delivered by the Orientals themselves. In the ancient times, before the Greek kingdoms of Asia diffused knowledge and information, it is not likely that history would be undertaken by private individuals. The habits of the people, and the form of their governments, precluded all free inquiry and any impartial investigation of the truth. The written histories of past transactions would be contained in the archives of the state; and these royal recordsⁿ, drawn up under the direction of the reigning despot, would deliver just such a representation of facts as the government of the day thought fit to give; just so much of the truth as it suited their purpose to communicate. Of the authority of such materials for history we may judge, by comparing the account which has been transmitted to us from Ctesias^o of the rise of the Medes and the fall of Nineveh, with the very different account which Herodotus has left of the same transactions: the one utterly at variance with any thing possible, convicted of absurdity in every circumstance by the plain evidence of Scripture; the other confirmed by the same authority in all the particulars both of facts and dates. And yet Ctesias drew his narrative from royal archives^p; and, in this part of his subject at least, had no temptation 308 to wilful falsehood. His errors must be charged upon his materials. From such materials as these Megasthenes and Berosus would collect their narratives; at the distance of two centuries and a half from the facts, when all opportunity of correcting their authorities from any other sources of information had long since passed away.

The sum of the whole is this. If we adopt the system of Jackson and Hales, we suppose Herodotus and Xenophon to be both in error, in order to sustain the credit of Berosus and Megasthenes; and we obtain a result not very conformable to the tenor of Scripture. If we adopt the arrangement founded upon Josephus, we sacrifice the accounts of Berosus as erroneous, but we find the narratives of Herodotus and Xenophon perfectly consistent with each other and with Scripture. I have therefore no hesitation in adhering to this arrangement as the least beset with difficulties, and in sacrificing Berosus, rather than Herodotus or Xenophon.

To all the objections already mentioned, this must be superadded: that any system which places *Darius* before *Nabonadius* is incompatible with the dates of the Astronomical Canon. It has been shewn that the Canon is consistent with that other arrangement, which places *Darius* the Mede within the reign of *Cyrus*. But all those who have departed from that arrangement are obliged to supply the defect of two years by interpolation. Jackson supplies the two deficient years by adding two years to the Babylonian reigns, and by bringing down

ⁿ Βασιλικαὶ ἀναγραφαί. Diod. II. 22.

^o Apud Diod. II. 23—28. 32—34.

^p Ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν ἐν αἷς οἱ Πέρσαι τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις κατὰ τινα νόμον εἶχον συντεταγμένας. Diod. II. 32.

^q He adopts the two years from Syncellus p. 207. and thus arranges the Babylonian reigns:

	Y.	B. C.
Nebuchadnezzar . .	43. . . .	604.
Evil Merodach . . .	3. . . .	561.

	Y.	B. C.
Neriglissar	5. . . .	558.

Laborosoarch. 9 m. }	17. . . .	553.
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Nabonadius	17. . . .	553.
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Cyrus	9. . . .	536.
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He continues downwards these interpolated years, till he arrives at the reign of *Ochus*: for which derangement of Persian chronology he has justly merited the animadversion of Dr. Hales. Vol. I. p. 284.

the capture of Babylon to B. C. 536.^a Dr. Hales^r, although he admits those two years to 309 be interpolations, yet has in effect adopted them; and has been compelled to resort to the same expedient of bringing down the capture to B. C. 536.

The two interpolated years, making the second and third Babylonian reigns eight years instead of six, have been drawn from Syncellus; who gives two copies of the Canon. One of these copies bears the following title: ^ς τὰ ἔτη ἕως Κύρου κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν στοιχείω-σιν. Cyrus and his four predecessors are thus given:

	Y.	N. E.
(Sum of the preceding reigns)	137	
Ναβουχοδονόσορ	μγ'.	43 ... 138

^r Dr. Hales gives the following account of this matter: Vol. I. p. 281—284. “It must be acknowledged that, in this single period, a small correction is necessary to accommodate the Canon to Scripture; for, according to the Canon, from the first Nebuchadn. B. C. 604, to the first of Cyrus B. C. 538, is an interval of only sixty-six years. To remedy this, Syncellus, the oldest Christian author who has noticed it, has given two copies of the Canon.—Both these copies agree in having two interpolated years in the reigns of Ilvarodam and Nericassolassar, making together eight years instead of six. (p. 207. 208. ed. Paris.) An anonymous Greek canon (apud Scalig. Emend. Temp. p. 743.) adopted this interpolation, and Scaliger, Petavius, Usher, Prideaux, Jackson, &c. have adopted it, as indispensably necessary to reconcile the Canon to Holy Writ.—The Canon dates the accession of Cyrus, not from the capture of Babylon itself, but from the defeat of Nabonadius by Cyrus about two years before.—That Cyrus did not survive the capture of Babylon above seven years, may be collected from Xenophon. (τὸ ἔβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. lib. VIII.) We are therefore abundantly warranted to deduct two years from the nine assigned to Cyrus, in order to reduce the commencement of his sovereignty to the actual capture of Babylon, two years after his decisive victory; this deduction exactly compensating the addition of two years to the reigns of Evil Merodach and Belshazzar, and thus preserving the subsequent integrity of the Canon.—Jackson, by continuing downwards the two interpolated years, dates the reigns of Cambyes, Darius, Xerxes, &c. each two years lower than the Canon.” These observations are not very intelligible. If those two years in the second and third Babylonian reigns were interpolations, the obvious mode of restoring the Canon to its integrity and correctness was by expunging them; and by reducing those reigns from eight years to six. But,

to compensate for the interpolation by altering the years of Cyrus from nine to seven, is to amend one breach in the integrity of the copy by superadding another. Hales, however, in all his tables of these reigns, retains the interpolated years; as in vol. II. p. xxxv. p. 489. vol. III. p. 73. He was driven to the insertion of them by the necessity of the case. Having withdrawn the two years of *Darius the Mede* from the reign of Cyrus, in which they were included, he was compelled to replace them by enlarging the amount of the Babylonian reigns. I have sought in vain for the *Anonymous Greek Canon* which Dr. Hales found apud Scalig. Emend. Temp. p. 743. If, however, such a document exists, it will prove nothing in favour of the interpolated years; because there was no form of corruption or interpolation in the arrangement of those reigns, which was not resorted to by the compilers of such Chronicles, in order to adapt them to their own particular views. Sufficient proof of this will be found in the Supplement to this chapter. But let not the unsuspecting reader imagine that the opinion of Dr. Hales has the support of Scaliger, Petavius, Usher, and Prideaux. None of these four chronologers adopted the two interpolated years. Scaliger Emend. Temp. lib. VII. p. 539. seq. Animadv. ad Euseb. p. 90. gives the two reigns 2+4 or 6 years: Usher Annal. p. 96. 97. does the same: and Petavius Ration. Temp. vol. II. Successiones Regum p. 21. and Prideaux: Connexion vol. II. p. 444. Nor were the added years necessary to their systems. Scaliger brought down the end of the captivity to the 29th year of the Persian reign of Cyrus; Petavius antedated the commencement of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; Usher and Prideaux both agreed in that arrangement which it was the purpose of Dr. Hales to overthrow, and placed *Darius the Mede* within the nine years of Cyrus.

^ς Syncell. p. 208. 209. ed. Paris.

	Y.	N. E.
Ἐβιδαν Μεροδάχ	έ'. 5	... 181
Νιρηγήσαρος ὁ καὶ Βαλτάσαρ γ'.	3	... 186
Ναβονάδιος ὁ καὶ Ἀστυάγης ... ιζ'.	17	... 189
Κύρος	λα'. 31	... 206

The corruption of this copy of the Canon may be traced to two causes. Syncellus, and the writers who preceded him, imagined that the first year of Cyrus, in which the captivity ended, was the first of Cyrus in *Persia*, or the first of his whole reign[†]. Hence thirty-one 310 years came to be introduced into the Canon, instead of nine, as the amount of his reign: the accession of Nebuchadnezzar was raised to N. E. 138, six years higher than its true date, and a proportionate number of years in the preceding reigns was omitted. A second cause of corruption was the error of imagining Nabonadius to be *Astyages* (their *Darius the Mede*). The reign of Darius the Mede, as we know from Daniel, formed a component part of the term of seventy years. When, therefore, his years came to be included in one of the Babylonian reigns, the ancient Christian chronologers found themselves in precisely the same difficulty as the modern, from the deficiency of those two years: and they completed the period by augmenting the reigns which followed Nebuchadnezzar. Josephus, who computed the reign of Darius the Mede in its right place^u, found these two Babylonian reigns, in Berosus and other authors, stated at 2 + 4, or 6 years; but, when the difficulty began to be felt, then the augmented amount of those reigns, 3 + 5, or 8 years, found its way into copies of the Canon. These two causes produced corruption. The chronologers shortened the reigns which preceded *Nebuchadnezzar*, that they might insert the whole reign of *Cyrus*: they extended the reigns which followed *Nebuchadnezzar*, that they might supply the amount which they had lost in the years of *Darius the Mede*.

[†] Thus Africanus apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 488. C. μετὰ τὰ ὁ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔτη Κύρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευεν ὃ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἦλθη νέ. [B. C. 529.] —Κύρος οὖν, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάδος νέ' ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον, διὰ Ζοροβάβελ—τὴν πρῶτην ἀπέπεμψεν ἐποιήσατο τοῦ λαοῦ, πληρωθείσης τῆς ἐβδομηκονταετίας.—p. 489. B. Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς νέ' ἔτος πρῶτον, τουτέστι Κύρου βασιλείως ἔτος πρῶτον, ὅπερ ἦν αἰχμαλωσίας τέλος. And Syncellus himself p. 222. D.—τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει Κύρου ὁ ἐβδομηκονταετίας χρόνος ἐπληρώθη, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ δ' ἔτους Ἰωακείμ. But this reign of Cyrus was of thirty-one years, in the first of which the decree was issued: Syncell. p. 231. He thus computes another period: p. 223. B. τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τελευταίας Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἐπὶ τὴν τελείαν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου πάλιν ὁ ἔτη συναριθμεῖται οὕτως

Evilmerodach . .	5
Neriglissar . . .	3
Δαρείος Ἀστυάγης	17
Cyrus	31

Cambyses	8
Darius [first 6]	6
	70

He reckons 46 years from the 1st, or rather the 2nd of *Cyrus*, in which the captivity ended, to the 6th of *Darius Hystaspis*: p. 235. A. B. τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος Ἰωακείμ πρῶτον ἔτος ἐστὶν τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονόσορ· ἀφ' οὗ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος Κύρου πληροῦμενον, καὶ ἀρχόμενον τὸ β' ἔτος, ὁ συνάγεται. τῷ γὰρ δευτέρῳ ἔτει Κύρου τῶν θεμελίων ὑποβληθέντων τοῦ ναοῦ—μετὰ μς' ἔτη τὸ ἔργον ἐτελειώθη, ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου. p. 237. A. ἀπὸ γὰρ Κύρου πρῶτου ἔτους ἕως τοῦ ἕκτου ἔτους Δαρείου, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ναὸς ἀκοδομήθη, τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ ἔτη καταριθμεῖται. But, by these calculations, the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, instead of being 69 + 9 or 78 years before the death of *Cyrus*, is 69 + 31 or 100 years before it. Hence his date for the fourth of *Jehoiakim* will in reality be B. C. 629, corresponding to his first year of *Cyrus*, which will be B. C. 560.

^u That is, *subsequent to*, and *exclusive of*, the reign of Nabonadius. See above, p. 303.

Syncellus has given another copy of the Canon with this title ν : τὰ ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου ἔτη, κατὰ ἀστρονομικὸν κανόνα. The numbers assigned to the five reigns are these:

	Y.	N.E.
ιζ'. Ναβουπαλασάρου τοῦ καὶ Ναβουχοδονόσορ, ἔτη μγ'. ρξζ'.	43	125
ιη'. Ἰλλουαρουδάμουν, ἔτη γ'. ρο'.	3	168
ιβ'. Νηρηγασολασάρου, ἔτη ε'. ροε'.	5	171
κ'. Ναβοναδίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀστυάγου, ἔτη λδ'. σθ'.	34	176
κά'. Κύρου, ἔτη θ'. σιη'.	9	210

Here also are the two interpolated years; but at the same time are other variations from the true copy. The years of *Nabonadius* are thirty-four. The reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is carried upwards nineteen years, and these nineteen years are compensated by omissions in the preceding reigns. The corruption of the numbers in this list may be ascribed to the second cause already mentioned: *Astyages* the last king of Media was supposed to be *Darius* the Medes, and to have reigned at Babylon under the name of *Nabonadius*. When this error was once established, the years of *Nabonadius* would be liable to alteration; and thirty-four years out of the thirty-five or thirty-eight of *Astyages* would be ascribed to his reign at 311 Babylon^x. But whatever was the cause of the corruption, it is manifest upon a bare inspection that these two lists in Syncellus are wholly unworthy of credit. In the list entitled the *ecclesiastical*, the series of dates is so deranged and altered, that in the whole period from *Nabonassar* to the death of *Alexander* only two dates, the first and the last, (and this not without correction,) remain in their proper places^y; in the *mathematical* canon, the fourteenth and fifteenth reigns are shortened, to afford space for nineteen interpolated years after *Nebuchadnezzar*. Consequently those two added years, derived from these copies of

ν Syncell. p. 207. D.

^x Syncellus p. 231. C. enters upon an inquiry, what portion of his reign was to be assigned to *Media*, and what to *Babylon*: ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου ἐπὶ τὸ α' ἔτος Δαρείου Ἀστυάγου ἔτη εἰσὶν, κατὰ μὲν τὸν μαθηματικὸν κανόνα ροζ', κατὰ δὲ τὸν παρόντα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ροζ'. καὶ οὐδὲν διενήνοχεν· χρή γὰρ εἶδέναι ὅτι ὁ Χαλδαϊκὸς καὶ ἀστρονομικὸς κανὼν τὸν μὲν Ἀστυάγην λδ' λογιζέται Χαλδαίων βασιλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς, ιζ' τὸ πλεῖστον· ἐπεὶ καὶ ια' μόνα τινὲς φασιν. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀστρονομικὸς κανὼν θ' μόνα λογιζέται, ὁ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς λα'. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀστυάγου παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα συμφωνοῦντας ἡγάγομεν τοὺς δύο τούτους κανόνας. Ναβέννιδος ὁ τελευταῖος βασιλεὺς Μήδων (Ἀστυάγης) κα' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καταστρεφάμενος τὸν Νιριγλήσαρον, τὸν καὶ Βαλτάσαρ, —ἀνείλεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατέσχε τὴν βασιλείαν Χαλδαίων καὶ Μήδων ἄλλα ἔτη ιζ'. κατὰ δὲ τινας, ἔτη ια', ἀπὸ τοῦ κζ' ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.

^y In the extant copy of the ἐκκλησιαστικὴ στοιχείωσις there is an error of excess, making the total amount 428 years instead of 424, contrary

to the meaning of Syncellus. When this error is corrected, and the superfluous four years are retrenched, the first term and the last in the series will correspond. A full account of this list of reigns will be given in the Supplement to this chapter.

Jackson asserts vol. I. p. 379. that, although the Paris copy of the Canon makes the capture of Babylon B. C. 538, "the copy preserved by Syncellus of Ptolemy's Canon agrees with the computation at B. C. 536." This is not a true representation of the case. The added years in Syncellus do not bring down the capture of Babylon to a lower point; they carry the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* upward to a higher. According to the lists in Syncellus, the accession of *Nebuchadnezzar* was either N. E. 138, or 125. that is, B. C. 610, or 623. instead of the true date N. E. 144 B. C. 604. In one list, the reign of *Cyrus* is at its true date, N. E. 210 B. C. 538. Syncellus's own date for the first of *Cyrus* at Babylon, as has been shewn in a preceding note, was in fact equivalent to B. C. 560.

the Canon, which make the two reigns in question eight years instead of six, ought to be rejected as standing upon no authority.

That the copy published by Petavius and Dodwell is the correct copy, is attested by a reference in the astronomical work of Ptolemy himself^z, who places the fifth year of *Nabopolassar* in the 127th year of the era: τῷ γὰρ εἴ ἔτει Ναβοπολλασάρου, ὃ ἐστὶν ρκζ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. But, if his fifth year was N. E. 127, his first was N. E. 123, his twenty-first was N. E. 143, and the first of his son *Nebuchadnezzar* was N. E. 144, or B. C. 604, precisely where it is placed by this copy of the Canon. This verification of Dodwell's copy had escaped the notice of Larcher, when he rejected the edition of Dodwell, and most injudiciously preferred the copy of Syncellus^a.

^z Mey. Συναγ. V. 14. p. 125.

^a Larcher Hérodote tom. VII. p. 180. 181. *Ce Canon se trouve dans le commentaire de Théon sur l'ouvrage de Ptolémée, intitulé πρόχειρος κανὼν. "le canon succinct." Plusieurs savans l'ont fait imprimer. On fait cas de l'édition de Dodwell, qui a été faite sur des manuscrits de Vossius, et se trouve dans l'Appendix à la suite des Dissertations Cypriennes p. 163. Georges le Syncelle nous a conservé le même Canon dans sa Chronographie p. 207. et je ne vois pas de raisons qui empêchent son édition de jouir d'une moindre estime que celle de Dodwell. Je lui ai donné la préférence, parce qu'elle s'accorde mieux avec le récit d'Hérodote. Je dis plus: le canon de cette édition (de Dodwell) ne peut s'accorder avec l'Ecriture.*

His dates, accordingly, are the following: p. 183—185.

	Y.	B. C.
<i>Nabuchodonosor</i>	43. . . .	623
<i>Ilvarodamus: nommé Evilmérodach par l'Ecriture et Bérose, et Baltassar par Daniel</i> . . .	3. . . .	580
<i>Nérégasolarus, ou Nerglissar de Bérose, ou Darius Mède</i>	5. . . .	577
<i>Nabonadius</i>	34. . . .	572
<i>Cyrus prend Babylone</i> . . (9.) . . .	538	
<i>Les Juifs retournent dans leur patrie, après 70 ans de captivité</i>	537	

As he objects against the edition of Dodwell its nonconformity with Scripture, it might be presumed that his own arrangement of the Canon would be more conformable. How far he has obviated that objection will appear from his own dates for the Jewish reigns, which are these: p. 597—615.

	Y.	B. C.
<i>Hezekiah</i>	29. . . .	727
<i>Manasseh</i>	55. . . .	698
<i>Amon</i>	2. . . .	643
<i>Josiah</i>	31. . . .	641
<i>Jehoiakim</i>	11. . . .	610
<i>Zedekiah</i>	11. . . .	599
<i>Captivity of Zedekiah</i> . . .	589	

The Scripture gives the following *synchronisms*: the 1st of *Nebuchadnezzar* is the 4th of *Jehoiakim*;

the 8th—is the 11th of *Jehoiakim*;

the 19th—is the 11th of *Zedekiah*;

the 1st of *Evil Merodach* is the 37th of *Jehoiakin's captivity*.

The result of Larcher's chronology is this: the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar* is the nineteenth year of king *Josiah*: the fourteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar* is the first of *Jehoiakim*: the first of *Evil Merodach* is the 20th of *Jehoiakin's captivity*: the destruction of the temple and the captivity of *Zedekiah* are made to fall upon the thirty-fifth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*: the death of *Evil Merodach* (who is *Belshazzar*) happens *fifteen years* before *Jehoiakin* is withdrawn out of prison. If the object had been utterly to confound all the Scripture dates, and to introduce irreparable confusion into the chronology of this period, it could not have been accomplished more effectually, than by the dates which Larcher has proposed. He has unwarily joined together parts of two discordant systems. The reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* was raised to a higher date by those who placed the end of the captivity at the *Persian* sovereignty of *Cyrus*, that they might adapt the Babylonian dynasty to their own conceptions of the termination of the seventy years. But, with the captivity itself, the Jewish reigns were necessarily raised. *Africanus*, and others, who dated the end of the captivity at the 55th Olympiad, carried upwards the reigns of

312 The preceding inquiry leads us to these conclusions: that the term of sixty-six years from *Nebuchadnezzar* to the first of *Cyrus* is rightly numbered in the Canon; that the seventy years' captivity commenced B. C. 605, in the year before the sole reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and terminated with the third year of *Cyrus*, according to the Canon; that the capture of *Babylon* is rightly placed in B. C. 538; and that the edict for the return of the Jews, at the end of B. C. 536, was in the first year of *Cyrus*, computed from the death of *Darius* the *Mede*.

The first of the following tables exhibits the reigns of the Persian kings according to the technical principles of the Canon, which omits fractions of years; the other represents the actual commencement of their reigns, as far as historical evidence remains to establish it.

Com- menced.	B. C. N. E.	Y.	B. C.		Y.	M.	B. C.
				1. <i>Cyrus in Persia</i>	30.	..	559
				— conquers <i>Lydia</i> ^b ..			546
				— <i>Babylon</i>			536
Jan. 5.	210.	<i>Cyrus</i> (last 9)	9. ..	2. <i>Cambyzes</i>	7.	5. ..	529
Jan. 3.	219.	<i>Cambyzes</i>	8. ..	3. <i>Smerdis</i>	7.	..	522
Jan. 1.	227.	<i>Darius Hystaspis</i>	36. ..	4. <i>Darius Hystaspis</i>	36.	..	521
Dec. 23.	486.	263. <i>Xerxes</i>	21. ..	5. <i>Xerxes</i>	20.	..	485
Dec. 17.	465.	284. <i>Artaxerxes I.</i>	41. ..	6. <i>Artabanus</i>	7.	}	465
				7. <i>Artaxerxes Longim.</i> ..	40.		
				8. <i>Xerxes II.</i>	2.	}	425
				9. <i>Sogdianus</i>	7.		
Dec. 7.	424.	325. <i>Darius II.</i>	19. ..	10. <i>Darius Nothus</i>	19.	..	424
Dec. 2.	405.	344. <i>Artaxerxes II.</i>	46. ..	11. <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> ..	46.	..	405
Nov. 21.	359.	390. <i>Ochus</i>	21. ..	12. <i>Ochus</i>	(21.)	..	359
Nov. 16.	338.	411. <i>Arses</i>	2. ..	13. <i>Arses</i>	2.	..	338
Nov. 15.	336.	413. <i>Darius III.</i>	4. ..	14. <i>Darius Codoman.</i>	4.	11. ..	336
Nov. 14.	332.	417. <i>Alexander</i> (last 8.) ...	8. ..	<i>Alexander</i> (last 8.)	7.	8. ..	331 [Oct. 1. 331]
Nov. 12.	324.	425. <i>Philippus Aridæus</i>	7. ..	<i>Philippus Aridæus</i>	6.	4. ..	323 [May 323]

313 2. CAMBYSES. The reign of *Cambyzes* is determined by the testimonies quoted in the Tables B. C. 521. His conquest of *Egypt* is fixed to the fifth year of his reign by the concurrent testimonies of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*. *Diodorus*^c places it in Ol. 63. 3 B. C. 52 $\frac{6}{7}$. Ἀμασις κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον καθ' ὃν χρόνον Καμβύσης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος^d. The

the Jewish kings a proportionate number of years. But no chronologers who placed the termination of the seventy years at B. C. 538, and its commencement at the 4th of *Jehoiakim*, thought of placing the commencement of *Nebuchadnezzar* at B. C. 623. And this is one proof of the corruption of that copy of the Canon, which *Larcher* has preferred; that, while it retains the nine years of *Cyrus*, it dates the accession of *Nebuchadnezzar* eighty-five years before him.

^b See the Tables B. C. 546.

^c I. 68.

^d *Manetho*, quoted by *Africanus* apud *Synellum* p. 75, improperly gives *Cambyzes* six years in *Egypt*, and eleven years in the whole: Καμβύσης ἔτει ε' τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη 5'. His reign in *Egypt* would be about three years and five months: which is not contrary to *Herodotus*; whose expressions, Καμβύση χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον (III. 61), do not imply "staid several years in *Egypt*," as *Jackson* has understood them (vol. I. p. 453. note): but simply "wasting much time there."

date of the Canon for the reign of Cambyses is confirmed by a reference in the astronomical work of Ptolemy^e: τῷ ζ' ἔτει Καμβύσου, ὃ ἐστὶ σκέ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. But, if his seventh year was conumerary with N. E. 225, his first year commenced with N. E. 219, or Jan. 3 B. C. 529.

4. DARIUS HYSTASPIS. The thirty-six years of his reign are attested by the Canon, Herodotus, and Manetho^f. And the date of the Canon is verified by the following reference in Ptolemy^g:—ἐκλειψιν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ πρώτου τετηρημένην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ αὐτοῦ ἔτει,—καὶ ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Ναβονασάρου χρόνος συνάγει ἔτη σνς' καὶ ἡμέρας ρκβ'. His thirtieth year was therefore conumerary with N. E. 256. consequently his first year commenced with N. E. 227 Jan. 1 B. C. 521. conformably with Herodotus and Eusebius^h.

The *Naxian war* began B. C. 501, in the twenty-first year of Darius. In the preceding twenty years of his reign the following transactions occurred. The siege of *Babylon*ⁱ was undertaken at the same time as an expedition to *Samos* to restore *Syloson*: and the Samian war was in the beginning of the reign of Darius^k. The siege of Babylon lasted twenty months^l. ^m After the capture of that city, ⁿ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας τοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. Darius remained more than sixty days beyond the Danube^o. On his return to Sestos^p, he leaves Megabazus general in Europe; who reduces *Perinthus*, *Thrace*, and *Pæonia*^q. Then ambassadors are sent to the king of Macedonia^r, and Megabazus, ^s ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἀπῆκετο ἐς Σάρδεις. The Scythian war and the subsequent conquests of Megabazus might occupy two successive campaigns. After this, Darius, leaving Artaphernes governor of Sardis, ^t ἀπῆλυνε ἐς Σοῦσα. and Otanes, being appointed successor of Megabazus, reduces *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, *Lemnos*, *Imbros*^u. Then followed an interval of tranquillity before the affair of Naxos, which was first agitated in the twentieth year of Darius B. C. 502; the year preceding the siege of Naxos. This interval is indefinitely described as not very long: ^x μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλὸν 314 χρόνον ἀνεσις κακῶν ἦν, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ δεύτερον ἐκ Νάξου γίνεσθαι κακά.

If we place with Wesseling^y the Scythian expedition in B. C. 508—507, the campaign of Megabazus will be in B. C. 506, the campaign of Otanes will fall within B. C. 505 or 504, and οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον will imply a tranquillity of two years; until in 502 the Naxian exiles applied to Aristagoras.

^e Μεγ. Συντάξ. V. 14. p. 125.

^f Apud Syncellum p. 75.

^g Μεγ. Συντάξ. IV. 9. p. 102.

^h See the Tables B. C. 521.

ⁱ Herodot. III. 151.

^k Conf. III. 140.

^l Εἰκοστῷ μηνί. Herodot. III. 153.

^m Clemens in his present text appears to mention the capture of Babylon: Strom. I. p. 336. C.D. ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ὀλυμπιάδος ἔνιοι φασὶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κτίσιν συνάγεσθαι ἔτη εἰκοσιτέσσαρα· ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα τρία· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἔτη ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἑξ. These numbers are, B. C. 752—243=B. C. 509; and B. C. 323+186=B. C. 509. But, 1. it is very unlikely that the capture of Babylon by *Darius*, and not the more memor-

able capture by *Cyrus*, should be referred to as a chronological epoch. 2. This date would suppose the recovery of Babylon to have been delayed till the twelfth year of Darius, which is not likely. 3. The tenor of the computations in this passage require a *Roman* rather than a *Grecian* epoch. For these reasons, the correction proposed for that passage seems highly probable: ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ (τὴν βασιλείων ἀναίρεσιν ἔτη) διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα τρία· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς βασιλείων ἀναίρέσεως ἐπὶ, κ. τ. λ.

ⁿ Herodot. IV. 1—118. ^o IV. 133. 136.

^p c. 143.

^q Herodot. V. 1—2. 16.

^r V. 17—22.

^s V. 23.

^t V. 25.

^u V. 26. 27.

^x Herodot. V. 28.

^y Ad Herodot. VI. 40.

5. XERXES. The twenty-one years of *Xerxes* include the seven months of *Artabanus*, whom the Canon omits^z. It has been shewn already^a that the accession of Xerxes is determined to the beginning of B. C. 485. His twentieth year was completed in the beginning of B. C. 465; he would survive his twentieth year about five months, and his death would happen in the beginning of the archonship of Lysitheus. The seven months of *Artabanus*, completing the twenty-one years, would bring down the accession of *Artaxerxes* (after the removal of *Artabanus*) to the beginning of B. C. 464, in the year of Nabonassar 284, where it is placed by the Canon^b.

7. ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS reigned forty years, according to Diodorus^c: ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Στρατοκλέους. [B. C. 425½.]—Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. He has the same numbers elsewhere^d: τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τετταράκοντα. Diodorus is confirmed by Thucydides^e, who records the death of Artaxerxes in the winter of the archon Stratocles: τοῦ δ' ἐπιγυνομένου χειμῶνος [October B. C. 425], Ἀριστείδης—Ἀρταφέρην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ παρὰ βασιλέως πορευόμενον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ξυλλαμβάνει ἐν Ἡϊόνι καὶ αὐτοῦ κοιμισθέντος, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς ἀνέγνωσαν—τὸν δὲ Ἀρταφέρην ὕστερον ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρει ἐς Ἐφεσον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἅμα· οἱ πυθόμενοι αὐτόθι βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ τεθνηκότα (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν) ἐπ' οἶκον ἀνεχώρησαν. If the death of Artaxerxes was known at Ephesus in the winter of the archon Stratocles, as may be collected from this narrative, he would barely survive the *thoth* of N. E. 324, or December 7 B. C. 425, although his reign is extended by the Canon to December of the following year. But that is explained by the practice of the Canon, which computed to his forty-first year the months of *Xerxes II.* and *Sogdianus*. The actual reign of Artaxerxes would be something less than forty years.

8. 9. XERXES II. SOGDIANUS. The amount of these two reigns is stated by Diodorus^f: (ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἰσάρχου)—Ξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἐνιαυτόν· ὥς δ' ἔνιοι γράφουσι, μῆνας δύο· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σογδιανὸς ἦρξε μῆνας ἑπτὰ. τοῦτον δ' ἀνελὼν Δαρεῖος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δεκαεννέα. These two reigns are recognised by Manetho^g; but the 315 reigns of Xerxes I. and Artaxerxes are inaccurately computed at 21 + 41 = 62 years, exclusive of the three short reigns which the Astronomical Canon has omitted. This places an interval of 63 y. 4 m. between the death of *Xerxes I.* and the accession of *Darius Nothus*. But, as Xerxes died in the middle of B. C. 485, this would bring down the accession of

^z See the Tables B. C. 465, 2.

^a See above c. 5. p. 247.

^b The first *thoth* of Artaxerxes was equivalent to Dec. 17 B. C. 465: consequently, on the principles of the Canon, his true accession was subsequent to that day, or at least not prior to it. That accession being preceded by the seven months of *Artabanus*, the death of Xerxes is carried back to some point in the year of Nabonassar 283, corresponding with the beginning of the year of Lysitheus: conformably to the date of Diodorus. We may place the death of Xerxes in the first month of that archon [July B. C. 465], and the succession of Artaxerxes in the eighth month [February B. C. 464].

^c XII. 64.

^d XI. 69.

^e IV. 50.

^f XII. 71.

^g Quoted by Africanus apud Syncellum p. 75.

D.

ἐβδόμη καὶ εἰκοστὴ δυναστεία Περσῶν βασιλέων ἦ.
α'. Καμβύσης, ἔτει ε' τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν,
ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου . . . ἔτη 5'.
β'. Δαρεῖος Ὑστάσπου . . . ἔτη 15'.
γ'. Ξέρξης ὁ μέγας . . . ἔτη 41'.
δ'. Ἀρτάβανος . . . μῆνας 7'.
ε'. Ἀρταξέρξης . . . ἔτη 14'.
ς'. Ξέρξης . . . μῆνας δύο.
ζ'. Σογδιανὸς . . . μῆνας 7'.
η'. Δαρεῖος Ξέρξου . . . ἔτη 18'.
θμοῦ ἔτη 188'. μῆνας 8'.

Nothus to the end of B. C. 422; contrary to Thucydides, who attests that his twelfth year was completed in January B. C. 411. We collect from hence that those three short reigns of sixteen months made a part of the sixty-two years computed by the Canon, and were distributed into the adjacent reigns.

10. DARIUS NOTHUS. His reign is twice stated by Diodorus^h at nineteen years, consistently with the Canon and Manetho. The accession of Darius may be gathered from Thucydides, who places the thirteenth year current of his reign in the winter of the archon Callias; about February B. C. 411.ⁱ This testimony critically agrees with the date of the Canon, which places the first *thoth* of *Darius Nothus* at Dec. 7 B. C. 424, precisely 12 *y.* 2 *m.* before the date of the treaty in Thucydides. But this would leave a year for the two preceding reigns: since it has been shewn from Thucydides that the death of Artaxerxes must be placed, at the latest, in December B. C. 425. Consequently, either the two reigns were something more than nine months, or the accession of Darius preceded his first *thoth* in the Canon. It is probable that the compiler of the Astronomical Canon reckoned those reigns as a year; and brought down the forty-first of Artaxerxes, by which they were expressed, to the commencement of N. E. 325. These considerations determine the actual accession of *Nothus* to the sixth month of the archon Isarchus, December B. C. 424; commensurate with the *thoth* or technical date of his accession in the Canon.

11. ARTAXERXES MNEMON. Diodorus^k: 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχεν Ἀλεξίας. [B. C. 405.]—μικρὸν δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, ἄρξας ἔτη δεκαεννέα. τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν διεδέξατο τῶν υἱῶν ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀρταξέρξης, καὶ ἦρξεν ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα.—ἔπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Μόλωνος. [B. C. 367.]—μετ' ὀλίγον ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διεδέξατο Ὀχλός ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ἀρταξέρξης, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. Diodorus and the Canon both agree in fixing the succession of *Mnemon* to the year of *Alexias*. But, as the nineteen years of Darius commenced in the sixth month of *Isarchus*, they would necessarily terminate in the sixth month of *Alexias*: Diodorus, therefore, in placing the death of Darius after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, has possibly given him a few months more than the actual amount of his reign. We collect from Xenophon^m the following particulars: *Lysander* arrived at *Ephesus* at the close of B. C. 406. Not long afterwards, *Cyrus* sent for him: *Kῦρος μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἀρρώστῳ ἐκείνῳ καλοίη, ὃν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδείας, ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὗς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφυστώτας.* Accordingly *Cyrus* πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρώστούντα μετὰ πεμπτος ἀνέβαινε. This journey into the Upper Asia was undertaken in the beginning of B. C. 405. On the arrival of *Cyrus*, the king was still living, but died soon afterⁿ. We may perhaps place his death in December of that year; the first month of N. E. 344, which is computed in the Canon as the first year of his successor.

In the commencement of the reign of Artaxerxes II. Diodorus and the Canon agree: but in the number of the years assigned to him there is a great diversity. Diodorus is consistent with himself: the *forty-three* years, which commence in the archonship of *Alexias*, expire in

^h Diod. XII. 71. XIII. 108.

ⁱ See the Tables B. C. 411, 2.

^k XIII. 104. 108. ¹ XV. 90. 93.

^m Hel. II. 1, 13—15.

ⁿ Compare Xenophon *Anab.* I. 1. Plutarch *Artaxerx.* c. 3.

316 the year of Molon. Nor is the disagreement much in the collective amount of the two reigns, between Diodorus and the Canon. The former computes them at $43 + 23 = 66$ years, and the reign of Ochus would terminate in B. C. 338 N. E. 410: the Canon states them at $46 + 21 = 67$ years, which places the death of Ochus one year lower°. Other accounts, which are not of much authority, give to Artaxerxes forty or forty-two years^p. Our safest guide will be the Astronomical Canon^q.

12. OCHUS. The variations between Diodorus and the Canon with respect to the accession of this king have been already noticed. According to Diodorus he began to reign B. C. 361; according to the Canon his accession was subsequent to Nov. 21 B. C. 359. The

° The real difference might be only a few months: Diodorus might place the death of Ochus at the end of the archonship of Lysimachides, or June B. C. 338; the Canon, at the beginning of N. E. 411, or November of the same year.

^p Eusebius and the Alexandrine or Paschal Chronicle, *forty* years. The chronology of the Chronicle is as follows: apud Scalig. Euseb. p. 245—251.

Ὀλυμπιάς.

νβ'. Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος Κύρος ἔτη λ'.
 νθ'. Καμβύσης ἔτη η'.
 ξα'. . . . { δύο ἀδελφοί μῆνας ζ'.
 Δαρείος Ὑστάσπου ἔτη λς'.
 ο'. Ξέρξης ἔτη κέ'.
 ος'. . . . { Ἀρτάβανος μῆνας ζ'.
 Ἀρταξέρξης ἔτη μα'.
 πζ'. Δαρείος νόθος ἔτη ιθ'.
 ςβ'. Σογδιανός ἔτη ζ'.
 ςδ'. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Μνήμων . . . ἔτη μ'.
 ρδ'. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ καὶ Ὀχος. . . ἔτη κς'.
 ρια'. Ἀρσίοχος ἔτη δ'.
 ριβ'. Δαρείος ἔτη ς'.

Forty-two years are given to Mnemon by Clemens Strom. I. p. 331. C. But these reigns in the present copies of Clemens are still more erroneously stated than in the Alexandrine Chronicle: Κύρος ἔτη τριάκοντα· Καμβύσης, δεκαεννέα· Δαρείος, ἐξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· Ξέρξης, ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσι· Ἀρταξέρξης, ἐν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· Δαρείος, ὀκτώ· Ἀρταξέρξης, τεσσαράκοντα δύο. Ὀχος ἢ Ἀρσίου, τρία. The numbers in the last particular may be restored by reading Ὀχος κ'. Ἀρσίου τρία. But from this corrupt state of the text nothing can be concluded, nor any testimony obtained. Plutarch Artax. c. 30. has *sixty-two* years for the reign of Artaxerxes: βασιλεύσας δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα. But it is not probable that these are the genuine numbers of Plutarch.

^q An Inscription apud Boeckh. Inscr. Gr. N^o. 2691 tom. II. p. 468. confirms the authority of the Canon for the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*:

ἔτει τριηκοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ Ἀρταξέρξεως βασιλεύοντος, Μανυσσώλλου ἐξαίθραπείοντος, ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσι . . ἐ . . λησίης κυρίη . . νομέ . ης, καὶ ἐπ . κύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φ . λαί—κ. τ. λ. ἔτει τετρωκοστῷ καὶ . . μπτῷ Ἀρταξέρξεως βασιλέ . οντος, Μανυσσώλλ . ν ἐξαίθραπείοντος, ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσι, ἐκκλησίης κυρίης . νομένης, καὶ ἐπεκύρ . σαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί—κ. τ. λ. ἔτει πέμπτῳ Ἀρταξέρξεως βασιλέ . οντος, Μανυσσώλλ . ν ἐξαίθραπείοντος· Μανίτα τοῦ Πακτύω ἐ . ι . οὐλεύσαντος Μανυσσώλλω τῷ Ἑκατόμν.—ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν κ. τ. λ. The *forty-fifth* year attested by this inscription refutes those accounts which assign less than this number to the reign of *Artaxerxes*. *Mausolus* prince of Caria died in the archonship of Eudemus B. C. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$: See above p. 286. and was therefore reigning in the 39th of Artaxerxes B. C. 367, and in the 45th B. C. 361. The 5th of Artaxerxes mentioned in the third epoch of this inscription will mean the 5th of Ochus also called *Artaxerxes* (conf. Boeckh. l. c. p. 470); whose 5th year commenced in B. C. 355, while *Mausolus* was yet living.

Some references, in which the years of Nabonassar are compared with the Athenian archons, belong to the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. According to Ptolemy *Μεγ. Συνταξ.* IV. 11. p. 105. 106. the *sixth* month of the archon *Phanostratus* [Dec. B. C. 383] was the *first* of N. E. 366. ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φανοστράτου, μηνὸς ποσειδεῶνος.—γίνεται τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ τξς' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δὲ θῶθ κς'. The *twelfth* month of the same archon [June B. C. 382] was the *seventh* of the same year of Nabonassar: ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Φανοστράτου, σκироφοριῶνος μηνὸς, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δὲ φαμενώθ κδ'—γίνεται δὴ καὶ οὗτος ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ τξς' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. Again, the *sixth* month of *Evander* [Dec. B. C. 382] was the *first* of N. E. 367. ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Εὐάνδρου, μηνὸς ποσειδεῶνος τοῦ προτέρου, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους θῶθ ις'.—γίνεται δὴ καὶ οὗτος ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ τξς' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. These were the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of the reign of *Mnemon*.

Paschal Chronicle⁹⁹ places his accession at Ol. 104. 2. one year higher than Diodorus. His recovery of Egypt is placed by Diodorus^r in the year of Apollodorus B. C. 350. It is implied by Demosthenes that the conquest of Egypt was not yet accomplished in the preceding year^s. The letter of Philip to the Athenian people, preserved in the works of Demosthenes, attests that Egypt was recovered before B. C. 340.^t Nectanebus, the last native king of Egypt, had been established in the throne by Agesilaus in B. C. 361^v: consequently his reign was of eleven years, rather than eighteen, the amount ascribed to him by Manetho^u.

⁹⁹ P. 168. D.

^r XVI. 46—51.

^s In the archonship of Thessalus. Pro Rhod. p. 191. Θαυμάζω ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶ ὑπὲρ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τὰνάντια πράττειν βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν πείθοντας, κ. τ. λ.

^t Epistola Philippi p. 160. πρὸ τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην ἐψηφίσασθε, ἂν ἐκείνός τι νεωτερίῃ, παρακαλεῖν ὁμοίως ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἀπαντας ἐπ' αὐτόν. That letter was written in the autumn of B. C. 340. See the Tables B. C. 340, 2.

^v See above, c. 3. p. 213.

^u Manetho quoted by Africanus apud Syncellum p. 76. 77. places the recovery of Egypt ten years later than the date of Diodorus: in the twentieth year of Ochus, and the sixty-fifth year after the accession of Artaxerxes Mnemon. But Eusebius has a higher date: Ol. 92. 2 anno 1605 [commencing Oct. B. C. 412] Amyrtæus Saïtes annis VI.—Ol. 108. 1 anno 1668 [commencing Oct. B. C. 349] Ochus Ægyptum occupavit &c. According to this account there are 63 years of independence ann. 1605—1668 B. C. 411—348. Hieronymus gives 64 years B. C. 414—350: Ol. 91. 3 anno 1603 Ægyptus a Persis discessit.—Ol. 107. 3 anno 1667 Ochus Ægyptum tenuit.—Huc usque Manethos. The chronology of Eusebius confirmed by Diodorus is more consistent with history than that of Syncellus. For it appears by the letter of Philip that Egypt was already reduced before the 20th year of Ochus. And Amyrtæus the Saïte had conducted a war against the Persian government B. C. 460—455. See the Tables B. C. 455. The period of independence then may be dated B. C. 414—350 with Eusebius and Diodorus, and not B. C. 404—339 with Syncellus. Amyrtæus after the Egyptian war might reign 40 years in the marshes, and might reestablish himself in Egypt in B. C. 414 in the 10th year of Darius Nothus.

Larcher, and before him Dodwell and Wesseling, have confounded, or supposed Syncellus to

confound, this six years' reign of Amyrtæus with the six years' war carried on against the Persian government forty years before. Dodwell Ann. Thuc. p. 99. *Sextus belli annus sextus proinde erit Amyrtæi. Nec aliud habuit in animo fortasse Syncellus aut vetustior potius auctor cujus fidem secutus fuerit Syncellus:—Quod autem Amyrtæum auctorem defectionis faciat Syncellus, quæ 2^{do}, contigerit anno Darii Nothi, nec veterum aliquem testem advocat, nec habuit, opinor, aliquem quem advocaret. Ne quidem ipsum, quem toties appellat, Africanum.* Wesseling ad Herodot. III. 15. *Conficiunt ex his verbis viri eruditi Herodotum vitam in tempora Darii Nothi prorogasse: descivisse enim Amyrtæum anno ejus secundo regnumque tenuisse sex annis, ex Syncelli fide p. 205. ed. Venet. At ea, quum opinionis ducem non testatus sit, fallax est. Ex Thucyd. Diod. et Ctes. liquere videtur circa Ol. 79 Inarum et Amyrtæum excussisse jugum, certe utriusque defectionem bello Peloponn. fuisse priorem. Tutatus fortasse se in id usque bellum fuit. Syncelli tamen auctoritas validius fulcrum desiderat.* Larcher ad Herodot. ibid. *Le Syncelle p. 256. prétend qu'Amirtée se révolta la seconde année de Darius Nothus, et qu'il regna six ans. Il parait, cependant, par Thucydide, que sa révolte date de la 79 Olympiade.* But Syncellus p. 256 in naming Amyrtæus has no reference to the war described by Thucydides. He merely gives at p. 256 the Egyptian dynasties of Manetho, which he had already given at p. 76. On the present occasion, p. 256. D. he states them thus: Αἰγυπτος ἀπέστη Περσῶν δευτέρῳ ἔτει Νόθου Δαρείου. Αἰγυπτίων κη' δυναστεία Ἀμυρταίου Σαΐτης ἔτη 5'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου 513' [A. M. 5092=B. C. 419]. Αἰγυπτίων κθ' δυναστεία Μενδησίων βασιλεῖς δ'. ὧν πρῶτος Νεφερίτης ἔτη 5'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου 514' [5098 B. C. 413]. δεύτερος Ἀχωρις ἔτη 14'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου 518' [5104 B. C. 407] — Ψάμμονθις ἔτη 3'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου 517' [5117 B. C. 394]—Μηνᾶς ἔτη 8'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου 519' [5119 B. C. 392]. Then follows the 30th dynasty, where, according to Goar, the text is corrupted: Αἰγυπτίων λ' δυναστεία Σεβεννῶν—πρῶτος Νεκτανέβης

- 317 14. DARIUS CODOMANNUS. The accession of this prince is placed by the Canon in the first year of *Alexander*, and is made to be subsequent to the death of *Philip*. Diodorus^x expresses the time of his elevation more generally, but in sufficient conformity with the Canon: παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς, Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος, διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλέξανδρος. In the copy of the Canon given by Syncellus^y he has six years: Δαρείου τρίτου ἔτη 5'.—*υη'*. But, if the year of Nabonassar 418 had been computed to Darius, his reign would have been extended to Nov. 14 B. C. 330; whereas the death of Darius occurred in the preceding July. His actual reign, computed to the battle of Arbela, would be 4 y. 11 m. called four years in the Canon, because the reign of *Alexander* was dated from the *thoth* preceding.

ἔβασίλευσεν ἔτη η'. τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἔρκη' [5128 B. C. 383]. δεύτερος Τεὼς ἔτη β'.—The third reign is wanting, but the date, τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ἔρμς' [5146 B. C. 355], expresses the end of the dynasty, or the term of 65 years (B. C. 419—355) from the first of *Amyrtæus*. Syncellus, therefore, here describes, after Manetho, Africanus, and Eusebius, the 65 years of independence. But, as in the former account at p. 76 he had placed this period ten years too low, he has in this fixed it eight

years too high: at the second year of Nothus instead of the tenth. In making, however, the second year of *Nothus* (which was B. C. 422) coincide with A. M. 5092 or B. C. 419, he neither agrees with the true date nor with his own chronology. What the dates of Syncellus himself were for the kings of Persia will be examined at the end of this chapter.

^x XVII. 6.

^y P. 208.

SUPPLEMENT TO C. XVIII.

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I HAVE reserved for this place an inquiry into the two lists of Babylonian kings contained in Syncellus. They shall be exhibited in his own words.

Syncell. p. 206. Β. ἡ Χαλδαίων (ἀρχὴ) λείπεται στοιχειωθῆναι, ἥτις ἀπὸ Σαλμανασάρ, ὃν καὶ Ναβονασάρ καλοῦσι, λαμβάνεται, παρὰ τε Χαλδαίοις ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀστέρων ψηφοφορίᾳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μαθηματικοῖς, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ὁ σοφώτατος Κλαύδιος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συντάξει τῇ τῆς ἀστρονομίας τοῖς ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου χρώμενος ἔτεσιν. — πάντων γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀκριβεστέραν ὁμολογοῦσιν εἶναι, συνάγουσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ναβονασάρου ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἥτοι ζ', ἔτος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ πάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης βασιλεύσαντος ἔτη υἱ'. ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη κδ'. — τὸ δψμζ' ἔτος (τοῦ κόσμου) τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχον τῷ πρῶτῳ ἔτει Ναβονασάρου, ὡς εἰς τις βουληθεὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συντάξει τοῦ μεγάλου Πτολεμαίου ἐκτεθειμένας γραμματείας ἢ κανονικὰς δεῖξεις ψηφοφορίαν τινὰ τῶν οὐρανίων φορῶν ἐπιλογίσασθαι, λαμβάνων τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ δψμζ' ἔτους τοῦ κόσμου, εἴτα ἀπὸ πρῶτου ἔτους Ναβονασάρου μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν εὐροὶ ἐποχὴν μέχρι τελευταίας Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κτίστου, καθ' ἣν κόσμου μὲν ἔτος ἐρὸ ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρῶτου ἔτους Ναβονασάρου ἔτη γίνονται κδ', ὡς προεῖρηται. — Εἰσὶν οὖν, ὡς πρόκειται ἐν κανονίῳ, οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου χρόνοι κδ' κατὰ τε τὴν μαθηματικὴν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἔκδοσιν· τὰ μὲν καθ' ὅλου ἔτη τὰ αὐτὰ συνάγοντες κδ', τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέρος οὐ πανταχοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ· οἶον, Κύρου μὲν ἡ θεία γραφὴ λα' ἔτος ὑποφαίνει τῆς βασιλείας· καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοσμικοῖς ἔτεσιν οὕτω στοιχειοῦμεν· ὁ δὲ μαθηματικὸς κανὼν θ' μόνον ἔτη Κύρου νέμει. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ τισιν αὐτοῦ τε Ναβονασάρου διαφορὰν εὐρήσεις ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος· ἐν δὲ τῷ τέλει τὴν ἰσότητα.

p. 207. D. Τὰ ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου ἔτη—κατὰ ἀστρονομικὸν κανόνα.

Ναβονασάρου ἔτη	ιδ'.	N. E.	
β'. Ναβίου ἔτη	β'. ιε'.	15	
γ'. Χινζήρου καὶ Πύβρου ἔτη	ε'. κα'.	17	
δ'. Ἰλουαίου ἔτη	ε'. κς'.	22	
ε'. Μαρδοκεμπάδου ἔτη	ιβ'. λη'.	27	
ς'. Ἀρκεανού ἔτη	ε'. μγ'.	39	
ζ'. Ἀβασιλεύτου ἔτη	β'. μέ'.	44	
η'. Βηλίου ἔτη	γ'. μη'.	46	
θ'. Ἀπορανιδίου ἔτη	ς'. νδ'.	49	
ι'. Ἰριγεβάλου ἔτος	α'. νε'.	55	
ια'. Μεσσημορδάκου ἔτη	δ'. ςθ'.	56	
ιβ'. Ἀβασιλεύτου ἄλλου ἔτη	η'. ξζ'.	60	
ιγ'. Ἰσαρινδίου ἔτη	ιγ'. π'.	68	
ιδ'. Σαοσδουχίου ἔτη	θ'. πθ'.	81	
ιε'. Κινιλαδάου ἔτη	ιδ'. ργ'.	90	
p. 208. B. ις'. Ναβοναλασσάρου πατρὸς Ναβουχοδονόσου ἔτη	κα'. ρκδ'.	104	B. C.
ιζ'. Ναβοναλασσάρου τοῦ καὶ Ναβουχοδονόσου ἔτη	μγ'. ρξζ'.	125	623
ιη'. Ἰλλουαριούδμου ἔτη	ιη'. ρο'.	168	580
ιβ'. Νηρηγασολασάρου ἔτη	ε'. ροε'.	171	577
κ'. Ναβοναδίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀστιάγου ἔτη	λδ'. σθ'.	176	572
κα'. Κύρου ἔτη	θ'. σιη'.	210	538
κβ'. Καμβύσου ἔτη	η'. σκε'.	219	529
κγ'. Δαρείου ἔτη	λς'. σξβ'.	227	521
κδ'. Ξέρξου ἔτη	κα'. σπη'.	263	485
κε'. Ἀρταξέρξου α' ἔτη	μα'. τκδ'.	284	464
p. 208. C. κς'. Δαρείου β' τοῦ καὶ νόθου ἔτη	ιβ'. τμγ'.	325	423
κζ'. Ἀρταξέρξου δευτέρου ἔτη	μα'. τπθ'.	344	404
κη'. Ὀχου ἔτη	κα'. υἱ'.	390	358
κθ'. Σάρου [Ἀρσου] ἔτη	β'. υιβ'.	411	337
λ'. Δαρείου τρίτου ἔτη	ς'. υιη'.	413	335
λα'. Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μεγάλου ἔτη	ς'. κδ'.	419	329
(last year of Alexander)		424	324)

Τὰ ἀπὸ Σαλμανασάρ ἥτοι Ναβονασάρου ἔτη κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν στοιχείωσιν ἕως Κύρου καὶ ἔπειτα Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα.

p. 208. D. Ναβονάσσαρος ὁ καὶ Σαλμανασάρ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ λεγόμενος ἔτη κε'.	κε'. ^a	N. E.
β'. Νάβιος ἔτη	η'.	26
γ'. Χινζήρος καὶ Πάρος ἔτη	ε'.	34
δ'. Ἰλλουαίου ἔτη	ε'.	39

^a The collected years in this column, which are not in Syncellus, are here added from Scaliger *δλυμπ. ἀναγρ.* p. 397.

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		N. E.			
p. 209. A.	ε'. Μαρδοκεμπάδοκος ἔτη	ιβ'.	νε'.	44	
	ς'. Ἀρκεανὸς ἔτη	ε'.	ξ'.	56	
	ζ'. ἀβασίλευτος ἔτη	β'.	ξβ'.	61	
	η'. Βήληλος ἔτη	γ'.	ξε'.	63	
	θ'. Ἀπαρανάδιος ἔτη	δ'.	οα'.	66	
	ι'. Ἰρηγίβαλλος ἔτη	ε'.	οβ'.	72	
	ια'. Μεσσισιμόρδακος ἔτη	δ'.	ος'.	73	
	ιβ'. ἀβασίλευτος ἄλλος ἔτη	η'.	πδ'.	77	
	ιγ'. Ἰσαριδηνὸς ἔτη	ιγ'.	οζ'.	85	
	ιδ'. Σασσδούχιος ἔτη	θ'.	ρς'.	98	
	ιε'. Κινηλαδανῆς ἔτη	ιδ'.	ρκ'.	107	
	ισ'. Ναβοπαλάσαρος ἔτη	κα'.	ρμα'.	121	
	ιζ'. Ναβουχοδονόσορ υἱὸς [—νόσορος Scalig.] ἔτη	μγ'.	ρπδ'.	142	
	ιθ'. Ἐβιδὰν Μεροδᾶχ ἔτη	ε'.	ρπθ'.	185	
p. 209. B.	ισθ'. Νιρηγλήσαρος ὁ καὶ Βαλτάσαρ ἔτη	γ'.	ρρβ'.	190	
	κ'. Ναβονάδιος, ὁ καὶ Ἀστυάγης, Δαρείος Ἀσσοῦηρου, καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης, ἔτη }	ιζ'.	σθ'.	193	
	κα'. Κύρος Περσῶν πρῶτος βασιλεὺς ἔτη	λα'.	σμ'.	210	
	κβ'. Καμβύσης υἱὸς Κύρου ἔτη	η'.	σμη'.	241	
	κγ'. Μάγοι ἀδελφοὶ β'. Σμέρδιος [καὶ] Παυζούτης μῆνας ζ'			237	
	κδ'. Δαρείος υἱὸς Ὑστάσπου ἔτη	λς'.	σπδ'.	249	
	κε'. Ξέρξης υἱὸς Δαρείου ἔτη [male μῆνας]	κ'.	τδ'.	285	
	κς'. Ἀρταξέρξης Ξέρξου ὁ μακρόχειρ ἔτη	μγ'.	τμς'.	305	
	κζ'. Ξέρξης υἱὸς Ἀρταξέρξου μῆνας β'			348	
	κη'. Σογδιανὸς μῆνας ζ'		τμη'.	344	
	κθ'. Δαρείος ὁ νόθος ἔτη	ιβ'.	τξζ'.	349	
	λ'. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ μνήμων ἔτη	μ'.	υς'.	363	
	λα'. Ὀχος Ἀρταξέρξου υἱὸς ἔτη	ε'.	υιβ'.	408	
	λβ'. Ἀρσὴς ἀδελφὸς Ὀχου ἔτη	δ'.	υις'.	413	
p. 209. C.	λγ'. Δαρείος τρίτος Ἀρσάμου ἔτη	ς'.	υκβ'.	417	
	λδ'. Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνος ἔτη	ς'.	υκγ'.	423	
(last year of Alexander)				428	
				Rectified Dates.	
				N. E.	commenced. B. C.
				117	Jan. 28. 631
				132	Jan. 23. 610
				181	Jan. 12. 567
				186	Jan. 11. 562
				189	Jan. 10. 559
				206	Jan. 6. 542
				237	Dec. 29. 512
				245	Dec. 27. 504
				281	Dec. 18. 468
				301	Dec. 13. 448
				344	Dec. 2. 405
				345	Dec. 2. 404
				364	Nov. 27. 385
				404	Nov. 17. 345
				409	Nov. 16. 340
				413	Nov. 15. 336
				419	Nov. 14. 330
				424	Nov. 12. 325

In this list there is a redundancy of four years, contrary to the meaning of Syncellus himself, making the total amount 428 years instead of 424, which he intended it to be. The marginal annotator ad p. 230. D. 231. A. has noticed this excess of four years, which he imagines ought to be retrenched from the Chaldean reigns: 'Εως τέλους τῆς βασιλείας Νιρηγλήσαρου τοῦ καὶ Βαλτάσαρ γίνονται κοσμικὰ ἔτη κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἀληθὴ καὶ τὴν ἀκριβὴ στοιχείωσιν δγλδ'. [4934.] προστιθεμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ιζ' ἐτῶν, ὧν ἐκράτησεν ὁ Μῆδος ὁ Ἀστυάγης καλούμενος τῆς βασιλείας Χαλδαίων, (ὁ καθελὼν Νιρηγλήσαρον τὸν καὶ Βαλτάσαρ,) γίνονται ἔτη ὀδνα'. [4951.] Κύρος γὰρ τῷ δγνβ' ἔτει [4952] τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, καθὼς παρὰ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐστοιχείωται. κατὰ δὲ τὸ παραδραμὸν σφάλμα τῶν καλλιγράφων εἰς τοὺς τῶν βασιλείων χρόνους ἄλλα δ' ἔτη κατὰ προσθήκην εἰς τοὺς Χαλδαίους κείμενα. Goar, Annot. ad p. 220. observing that the ecclesiastical copy exceeds the astronomical by four years, proposes to retrench them by giving Nabonassar 26 years and Nabius two: *Quatuor videlicet annis aē Nabonasareā ecclesiasticum canonem alterum astronomis usitatum superare. Sex autem integris Nabii atati detractis et uno Nabonasari annis ante Nabuchodonosor tempestatem restituto, et rursus alio Artabani, cujus in canone non fit mentio, de quo p. 251. atati reservato, desiderata reparatur aequalitas: sin minus apponitur, constat unde quinque annorum tumor in Nabuchodonosori atate ceperit incrementum.* According to this correction, 25 + 8 = 33 for the two first reigns would become 26 + 2 = 28. and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar would be raised from N. E. 142 to N. E. 137; where Syncellus places it.

This exposition of the ecclesiastical copy justifies the assertion that the list entitled ἐκκλησιαστικὴ στοιχείωσις is so corrupt and erroneous in all its parts as to be wholly unworthy of credit, and that the two added years derived from this source, which make the reigns of Ilvarodamus and Nericassolassar eight years instead of six, ought to be rejected, as standing upon no authority.

It could scarcely have been imagined that any chronologer should have been absurd enough to adopt a series of dates, by which the accession of CAMBYSES, the accession of DARIUS HYSTASPIES, of XERXES, and of every Persian king down to OCHUS, through the best authenticated period of ancient history, is placed from seventeen to twenty years below its actual date. And yet this chronology has been adopted by Syncellus; whose dates are as follow.

	A. M.	N. E.	B. C.	320
p. 204. A.*206. D. Era of Nabonassar.	4747	1	754	
p. 217. A. B. 1st Nebuchadnezzar, 4th Jehoiakim	4883	137	618	
p. 233. B. Cyrus 31 years.	4952	206	549	
p. 240. D. Cambyases 8 years.	4983	237	518	
p. 241. A. Magi μήνας ἑπτά. (counted as a year.)	4991	245	510	
Ibid. Darius. (36 y. p. 246. B.)	4992	246	509	
p. 250. D. Xerxes 20 y.	5028	282	473	
p. 251. C. Artabanus ἑπτά μήνας. (counted as a year.)	5048	302	453	
Ibid. Artaxerxes 41 y.	5049	303	452	
p. 255. A. Xerxes 2 m. Sogdianus 7 m.	5090	344	411	
Ibid. Darius Nothus 19 y.	5091	345	410	
p. 255. B. Artaxerxes 40 y.	5110	364	391	
p. 255. D. Ochus 5 y. (ἔτη ε' κατὰ τινος κ'.)	5150	404	351	
p. 256. B. Narses 4 y.	5155	409	346	
Ibid. Darius III. 6 y.	5159	413	342	
p. 261. A. Alexander, last 6. (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους)	5165	419	336	
p. 204. A. Death of Al. N. E. 424. (κατὰ τὸ ἐρὸ' ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου, p. 261. C.)	5170	424	331	

Syncellus, it will be observed, differs in some particulars from the ecclesiastical copy, as it stands in his present text. The respective computations being these :

	The Canon.	Syncell.
To the accession of Nebuchadnezzar	141	136
from the 1st Nebuchadn. to the 1st Cyrus.	68	69
Reign of Cyrus.	31	31
from the death of Cyrus to the death of Alexander	188	188
	<u>428</u>	<u>424</u>

This comparison shews where the interpolated four years occur, and so far justifies the correction of Goar, as at least to retrench four years from the Chaldaean reigns.

The ecclesiastical copy, when rectified and compared with the years before Christ, places the Persian reigns, from Cambyases to Ochus inclusive, from 17 to 20 years below their true position. Syncellus by an opposite error carries upwards the era of Nabonassar seven years too high. This arrangement diminishes the error of the Canon in those Persian reigns, by reducing its violation of the truth of history to 12 or 13 years: but this compensation is obtained by placing both the accession of Nabonassar and the death of Alexander each seven years too high. Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 418. *Vitiose Georgius statuit initium Nabonassari in anno mundi secundum rationes LXX interpretum* δψμς', 4746, alibi 4747. *Sed strenuè nugatur. Nam ab Adam ad natalem Christi Dionysianum sunt anni 5500 secundum rationes LXX quos sequitur Georgius. A Nabonassari autem initio* [sc. Feb. 27 B. C. 747] *ad primum natalem Christi Dionysianum intersunt anni 746 dies 303. Deductis igitur 746 annis absolutis de epochâ Christi 5501, relinquitur annus ab Adam 4755. Octo igitur aut novem annis hallucinatus est noster Syncellus.* The error of Syncellus is sufficiently apparent when he is tried by that well authenticated Epoch, the era of *Nabonassar*; but it becomes still more manifest, when he is compared with so important and well attested a period as the reign of *Alexander*: whose transactions are raised seven years too high, and whose death is placed by Syncellus before the actual date of the battle of Arbela!

Syncellus p. 261. C. gives the following account of his arrangement of the Persian reigns; *Σπουδὴν θέμενος τὸ ἐρὸ' ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ τὸ τέλος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα ἀποδείξαι συντρέχον, ὡς ἂν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Φιλίππου μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔτη λαμβανόμενα κατὰ τοὺς Πτολεμαίου προχείρους τῆς ἀστρονομίας κανόνας ὁμοφωνεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμῖν ἔτεσιν, εἶρον Κύρον τὸν πρῶτον βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου καταγομένοις ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔτεσιν ἐννέα μόνον ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα Περσῶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀκριβέσι κανόνις· μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ Κύρον οὕτω στοιχειῶσαι, διὰ τὸ ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀντιπίπτειν, ἀπανταχοῦ γὰρ λα' ἔτος κείται βασιλεύσας παρὰ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἱστορικοῖς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκ τῶν Ὠχου χρόνων, ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρ' ἐνίοις, ὑφελὼν ἔτη τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι περιττά, τὰ ε' μόνον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ στοιχειῶσα* [sic legendum videtur]· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ κανὼν σύμφωνος. A specimen how little these chronologers are to be relied upon for the detail of reigns, which they would alter, extend, or shorten, with very little scruple, to make the total amounts correspond to their respective systems. We shall see this farther proved by a little consideration of the manner in which they arranged the term of the seventy years captivity.

The seventy years of the captivity, which were generally made to terminate at the first year of the Persian sovereignty of *Cyrus*, were variously computed either from the 13th year of *Josiah*, or from the

4th year of *Jehoiakim*, or from the last year of *Zedekiah*: Syncellus p. 217. A. B. τὸ δ' ἔτος Ἰωακείμ—κόσμου δὲ δωπγ', καὶ πρῶτον ἔτος βασιλείας Βαβυλῶνος Ναβουχοδονόσορ ὁ μέγας Ἰερεμίας φησί· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ κγ' ἔτος τῆς ἐαυτοῦ προφητείας πρὸς τὸν λαὸν Ἰούδα ἐξαριθμεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ιγ' ἔτους Ἰωσίου βασιλείας ἀρχόμενον· ἀφ' οὗ
 321 καὶ τινες τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Εὐσέβιος, τὸν ἐβδομηκονταετηρικὸν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας χρόνον βούλονται μετρεῖσθαι ἕως τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους Κύρου γινόμενον ἔτη ἐβδομήκοντα. κατὰ δὲ δεύτερον τρόπον ὁ αὐτὸς ἐβδομηκονταετὶς χρόνος συνάγεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ' ἔτους Ἰωακείμ, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἐγκαλεῖ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Ἰούδα περὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. κατὰ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ια' ἔτους Σεδεκίου ἕως τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Δαρείου. Africanus computed the seventy years from the first year of *Zedekiah*: Syncell. p. 219. C. Ἀφρικανὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους Σεδεκίου τὰ ὀ ἀριθμεῖ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. Each chronologer according to his own particular scheme adjusted the reigns of the Babylonian kings to the period of seventy years. Africanus, who reckoned the captivity to commence at the first year of *Zedekiah*, considered the 70 years as completed at the first year of *Cyrus* in Persia: apud Euseb. Præp. X. p. 488. B. See the passage in a preceding note, p. 309. note ^t. Accordingly he placed *Zedekiah* at B. C. 629 (see F. H. I. p. 309. w) instead of 598, and carried upwards the reigns of the kings of Judah about 31 years too high. This is confirmed by his date for the first year of *Ahaz*; which he places at B. C. 776. apud Syncell. p. 197. C. ἦν ἄρα τοῦ Ἀχὰς βασιλείας ἔτος πρῶτον, φ' συντρέχειν ἀπεδείξαμεν τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. He fixes *Ahaz* at B. C. 776 instead of B. C. 741. or 35 years higher than the true date; the reigns of all the predecessors of *Zedekiah* being necessarily carried upwards a proportionate number of years. From the 11th of *Zedekiah* to the first of *Cyrus* in the Canon is a space of 49 years; but Africanus, who placed the 11th of *Zedekiah* at B. C. 619 and the first of *Cyrus* at B. C. 5 $\frac{2}{3}$, computed 59 years as the interval. He must therefore have adapted the Babylonian reigns to this enlarged amount.

Eusebius computed a period of 70 years from the 13th of *Josiah* to the 1st of *Cyrus* B. C. 5 $\frac{2}{3}$. and again 70 years from the captivity of *Zedekiah* to the 2d of *Darius Hystaspis*: Ol. 47. 2 [B. C. 591] *captivitatis templique inflammati anni 70*. Ol. 47. 3 [B. C. 590] *Primus annus captivitatis gentis Judaicæ*—*Hac in re nobis consonat etiam Clemens* [sc. Strom. I. p. 331. B]—*Colligit autem 70 annos usque ad secundum Darii annum*. Placed at the same Olympic year in the copy of Hieronymus. Idem Ol. 55. 2. *Annorum LXX tempus*—*alii ab inceptis Hieremiæ vaticiniis nempe a 13^o—Josia regis Judæorum anno (supputant)*. Quippe a vaticiniorum *Hieremiæ quinto anno ad Cyri annum primum* [rectius Hieronymus ad Olymp. 59. 4 ab *Josia anno 13^o, sub quo Jeremias prophetare cæpit, usque ad primum annum supra dicti regis*] *anni labuntur 70. Rursus inter templum deletum, Dariique regis Persarum annum secundum anni interjacent 70*. But these periods he obtained by omitting entirely the reign of *Nabonnadius*: Syncell. p. 226. D. ὁ μέντοι Εὐσέβιος τὸν Ἀστυάγην ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ Σεδεκίου ἐστοιχείωσεν βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη λη'. ἦτοι ἀπὸ ιβ' ἔτους τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἕως τοῦ ε' ἔτους Νιριγλησάρου· τοῦτου τὸ ε' ἔτος λογισάμενος α' ἔτος τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἐν τῷ κανονίῳ αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ ἐπὶ Σεδεκίου αἰχμαλωσίας ἔτος λα'. καὶ μηδ' ὅλως λογισάμενος τὰ Δαρείου τοῦ Ἀστυάγου ἔτη ιζ', ὅπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστορικῶν πεποιήκασιν· εἴτα Κύρου λ' ἐστοιχείωσεν, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Καμβύσου ἔτη η'. ἔπειτα β' μάγων ἀδελφῶν μῆνας ζ'. καὶ Δαρείου Ἰστάσπου ἔτος ἓν. Thus *Nabonnadius*, their *Astyages*, had sometimes 17 years, sometimes 11 years, and was sometimes omitted altogether. Syncell. p. 232. D. τὰ πάντα τῆς βασιλείας Δαρείου τοῦ Ἀστυάγου ἔτη λη'. Μῆδων μὲν κα', κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους κζ'. Μῆδων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων ἔτη ιζ', κατὰ δὲ τινες ια'. πλὴν εἴτε οὕτως, οὐδὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀντίκειται. οἱ γὰρ σπουδάζοντες δεῖξαι τὰ ὀ ἔτη τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ιβ' ἔτους τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ καὶ τῆς τελείας ἐρημώσεως οἴκου Κυρίου καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ ἔθνους ἕως τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Δαρείου τοῦ Ἰστάσπου ταῦτα τὰ ἔτη τοῦ Ἀστυάγου ὑπεξαίρουσιν· ἵνα τὸν ἐβδομηκονταετὶ χρόνον στήσωσιν.

The chronology of Eusebius corresponds with this account in Hieronymus apud Euseb. Scaliger. p. 125—129.

Ol.	B. C.				
45. 3	598.	Nebuchadnezzar	12	Astyages	1
47. 2	591.	.....	19	.....	8
3	590.	.....	20	.....	9
4	589.	.....	21	.....	10
*	*	*	*
51. 3	574.	.....	36	.....	25
4	573.	Evil Merodach	1	.....	26
*	*	(cui successit fra- ter ejus Baltazar)		.....	*
54. 4	561.	.....		.....	38
55. 1	560.	.....		Cyrus ..	1
*	*	*
62. 2	531.	.....		.....	30
3	530.	.....		Cambyses..	1
*	*	*
64. 3	522.	.....		Magi	69
4	521.	.....		Darius	1
65. 1	520.	.....		.....	2
					Temple rebuilt.
					Zedekiah
				
					First y. of the captivity
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				

In the Armenian copy there is a slight variation : *Anno 1419 Ol. 45. 4 Astyagis 1, Zedekia 5.*—*Anno 1426 Ol. 47. 3 Astyagis 8 captivitatis annus 1.*—*Anno 1457 Ol. 55. 2. Cyri 1 captiv. 32.*—*Anno 1496 Ol. 65. 1 Darii 1 Captiv. 71.* But the dates of Syncellus and Hieronymus are confirmed by Eusebius himself *Præp. X. 9. p. 483. C.* who reckons the *second* year of *Darius* to coincide with *Ol. 65. 1* : *Δαρείου μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ξε' Ὀλυμπιάδος καταστῆναι.* where he adds, *ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Δαρείου ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἔτη συνάγοιτ' ἂν σνς' Ὀλυμπιάδες ξδ'.* which again gives *Ol. 64. 4 B. C. 521* for the *first* year of *Darius* in the computation of Eusebius.

Eusebius therefore omits the reign of *Nabonnadius*, reduces the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to 36 years, and gives 13 years to the reigns of *Evil Merodach* and *Belshazzar*.

The author of the Alexandrine or Paschal Chronicle, who, like Eusebius, computes the 70 years from the captivity of *Zedekiah* to the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, thus disposes of the period : *apud Scalig. Euseb. p. 242—244.* He fixes the 4th of *Jehoiakim* and the 1st of *Nebuchadnezzar* at *Olymp. 39. 3 B. C. 622*; which carries upwards the Jewish reigns about 17 years too high. He reduces the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* to 23 years : *Olymp. 45. 1. τούτῳ τῷ κγ' ἔτει Ναβουχοδονόσορ, καὶ τρίτῳ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας* [which is computed from the 11th of *Zedekiah* and the 20th of *Nebuch.*], *ἀπέκτισε Ναβουζαρδάν πάλιν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ Ἰουδαίους ψμέ.—Μετὰ Ναβουχοδονόσορ διεδέξατο τὴν Χαλδαίων ἀρχὴν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐδειλὰδ Μαρωχὰδ ἔτη ξ'.* (Conf. *Chron. Pasch. p. 137. D.*) Then follow *Βαλτάσαρ ἔτη δ'.* *Δαρείος ὁ Μῆδος ἔτη γ'.* *Δαρείος υἱὸς Ἀσσονήρου ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Μῆδων ἔτη ιγ'.* *τίτες φασὶ τοῦτον τὸν Δαρείον καὶ Ἀστυάγην ἐπικεκλήσθαι.* (Conf. *Chron. Pasch. p. 140. 141.*) And the 1st year of *Cyrus Ol. 52. 1 B. C. 572* is the 31st of the captivity. His chronology therefore is this :

Olymp.	Y.	B. C.
39. 3	Nebuchadnezzar ..	23. ... 622
45. 2	Evil Merodach ...	7. ... 599
47. 1	Belshazzar	4. ... 592
48. 1	Darius Medus	3. ... 588
48. 4	Darius Astyages ...	13. ... 585
52. 1	Cyrus	30. ... 572

The dates of this author for the Persian dynasty have been given already, p. 316. note p.

Sulpicius Severus, who places the beginning of the 70 years at the 11th of *Zedekiah* and their termination at the 1st of *Cyrus*, has the following account of the Babylonian reigns : *II. 7—13. p. 267—281. Nabuchodonosor post devictum Sedekiam, quem captivum Babylonem transtulit, regnasse traditur annos 26. quanquam id non in Sacra Historia scriptum invenerim. Sed forte accidit ut, dum multa evolverem, annotationem hanc jam interpolato per ætatem libello sine auctoris nomine reperirem, in quo regum Babyloniorum tempora continebantur, quam prætereundam non putavi. Siquidem et chronicis consentirent, et ita illius nobis ratio quadraret, ut per ordinem regum quorum tempora continebat usque in primum. Cyri regis annum 70 annos—impleret. Post Nabuchodonosor filius ejus regnum est adeptus, quem in Chronicis Evilmerodach fuisse vocitatum reperi. Hic duodecimo imperii anno diem functus fratri minori, qui Balthasar dictus est, locum fecit. Is cum quarto et decimo anno publicum epulum—daret, sacra vasa proferri imperavit, &c.—eodem nocte interiit, regnumque ejus Darius natione Medus occupavit.—Darius*

duodeviginti annos regnasse traditur : quâ tempestate Astyages Medis imperabat.—Post Darium Medum, quem duodeviginti annos regnasse significavimus, Cyrus uno et triginta annis rerum potitus est.

These, then, will be the dates :

	Y.	B. C.
(Zedekiah	11	642)
Nebuch. last . . .	26	631
Evil Merodach . .	12	605
Belshazzar	14	593
Darius the Mede	18	579
Cyrus	31	561

This chronology carries up the reign of Zedekiah, and consequently those of all his predecessors, about 44 years higher than their true position.

The concise sketch which follows in Sulpicius of the Persian dynasty deserves notice. He proceeds thus : II. 13—25. p. 281—311. *Cyrus uno et triginta annis rerum potitus est. Scythis bellum inferens in prælio cecidit secundo anno postquam Tarquinius Superbus Romæ regnare cæperit. Cyro Cambyses filius ejus successit, regnavitque annos novem.—Post hujus mortem, Magi duo fratres, natione Medi, menses septem Persarum regnum obtinuerunt. Ad hos interficiendos septem nobilissimi Persæ conjuraverunt, quorum princeps fuit Darius Hystaspis filius ;—omniumque consensu regnum ei delatum : regnavit annos sex et triginta. Hic ante quadriennium quam decederet apud Marathonem pugnavit.—Id gestum post Romam conditam anno fere ducentesimo et sexagesimo, Macherino et Augurino consulibus, abhinc annos, (si tamen investigatio Romanorum consulum non fefellit,) 888 ; omne enim tempus in Stilichonem consulem direxi [A. D. 400]. Post Darium Xerxes fuit ; isque unum et viginti annos regnasse traditur ; quanquam in plerisque exemplaribus viginti et quinque annos imperii ejus fuisse reperi. Huic successit Artaxerxes.—Regnavit annos unum et quadraginta. Xerxes duobus mensibus ; postque eum Suedianus septem mensibus fuit. Darius deinde regnum adeptus est, cui Ochus tum nomen erat :—qui unum de viginti annis rerum fuerat potitus.—Artaxerxes regnavit annos duos et sexaginta [legendum cum Sigonio duos et quadraginta], eidemque Ochus successit—Ceterum Ochus viginti tres annos regnavit. Post eum Arxes filius ejus triennio imperium tenuit : Darius annos quatuor. Adversus hunc Alexander Macedo acie conflixit, eo victo Persis imperium ademptum, quod ab initio Cyri steterat annos ducentos et quinquaginta [legendum ducentos et triginta]. Alexander exacto duodecimo imperii anno, septimo posteaquam Darium devicerat, apud Babyloniam defunctus est.*

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The chronology, then, of Sulpicius is this :

	Y.	Rectified.	Date of Sulpic.
		B. C.	B. C.
Cyrus	31.	561.	559
Cambyses	9.	530.	528
Darius	36.	521.	519
Xerxes	21.	485.	483
Artaxerxes	41.	464.	462
Xerxes 2 m. Sogdianus 7 m. 1.	423.	421	
Darius Nothus	19.	422.	420
Artaxerxes II. [62]	42.	403.	401
Ochus	23.	361.	359
Arses	3.	338.	336
Darius III.	4.	335.	333
[250] 230			
Alexander, last	7.	331.	329
Death of Alexander		323.	321

Sulpicius intended to state the reign of *Cyrus* at 31 years, and not, as Wesseling suspected, at 29. See the Tables B. C. 529, 2. And this is further confirmed by the author's own computation (II. 16, 18) of 260 years from the captivity—*a die captivitatis Judeorum*—to the 32d year of *Artaxerxes II.* But 29 years for the reign of *Cyrus* would give only 258 years for this period. The correction of Sig-

nus in the reign of *Artaxerxes II.* XLII years for LXII, is disputed by the commentator upon Sulpicius ad p. 301. because Plutarch also states this reign at 62 years. But it is perfectly clear from Sulpicius himself that he gave forty-two years as the amount of this reign. *Sixty-two* years would raise all the preceding reigns twenty years too high. *Cyrus* would be placed at B. C. 581, *Cambyzes* at 550, *Xerxes* at 505. But Sulpicius determines the death of *Cyrus* to coincide with the 2d year of *Tarquinius Superbus*: and the 2d of *Tarquin* was according to Varro B. C. 533, according to Cato B. C. 531, according to Fabius B. C. 528. He fixes the battle of Marathon (four years before the death of *Darius*) at the 260th year of the city, and 888 years before the consulship of *Stilicho*. But U. C. 260 was according to Varro B. C. 494, according to Cato B. C. 492, according to Fabius B. C. 488. A. D. 400 gives also B. C. 488 for the 32d year of *Darius Hystaspis*. The accession therefore of *Xerxes* was not placed by Sulpicius at B. C. 505. He computes (II. 16, 14) from the 32d year of *Artaxerxes II.* ad *Christi crucem Fusio Gemino et Rubellio consulibus* [U. C. Varr. 782 A. D. 29] 398 years. And this will place the 32d year of that king at B. C. 369 and his accession at B. C. 401. Lastly, he reckons (II. 17, 14 compared with 24, 17) twenty-two years from the 32d year of *Artaxerxes II.* to the 12th of *Ochus*; consequently he computed forty-two years to the reign of *Artaxerxes*. The total numbers, therefore, 250 years, are to be reduced to 230. They were probably altered by some transcriber, to adapt the total to the amount which he found in detail. If the erroneous number, sixty-two years, ascribed to this reign in Plutarch (which is noticed p. 316. note P) had any other origin than the corruption of the copy by the error of a transcriber, I should account for it thus. The five years given to *Ochus* by some accounts, which Syncellus adopted because they suited his purpose, might be intended to express the amount of his reign after the reduction of Egypt, and were probably derived from some list of Egyptian reigns. Thus in the dynasty given by Syncellus p. 77. C. *Ochus* has two years in Egypt; or six years according to Ed. Routh. tom. II. p. 149. But those who mistook this for the whole reign of *Ochus*, finding a deficiency in the total amount of the Persian kings, ascribed the residue of his years to his predecessor *Artaxerxes*; $62 + 5 = 67$ years actually expressing the true amount of these two Persian reigns.

Scaliger would read 890 years for 888 in Sulpicius II. 13, 10. and 890 years for this interval, from the battle of Marathon B. C. 490 to A. D. 400, would undoubtedly describe the exact amount of time. But it appears that Sulpicius, by some error of computation, placed the death of *Alexander* two years too low; at B. C. 321 U. C. Varr. 433 instead of B. C. 323 U. C. Varr. 431. He fixes the birth of *Christ* at the 33d year of *Herod*: II. 39. *Sub hoc Herode anno imperii ejus 33o Christus natus est, Sabino et Rufino consulibus* [U. C. Varr. 750 B. C. 4]. and enumerates 317 years from the death of *Alexander* to the birth of *Christ*, which places the death of *Alexander* 321 years before the vulgar era ^a. This error arose from his computing only *nine* years instead of *eleven* between that event and the era of 324 the *Seleucidæ*: II. 28. *Defuncto rege Alexandro—Seleucus post novem annos rex est appellatus regnavitque annos 32*. As this error of two years in the time of *Alexander* brings down each preceding reign two years respectively, his references are adapted to these erroneous dates: he places the battle of Marathon at B. C. 488 and the accession of *Artaxerxes II.* at B. C. 401.

^a He computes, indeed, 151 years from the death of *Alexander* to the seizure of the temple by *Antiochus*: II. 27. *Id gestum ab excessu Alexandri anno centesimo uno et quinquagesimo, Paulo Crasoque consulibus* [U. C. Varr. 586 B. C. 168], *post quinquennium fere quam Antiochus regnare ceperat*.

This would bring down the death of *Alexander* to B. C. 319, *four* years below the actual date. But the detail of the reigns in Sulpicius himself, II. 28. gives 153 years for this period, and raises the death of *Alexander* to B. C. 321.

XIX.

ATTIC MONTHS.

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Ἑκατομβαιῶν. | 7. Γαμηλιῶν. |
| 2. Μεταγειτνιῶν. | 8. Ἀνθεστηριῶν. |
| 3. Βοηδρομιῶν. | 9. Ἑλαφηβολιῶν. |
| 4. Πυανεψιῶν. | 10. Μουνυχιῶν. |
| 5. Μαϊμακτηριῶν. | 11. Θαργηλιῶν. |
| 6. Ποσειδεῶν. | 12. Σκιροφοριῶν. |

1. *HECATOMBÆON*. ^a μὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁ πρῶτος. The lexicographer is confirmed by Antiphon ^b: who attests, that the two last months were *Thargelion* and *Scirophorion*: τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ [he is speaking of the king-archon] λοιποὶ δύο μῆνες ἦσαν θαργηλιῶν καὶ σκιρόφοριῶν. —and that the two first were *Hecatombæon* and *Metagitnion*: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐτοσί ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσῆλθεν ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένοις τοῦ ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας συνεχῶς ἀπογράφεσθαι, —καὶ αὖθις τοῦ μεταγειτνιῶνος μηνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀρξαμένοις ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπογράφεσθαι—παρήσαν καὶ τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας. ὥστε αἱ σύμπασαι ἡμέραι ἐγένοντο αὐτοῖς πλέον ἢ πεντήκοντα ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλείως. The season of *Hecatombæon*, near the summer solstice, is marked by Aristotle ^c: θέρουσ περὶ τὸν ἑκατομβαιῶνα περὶ τροπὰς θερινάς. who also shews its position between *Scirophorion* and *Metagitnion*: ^d περὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, σκιρόφοριῶνα καὶ ἑκατομβαιῶνα καὶ μεταγειτνιῶνα. The Κρόνια were celebrated in this month: —^e δωδεκάτῃ τὸν νόμον εἰσήνεγκεν—καὶ ταῦτ' ὄντων Κρονίων, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀφειμένης τῆς βουλῆς. and the Παναθήναια μεγάλα.—^f Τιμοκράτης—τοῦ ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς δωδεκάτῃ τὸν νόμον εἰσήνεγκεν—διαπραξάμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑμῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων καθίζεσθαι νομοθέτας διὰ ψηφίσματος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων προφάσει. βούλομαι δ' ὑμῶν τὸ ψήφισμα αὐτὸ ἀναγνῶναι τὸ νικῆσαν—“ Ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρώτης ἐνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτάνειας, Ἐπικράτης εἶπεν, ὅπως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ θύηται καὶ ἡ “ διοικήσις ἱκανῇ γένηται καὶ εἴ τιнос ἐνδεὶ πρὸς τὰ Παναθήναια διοικηθῇ, τοὺς πρυτάνεις καθίσει “ νομοθέτας αὔριον.”—Whence we learn that the *Panathenæa* were after the 12th of the 325 month; which consists with the account of Proclus, who places the *Panathenæa magna* at the 28th of *Hecatombæon*: τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα (Παναθήναια) τοῦ ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἐγένετο τρίτῃ ἀπιώντος ^{ff}.

^a Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 247, l.

^b περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ p. 146, 16—30.

^c Hist. Anim. V. 9, 6.

^d Hist. Anim. V. 15, 1.

^e Demosth. Timocrat. p. 708.

^f Demosth. Timocrat. p. 708. 709. The opinion of Petitus and Corsini, who understand the *Panathenæa minora* in this passage, will be considered under the month *Thargelion*.

^{ff} It is strange that both Meursius and Dodwell should understand τρίτῃ ἀπιώντος to mean the twenty-third day of the month (see Corsin. Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 359), when the practice of reck-

oning the last ten days of the Attic month backwards is so well known. An example of this practice (which is explained by Potter Archæolog. vol. I. p. 524) is given by Demosthenes Fals. Leg. p. 359. εἰκάς.—ἰστέρα τοῖνυν δεκάτῃ, ἐνάτῃ, ὀγδόῃ.—τῇ τετράδι φθίνοντος ἡκκλησιάζετε.—ὀγδόῃ τοῖνυν, ἐβδόμῃ, ἕκτῃ, πέμπτῃ, τετράς. Ulpian. ad loc. (p. 210. ed. Par.) ἐκ τῆς πρώτης καὶ εἰκάδος ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς λέγοντες τὴν πρώτην εἰκάδα δεκάτην· καὶ τὴν δευτέραν εἰκάδα ἐνάτην· καὶ τὴν τρίτην εἰκάδα ὀγδόην· καὶ ὁμοίως οὕτως ἕως τῆς τριακάδος. Accordingly, δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος is the 21st; ἐνάτῃ, the 22d; τετράς φθίνοντος, the 27th; τρίτῃ φθίνοντος or ἀπιώντος, the

2. METAGITNION. εδεύτερος μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίους.—ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Μεταγειτνίῳ θύουσιν· ὡς Λυσισαχίδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι μηνῶν. ^h Μεταγειτνίων. μὴν Ἀθήνησι δεύτερος.

3. BOEDROMION. ⁱ μὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἔστιν ὁ τρίτος. The three first months are named in successive order by Demosthenes ^k: ἑκατομβαιῶν, μεταγειτνίων, βοηδρομιῶν. τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια, κ. τ. λ. The μυστήρια μεγάλα, or Ἐλευσίνια, began on the 15th of this month and ended on the 23d; occupying nine days ^l.

4. PYANEPSION. ^m μὴν Ἀθήνησι τέταρτος.—ⁿ Πυανεψίων· μὴν Ἀθήνησι δ'. These testimonies are confirmed by Plutarch ^o: μεταγειτνίωνος ἡ περὶ Κρανῶνα μάχη—βοηδρομιῶνος δὲ παρήλθεν ἡ φρουρὰ, πυανεψίωνος δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀπέθανε. From this passage Scaliger inferred that *Pyanepsion* followed *Boëdromion*. It is manifest, that Arrian believed *Pyanepsion* to be the fourth month of the Attic year, from the date which he has assigned to the battle of Arbela: he places that battle in *Pyanepsion*; and it was preceded by an eclipse, which we know to have fallen within the month *Boëdromion* ^p. *Pyanepsion* is the fourth and *Mæmacterion* the fifth in the list, though imperfect, of a grammarian ^q: μῆνες Ἀθηναίων οὗτοι: ἑκατομβαιῶν, Μεταγειτνίων, Βοηδρομιῶν, Πυανεψίων, Μαιμακτηριῶν, Ποσειδεῶν, Γαμηλιῶν, Σκευροφοριῶν. And the same order is established by ancient Marbles: not only by the two inscriptions which Spon has published, of the age of the Cæsars, and by one of uncertain age in Chandler's collection ^r, but by a fourth monument which Chandler has discovered, coeval 326

28th of the month. Proclus ad Hesiod. opp. 815.

—Ἀθηναίους—ἀναπάλιν ἀριθμοῦντας τὰς φθινοῦσας, δεκάτην ἐνάτην ὀγδόην καὶ ἑξῆς. Theod. Gaza de Mensibus c. 15. p. 301. illustrates this method of computing by quoting Aristoph. Nub. 1129. (1131, Br.) explained by the scholiast ad loc. whom Gaza transcribes. Wyttenbach ad Plutarch. Mor. p. 372. A—E., like Meursius and Dodwell, had neglected these passages, when he remarked, “τῇ ὀγδοῇ φθίνοντος reddendum erat vigesimo octavo” “die mensis, non, ut nunc editum est, vigesimo secundo.” It should have been rendered *vigesimo tertio*. The practice of the Athenians, in thus computing the last ten days of the month, resembled that of the Romans in computing their *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*.

^g Harpocrat. v. Μεταγειτν. See Phot. Lex. v. Μεταγειτν. bis.

^h Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 280, 26.

ⁱ Bekker. p. 221, 30.

^k Olynth. III. p. 29.

^l See Corsin. Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 378. and Meursius, to whom he refers.

^m Bekker. p. 297, 15.

ⁿ Phot. Lex. v. Πυανεψ.

^o Demosth. c. 28.

^p See the Tables B. C. 331, 2.

^q Apud Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 281, 16.

^r The three inscriptions are these: 1. Inscriptio Sponiana apud Corsin. Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 171. Marm. Oxon. N^o. LIV. 1.

εἰκόνα τήνδε Ποσειδῶνος ἐν εὐφρόνοις παλαίστραι[s]

τεύξας, κοσμ. . . ου θήκατο Νυμφοδότου,

ἐπὶ τῆς Γαίῳ Ἰουλίου Κασίου Στεριέως ἀρχῆς· κοσμητῆς ἐφῆβων Ὀλος Πόντιος Νυμφόδοτος Ἀζηγιεύς καὶ ὑποκοσμηταὶ Ὀλος Πόντιος Δημήτριος Ἀζη. ιεύς καὶ Χαρίτων Ἰατροκλέους Μελιτεύς· νυμασι . . . ι καθὼς ἐγυμνασιάζοντες Βοηδρομιῶνα Νυμ. . . dosος Ἀζηγιεύς· Πυανεψίωνα Δημήτριος Νυμφοδότου Ἀζηγιεύς· Μαιμακτηρι. να Συμφέρων Ἀζηγιεύς· Ποσειδεῶνα δ' Ἀντίοχος Μεάνδρου Μελιτεύς· Ποσειδεῶνα β' Κλ. Νίκων Μαραθώνιος—This inscription establishes two facts: that *Pyanepsion*, at this period, preceded *Mæmacterion*, and that the lunar months were still in use at Athens, from the mention of the intercalary month, the second *Posideon*. 2. Inscriptio Sponiana apud Corsin. tom. II. p. 182. 183.—γυμνασιάρχαι Βοηδρομιῶνα Ἰούλιος Εὐφράνωρ Μαραθώνιος στρατηγός· Πυανεψίωνα Δημήτριος Μάρκου Βησαιε . . Μαιμακτηριῶνα Σύμμαχος Ἀριστοβούλου Μαραθώνιος· Ποσειδεῶνα Ἀρτέμων Μνηοδόρου . . . τιος . . . In a subsequent part of the Marble, the tribe Ἀδριανίς is mentioned; which marks its age. 3. Inscriptio inter Marmora Oxoniensia N^o. XXI. ed. Chandler. Μεταγειτνίωνος θεαῖς β' . . [i. e. Εὐμενίδει δευτέρα ἱσταμένου]. του τῆς Παντελείας πόπανον φάλον, χοινικαίον, ι' ε', νηφάλιον. Βοηδρομιῶνος γ' ι' [τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου], Νέφθυϊ καὶ Ὀσίριδι. ἀλεκτρύονα.

—Πυανεψίωνος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι, ζ' [conf. Harpocrat. v. Πυανόψια.—Πυανεψίωνος ἐβδόμῃ τὰ Πυανόψια Ἀπόλλωνι—], π. πανον χ . . . ικαίον ὀρθόνφαλον καὶ καθήμεν . . δωδεκόνφαλον [conf. Moerid.

with the Peloponnesian war: or at least anterior to the archonship of *Euclides* B. C. 403. Barthélemy justly considers this last inscription as conclusive for the order of Scaliger^s.

5. ΜΕΜΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ. Harpocratio^t:—ὁ πέμπτος μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίους.—ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ Διὸς Μαιμάκτου. μαιμάκτης δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνθουσιώδης καὶ ταρακτικός, ὥς φησι Λυσιστραχίδης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι μηνῶν. ἀρχὴν δὲ λαμβάνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μηνί, ὁ ἄρ' ἀτάττεται καὶ μεταβολὴν ἴσχει. Repeated by Suidas^v, and by Photius^u, who has also another passage to the same purpose: Μαιμακτηριῶν. καὶ οὗτος μὴν Ἀθήνησι ἐ'. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μαιμάξεως τῆς περὶ τὴν ἄμπελον, κ, τ. λ. With this another grammarian agrees^x: Μαιμακτηριῶν. μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς [forte καὶ οὗτος] Ἀθήνησι, πέμπτος. To these authorities must be added the testimonies which have been already recited under the preceding month^y.

The authority of Harpocratio is set aside by Petavius and Dodwell, because it interfered with their theory, which placed *Mæmacterion* before *Pyanepsion*. According to Petavius^z Harpocratio confounded the ancient lunar Attic year with the solar year of his own time; and, being an Alexandrian, confounded *Attic* with *Egyptian* months. Dodwell^a charges him with want of skill: *Nihilo peritior Harpocratio anni veteris Attici*, &c. Corsini^b well de-
327 fends Harpocratio against the imputations of Petavius, by shewing that he every where speaks

v. φθοίς.—πέμμα πλατὺ ἔχον ὄμφαλον. Clem. Protrept. p. 14. A. πόπανα πολυόμφαλα]. Μαιμακτηριῶνος Διὶ Γεωργῷ, κ', πόπανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον δωδεκόνφαλον ναστὸν χοινικιαῖον ἐπιτεπρασμένον πανκαρπία νηφάλιον. Ποσειδεῶνος ἡ ἰσταμένου, πόπανον χοινικιαῖον δωδεκόνφαλον καθῆμ ... Ποσειδῶνι—κ, τ. λ.

^s The argument of Barthélemy is decisive: *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XLVIII. p. 399. M. Chandler, d'après quelques indices, crut y reconnaître la loi de Solon touchant les sacrifices et les victimes. Tout ce que nous découvrons dans le fragment qu'il nous a transmis, c'est un certain règlement qui obligeoit les Athéniens, ainsi que d'autres villes, et qu'on devoit observer pendant deux intervalles de temps égaux et circonscrits. Le premier de ces intervalles commence à la néoménie de Métageitnion, comprend le Boëdromion, et s'étend jusqu'au 10 de Puanepsion; c'est-à-dire, jusqu'à la veille du jour, où commençoient, à proprement parler, les fêtes de Cérès nommées Thesmophories: (ΑΠΟ) ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΟΕΔΡΟΜΙΟΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΥΑΝΟΦΣΙΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΕΣ ΗΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟ. Métageitnion étoit le second mois de l'année Attique, Boëdromion le troisième, Puanepsion étoit donc le quatrième: car si ce dernier n'avoit pas suivi immédiatement Boëdromion, on n'auroit pas manqué de citer le mois qui les séparoit: cela se trouve confirmé par le second intervalle de temps mentionné dans l'inscription. Il commence à la néoménie de Gamélion (7^e mois), comprend l'Anthestérion (8^e mois), et s'étend jusqu'au 10 d'Elaphébo-*

lion (9^e mois), c'est-à-dire, jusqu'à la veille du jour où commençoient à proprement parler les Dionysiaques de la ville: ΑΠΟ ΓΑΜΕΛΙΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΕΣΤΕΡΙΟΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΛΑΦΕΒΟΛΙΟΝΟΣ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΕΣ ΗΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟ. Les deux intervalles de temps comprennent chacun deux mois et un tiers; et comme dans le second on a suivi l'ordre du calendrier, il faut nécessairement qu'on l'ait suivi dans le premier; et puisqu'Elaphébolion venoit après Anthestérion, Puanepsion devoit venir après Boëdromion. As neither the volume to which I have referred, nor the original edition of the treatise of Barthélemy, (*Dissertation sur une ancienne inscription Grecque relative aux finances de Athéniens*; 1792.) are now before me, I am indebted for this extract to the hand of a literary friend.

^t V. Μαιμακτηριῶν.

^v V. Μαιμακτηριῶν p. 2423. A.

^u Lex. v. Μαιμακτηριῶν.

^x Apud Bekker. *Anecd. Græc.* p. 280, 27.

^y The testimony of Diod. III. 47 (produced by Scaliger in support of his own arrangement) also determines *Mæmacterion* to the fifth place: ἀπὸ μηνὸς, ὃν καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαιμακτηριῶνα, τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρκτον ἀστέρων οὐδένα φασὶν ὁρᾶσθαι μέχρι τῆς πρώτης φυλακῆς· τῷ δὲ ποσειδεῶνι μέχρι δευτέρης, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἑξῆς ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον πλωζομένου. *Mæmacterion*, then, immediately preceded *Posideon*.

^z *Doctrin. Temp.* I. 10. IV. 8.

^a *Diss.* II. p. 91.

^b *Fast. Att.* tom. II. p. 405. 406.

of *Athenian* and not *Egyptian* months; that he quotes Lysimachides for the station of *Mæmacterion*: that if he had called *Mæmacterion* the fifth month, only because *Tybi* was the fifth in the Egyptian Calendar, he must have called *Metagitnion* the third, *Posideon* the seventh, and *Munychion* the eleventh, for similar reasons. But, after having so well defended the lexicographer, he proceeds to determine with some inconsistency that, in the original and ancient order of the Attic months, *Mæmacterion* was the *fourth*, and *Posideon* the *fifth*; that this order continued certainly down to the 124th Olympiad; that it was afterwards reversed, and *Mæmacterion* became the fifth month; that this change was made in the reign of *Hadrian*, in the very age of Harpocratio himself^c. We are therefore required to suppose that Harpocratio, proposing to illustrate the ancient orators, and drawing his materials from former commentators and writers, would arrange the Attic months, not according to the order which prevailed in the time of his authors, but according to a new form established in his own time; that, while he commented on Demosthenes Isæus Æschines or Lycurgus, he would neglect to describe the months as they were arranged in the works of those orators, and would represent them under the recent mode adopted in the reign of *Hadrian*. In the present case, however, we have not the authority of Harpocratio, but of Lysimachides. And Lysimachides, who flourished probably in the reign of *Augustus*, certainly before Ammonius^d, and therefore before the reign of *Trajan*, wrote “Concerning the “festivals and months of the Athenians.”^e Σκίρα. ἑορτὴ παρ’ Ἀθηναίων, ἀφ’ ἧς καὶ ὁ μὲν Σκироφοριῶν. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ γράψαντες περὶ τε ἑορτῶν καὶ μηνῶν Ἀθήνησιν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Λυσισμαχίδης, ὥς σκίρον, κ. τ. λ. It is evident, then, that if any change at all had taken place, it had been made before the reign of *Hadrian*. But, not to press that point, is it credible that this writer, in a treatise upon the Athenian months and festivals, should have described the months according to a new order established after the 124th Olympiad, and not as they stood in the more ancient times^f? The treatise then of Lysimachides and the Lexicon of Harpocratio described the order of the months as it existed in the age of the orators: and when we find their description confirmed by the testimony already quoted, of an ancient Marble engraved before the archonship of *Euclides*, we cannot hesitate to reject the theories of Petavius Dodwell and Corsini.

They produce four arguments in support of their hypothesis: 1. *Aristotle* mentions *Mæmacterion* in the following manner: μετ’ ἀρκτοῦρον περὶ τὸν βοηδρομιῶνα καὶ μαιμακτηριῶνα.— ἡτὰ μὲν μεταβάλλει τοῦ βοηδρομιῶνος, τὰ δὲ τοῦ μαιμακτηριῶνος. It is inferred that these two

^c Proxime post Trajanum ipsum constantem illam mensium istorum sedem perturbatam esse, ut Pyanepsion in quartum, Mæmacterion vicissim in quintum locum migraret, utriusque Sponiani Marmoris præsidio et Harpocratonis etiam auctoritate, qui extremis Hadriani temporibus atque ipsa certe Antonini Caesaris ætate floruit, manifestissime demonstratur. tom. II. p. 407. In another passage, where he pursues the same argument (tom. I. p. 107. 108) he supposes that the change might have been made a little before the reign of *Hadrian*.

^d Ammonius v. θεωρὸς quotes Lysimachides:— Λυσισμαχίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καϊκίδιον περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἑορτῶν, according to the ingenious con-

jecture of Valckenaer ad Ammon. p. 95. for ‘PH-TOPON.

^e Harpocrat. v. Σκίρον. In Schol. Aristoph. Eccles. 18. the passage of Harpocratio has been inserted by Musurus, according to Dindorf Aristoph. tom. IV. 1. p. VIII. tom. IV. 3 p. 286. although the name of *Lysimachides* is there omitted.

^f Fieri non poterat ut qui festos Atheniensium dies exponeret non simul mensium etiam haberent rationem, is the just remark of Valckenaer ad Ammon. p. 95.

^g Hist. Animal. VI. 26, 1.

^h Hist. Animal. VIII. 14, 4.

months were successive. It cannot be asserted that any certain conclusion can be drawn from these two passages. 2. Corsiniⁱ appeals to the testimony of *Theophrastus*: *Id facile contra Scaligerum constitui posse putaverim, quod Mæmacterion usque ad Olymp. 116, quæ Theophrastus scribebat, Boëdromioni proxime subijciebatur: id enim perspicua Aristotelis ac Theophrasti loca a Petavio laudata demonstrant.* But Petavius has produced no positive evidence from *Theophrastus* to this effect. In the passages which he quotes from the works of that author, there is nothing delivered that in any degree determines the position of *Mæmacterion*^k. 3. *Plutarch*^l, speaking of the *Thesmophoria* at Athens, and of a similar solemnity observed by the *Boeotians*, subjoins, *ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὴν οὗτος περὶ πλειάδα σπόριμος, ὃν Ἀθῶν Αἰγύπτιοι, Πυανεψιῶνα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ Δαμάτριον καλοῦσι.* Corsini argues that *Pyanepsion* is here made conumerary with *Athyr* according to the *fixed* order of the Egyptian months, established after the battle of Actium; that it consequently corresponded with November; and therefore that in the age of *Plutarch* *Mæmacterion* still continued the fourth month, and *Pyanepsion* the fifth^m. There are many objections to this reasoning. The doctrine of a *fixed Egyptian year*, in the sense here ascribed to it, may be doubted. We learn, indeed, from *Dio*ⁿ, that the day on which *Augustus* entered Alexandria was appointed to be the beginning of the year in future: and this is confirmed by the testimony of a Marble, which proves that in A. D. 145 the *Thoth* at Alexandria commenced on that day; and of *Theo*, who shews that in N. E. 1112 A. D. 364 the *Thoth* also commenced at the same fixed point^o. Hence it is concluded that from B. C. 30, when *Augustus* entered Alexandria, the civil year of the Egyptians commenced from a stated day, August 29^p; and that the move-

ⁱ Tom. II. p. 406.

^k Petavius refers to *Theophrast.* Hist. Plant. III. 6. IV. 12. VII. 1.

^l Isid. et Osirid. p. 378. E.

^m Corsin. Fast. Attic. tom. II. p. 407. *Quintus Pyanepsioni locus in civilibus Atheniensium annis a Plutarcho, qui Trajani Cæsaris ætate floruit, non obscure tribuitur. Siquidem Ægyptium Athyr cum Attico Pyanepsione ac Bæotorum Damatrio committit: ideoque, cum Plutarchus Scaligero ac Petavio teste non alios quam Actiacos ibi, vel fixos Ægyptiorum menses, expresserit, in quibus Thoth Romano Septembri adeoque Boëdromioni Attico responderebat, Phaophi mensis Mæmacterioni, Athyr ipse Pyanepsioni conjungebatur.*

ⁿ Dion. Cass. LI. 19. ἐψηφίσαντο—τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω [Aug. 29 B. C. 30] ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα ἔτη ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι.

^o In A. D. 145 the 11th of the *Alexandrian* month *Pachon* coincided with the 6th of May; Corsin. tom. II. p. 398. *Hunc novi fixique anni cardinem Scaliger Marmoris testimonio demonstravit: (Gruter. p. 214) Τῷ πρὸς α' νουῶν Μαΐων ἡ ἐστὶν κατὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Παχὼν ἡ Σέξτω Ἐρνεκίῳ Κλάρῳ β'. Γνέω Κλαυδίῳ Σεβήρῳ κως.* consequently the 1st of *Thoth* was the 29th of August. Again, in A. D. 364 the 21th of the *moveable Egyptian Thoth* corresponded to the 22d of the *fixed Alexandrian* month

Payni, and the 6th of the *moveable Phamenoth* to the 29th of the *fixed Athyr*: Corsin. *ibid.* *Id etiam ex Theonis testimonio deprehendisse videor. Scriptor ille Lunæ conjunctionem quæ A. N. E. 1112 A. D. 374 [imo 364] 24 Thoth Ægyptii die contigerat, in 22 Payni Alexandrini diem incidisse docet: Lunæque oppositionem, quæ in 6 Phamenoth Ægyptii diem inciderat, 29 Athyr Alexandrini die contigisse.* It follows that the *Alexandrian Thoth* commenced Aug. 29.

For the convenience of the reader, I subjoin a list of the Egyptian months.

	Days.
1. <i>Thoth</i>	30.
2. <i>Phaophi</i>	30. 60
3. <i>Athyr</i>	30. 90
4. <i>Chæac</i>	30. 120
5. <i>Tybi</i>	30. 150
6. <i>Mechir</i>	30. 180
7. <i>Phamenoth</i>	30. 210
8. <i>Pharmuthi</i>	30. 240
9. <i>Pachon</i>	30. 270
10. <i>Payni</i>	30. 300
11. <i>Epiphi</i>	30. 330
12. <i>Mesore</i>	30. 360
ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι	5
	365

^p In the intercalary years, August 30.

able year, which receded a day in every four years, was retained only by the astronomers^q. But, on the other hand, it has been observed that other testimonies prove the moveable year to have been still in use after that Augustan era. Pliny compares the Egyptian month *Tybi* with December, and the 6th of *Mechir* with the 13th of January. According to Pliny, 329 therefore, the 1st of *Thoth* is carried back to the 11th of August, which was the date of the moveable *Thoth* in N. E. 798 A. D. 50, when Pliny flourished^r. Censorinus^s remarks that the Egyptian year always commenced at the moveable *Thoth*. Porphyry reckoned the Egyptian year to commence in the sign *Cancer*: and, accordingly, in A. D. 266, when Porphyry flourished, the first day of the moveable year had fallen back to the 18th of June^t. The true solution of this difficulty is proposed by Corsini himself^u: the fixed year, beginning Aug. 29, was the civil year in use at *Alexandria*, but not the civil year of the *Egyptians*: the *Marble* and *Theo* speak only of *Alexandrian* years, and not of *Egyptian*; the former became fixed, but the latter continued moveable, as in former times. Now as Plutarch in the passage before us is speaking of the *Egyptian Athyr*, he is to be understood, like Pliny, not of a fixed *Alexandrian* month, but of a moveable *Egyptian*; which he compares with the Attic *Pyanepsion* and the Boeotian *Damatrius*. And as in Plutarch's age the third month *Athyr* commenced Sept. 28, this fixes *Pyanepsion*, with which it is compared, to the fourth place in the Attic Calendar^v. We may also add, that the change in the order of these Attic

^q *Vagi anni usus apud solos astronomos remansit.* Corsin. tom. II. p. 396.

^r Hist. Nat. VI. 23. *Ex India renavigant mense Ægyptio Tybi incipiente, nostro Decembri; aut utique Mechiris Ægyptii intra diem sextum, quod fit intra Idus Januarias nostras.* The calculation of Pliny gives these dates for the Egyptian year.

1. *Thoth* August 11.
2. *Phaophi* Septemb. 10.
3. *Athyr* Octob. 10.
4. *Chæac*. Novemb. 9.
5. *Tybi* Decemb. 9.
6. *Mechir* Januar. 8.

^s De Die Nat. c. 21. *Horum initia semper a primo die mensis ejus sumuntur, cui apud Ægyptios nomen est Thoth: quique hoc anno [A. D. 238] fuit ante diem 7 Kal. Jul. cum abhinc annos centum, Imperatore Antonino Pio II. et Bruttio Præ-sente Coss. iidem dies fuerint ante diem 12 Kal. August.*

^t These are the arguments of Scipio Maffei. (conf. Corsin. tom. II. p. 396.) Reimar ad Dion. LI. 19 (tom. I. p. 650) agrees with him.

^u Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 399. *Quandoquidem Theo, ubi de Payni et Athyr disserit, menses illos non Ægyptios sed Alexandrinos appellat, ipsosque cum Thoth et Phamenoth comparat, quos Ægyptios esse testatur; in Marmore Pachon non Ægyptius sed Alexandrinus solum vocatur: Censorinus denique non de astronomicis sed de civilibus potius ac popularibus annis locutus videtur; suspicari jam subit quod Ægyptii menses illi non astronomici so-*

lum, sed, Alexandrinorum instar, civiles etiam ac populares esse debuerint: ut proinde civilis Ægyptiorum annus a civilibus Alexandrinorum annis distingui debeat; ut hi quidem a fixo Thoth ducerentur, illi vero retrogradum Thoth juxta veterem anni formam constantissime conservarint.

^v In N. E. 845 A. D. 9½, the first year of *Trajan*, (when Plutarch flourished,) the Egyptian months stood thus as compared with the Attic:

1. *Thoth* July 30. 2. *Metagitnion* [Aug. 10]
2. *Phaophi* Aug. 29. 3. *Boëdromion* [Sept. 8]
3. *Athyr* Sept. 28. 4. *Pyanepsion* [Oct. 8.]

Wytenbach seems to agree with Corsini in supposing a fixed order of the months. Compare his annotation on Plutarch p. 356. C. 362. F. 365. F. 366. F. 368. C. 377. B. with his annotation on p. 378. E. Dodwell Diss. II. p. 91. also understands a fixed order. But the other passages in that treatise of Plutarch, in which Egyptian months are mentioned, do not prove a fixed order for this plain reason, that, if these passages, which contain an account of the ancient rites and ceremonies of the Egyptians, implied a fixed order at all, they would imply a fixed order in the most ancient times; which no one ever imagined. The situation of the months for the most part agrees with the moveable year of the age of Plutarch: p. 366. D. μηνός Ἀθύρ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸν Ὅσιριον λέγουσιν, ὅτε τῶν ἐτησίων ἀπολειπόντων παντάπασιν ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος ὑπονοστέει γυμνοῦται δὲ ἡ χώρα· μηχανομένης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς αἰξεται τὸ σκότος—οἱ (δὲ) ἱερεῖς ἄλλα τε δρώσι σκυθρωπά καὶ βοῶν διάχρυσον δεικνύουσιν—ἐπὶ τέσσα-

330 months could not possibly have been made after the time of Trajan and of Plutarch, because *Mæmacterion* was already the fifth month in the time of Lysimachides. 4. The fourth

ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπὶ δέκα ἐξῆς. The Nile began to rise at the Summer Solstice: Herodot. II. 19. κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινῶν ἀρξάμενος, ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας. Strabo XVII. p. 789. πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας τοῦ θέρους διαμείναν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπειθ' ὑπόβασιν λαμβάνει κατ' ὀλίγον καθάπερ καὶ τὴν αὐξησιν ἔσχευ, ἐν ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἡμέραις τελείως γυμνοῦται καὶ ἀναψύχεται τὸ πεδίον. ὅσα δὲ θάττον ἢ ἀνάψυξις τόσφ' αὖθις θάττον ὁ ἀροτὸς καὶ ὁ σπόρος. Computed from June 24, these hundred days would be accomplished October 2. and the 17th of *Athyr* would be the 14th of October in the first year of *Trajan*: Plutarch. p. 356. D. ταῦτα πραχθῆναι [the disappearance of Osiris] λέγουσιν ἐβδόμῃ ἐπὶ δέκα μηνὸς Ἀθὺρ, ἐν ᾧ τὸν σκορπίον ὁ ἥλιος διέξεισιν, ὃγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἐκείνου βασιλεύοντος Ὀσίριδος. It is not necessary to understand διέξεισιν literally, as if the whole period of the sun's passage through *Scorpio* was included in the month *Athyr*: Plutarch merely asserts that the sun passed into *Scorpio* in that month. Thus he uses παροδεύειν p. 670. C. Νεῖλος ἐπάγει νέον ὕδωρ ταῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἀρούραις, ἡλίον τὸν λέοντα παροδεύοντος. which only means that the sun entered *Leo*; as appears from p. 366. A. πλημμυρεῖ Νεῖλος "ἡελίου" τὰ πρῶτα συνερχομένοιο λέοντι." But, as the sun entered *Cancer* June 18 (Ovid. Fast. VI. 725—727), and *Leo* July 18 (Plin. H. N. II. 47), he would enter *Scorpio* about Octob. 19, and, if *Athyr* commenced Sept. 28, this would be the 22d of *Athyr*. p. 368. C. τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ φαμενώθ μηνὸς ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν, ἔμβασιν Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὴν σελήνην ὀνομάζοντες, ἔαρος ἀρχὴν οὖσαν. The new moon of *Phamenoth* might be called by the Egyptians the beginning of spring, as *Anthesterion*, with which it corresponded in the Attic Calendar in the time of Plutarch, was so named by the Athenians διὰ τὸ πλείστα τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνθεῖν τότε. and as the 8th of February (Plin. H. N. II. 47) or the 9th (Ovid. Fast. II. 149) was accounted *initium veris* in the Roman Calendar. These passages are consistent with the commencement of the Egyptian year as it stood at the accession of *Trajan*; which has been assumed as the point of comparison, because the date of that treatise of Plutarch is not known to us. The following passage implies an earlier period: p. 372. B. τῇ ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος τοῦ φωφὶ Βακτηρίας ἡλίου γενέθλιον ἄγουσι μετὰ φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν. If the autumnal equinox (which fell upon Sept. 25) was celebrated on the 23d day of *Phaophi*, the 23d of that month would fall upon the 26th of September; and the 1st of *Athyr* is fixed to October 4, and the 1st of *Thoth* to August

5. This would happen in N. E. 820 A. D. 72 during the early youth of Plutarch; sixty-seven years before the observation of Ptolemy Meg. συντάξ. p. 62. who found the autumnal equinox in N. E. 887 at the 9th day of *Athyr*. Plutarch observes p. 372. C. ἔτι δὲ τὴν βοῦν ὑπὸ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἐπτάκις περὶ τὸν ναὸν περιφέρονσιν—ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῶν χειμερινῶν ἐπὶ τροπὰς θερινὰς πάροdon ἐβδόμῃ μηνὶ συμπεραίνει. Wytténb. ad locum. Quod hic reditus septimo mense confici perhibetur movet suspicionem lunares menses significari; nisi Plutarchus pro sexto septimum posuit quia tunc consummatum opus est τῆς παρόδου. There can be no difficulty: in the age of Plutarch the winter solstice fell at the latter end of *Tybi*, and the summer solstice at the latter end of *Epiphi*, the seventh month from *Tybi*. But, although these notices agree in the moveable year of the age of Plutarch, yet it is probable that the seasons with which the Egyptian months coincided are those with which they agreed at the original institution of the ceremonies; and this is confirmed by other passages: p. 367. E. ἐβδόμῃ ἐπὶ δέκα [of the month *Athyr*] τὴν Ὀσίριδος γενέσθαι τελευτὴν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα γίνεται πληρουμένη κατάδηλος ἢ πανσέληνος. p. 372. B. τῇ τριακάδι τοῦ ἐπιφί μηνὸς ἑορτάζουσιν Ὀφθαλμῶν Ὁρου γενέθλιον, ὅτε σελήνη καὶ ἥλιος ἐπὶ μιᾷς εὐθείας γεγόνασι. As the civil months of 30 days did not correspond with the lunations, it is evident that the 17th of *Athyr* could not always coincide with the full moon, nor the 30th of *Epiphi* with the new moon. It is probable then, that these coincidences (which could not however have both occurred in one and the same year) occurred at the original institution of the rites, and were commemorated afterwards down to the time of Plutarch in the annual celebration. Other ancient ceremonies in the account of Plutarch have a fixed station; doubtless originally so appointed: p. 377. B. λέγεσθαι τὴν Ἰσιν, αἰσθομένην ὅτι κύει, περιάψασθαι φυλακτήριον ἑκτῇ μηνὸς ἱσταμένου φωφὶ τίκεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀρποκράτην περὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς. p. 378. B. τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς ἑορτάζοντες τῷ Ἑρμῇ μέλι καὶ σῦκον ἔσθιονσιν. Ibid. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεσορῇ μηνὶ τῶν χερσποῶν ἐπιφέροντες λέγουσιν "γλώσσα τύχη, γλώσσα δαίμων." The annual celebration, then, of the rites of Osiris in the month *Athyr*, with reference to the retiring of the Nile and the entrance of the sun into *Scorpio*, would prove that these rites were instituted about 1500 years before the time of Plutarch. If, for example, those rites had been instituted when the 1st of the month *Athyr* was at Oct. 4, as it was in A. D. 72,

argument is of greater weight. By an astronomical observation of Timocharis, made in 331 B. C. 283, it appears that 283 days were computed from the 8th *Anthesterion* to the 25th *Pyanepsion*, and the 25th *Pyanepsion* coincided with the 8th November*. Hence it necessarily follows, that *Mæmacterion* was the fourth month of the Attic year at that period. Ὁ Τιμόχαρις μὲν ἀναγράφει τηρήσας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ταῦτα· διότι τῷ μζ' ἔτει τῆς πρώτης κατὰ Κάλιππον ἑξακαιβδομηκονταετηρίδος, τῇ ἡ' τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δὲ τῇ κθ' τοῦ Ἀθύρ—καὶ ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ νξ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου [Jan. 29 B. C. 283].—καὶ ἐν τῷ μῇ δὲ ἔτει τῆς αὐτῆς περιόδου φησὶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν πνανεψιῶνος τῇ ε' φθίνοντος, τοῦ δὲ θῶθ τῇ ζ'—καὶ ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ νξ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου [Nov. 8 B. C. 283]. The sum of 283 days from the 8th *Anthesterion* to the 25th *Pyanepsion* can only be obtained by computing eight Attic months between them: which places *Pyanepsion* the fifth in order. This difficulty is candidly admitted by Barthélemy^z, who has the following observation upon it: *Je n'attaque pas les calculs de Dodwell: mais enfin il reste un doute. Hipparque et Ptolémée attestent que les observations de Timocharis n'étoient pas exactes, et furent faites légèrement: par une suite de cette légèreté, n'aurait-il pas substitué le nom de Puanepsion à celui de Mæmactérion? S'il ne faut pas accuser Timocharis de cette inadvertance, ne pourroit-on pas en soupçonner ses copistes, ou ceux de Ptolémée? Je n'aurois pas recours à cette solution, dont on peut sans doute abuser, si l'opinion de Scaliger, qu'elle détruiroit sans ressource, n'étoit établie sur des fondemens qui me paroissent hors d'atteinte.* We may acquiesce in this reasonable opinion, and admit some error or corruption in the account of Timocharis.

6. POSIDEON. ^a ὁ ἔκτος μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίους οὕτω καλεῖται. ^b Ποσειδεῶν: μὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἔκτος. The season of *Posideon* is marked by Aristotle^c: περὶ τὸν ποσειδεῶνα ἀπὸ τροπῶν. In *Posideon*, as containing the shortest day in the year, the proportions of the κλεψύδρα were measured: Harpocratio—διαμεμετρημένη ἡμέρα· μέτρον τι ὕδατός ἐστι πρὸς μεμετρημένον ἡμέρας διάστημα· ῥέον· ἐμετρεῖτο δὲ τῷ ποσειδεῶνι μηνί· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνες. διενέμετο δὲ εἰς τρία μέρη τὸ ὕδωρ· τὸ μὲν τῷ διώκοντι· τὸ δὲ τῷ φεύγοντι· τὸ τρίτον τοῖς δικάζουσιν. A short day at the winter solstice was selected for this purpose, that the three parts into which the κλεψύδρα was divided might be conveniently contained in any other day of the year in which judicial proceedings might happen to be carried on: ^d *Clepsydræ mensura, ut par sibi per totum annum respondere posset—proinde erat a die brevissimo*

they would have been celebrated in B. C. 1388, because in 1460 years the beginning of the Egyptian moveable year would have fallen back an entire period of 365 days, and the months would have returned to the same points in the Julian Calendar. But at the end of that period the solstices and equinoxes would fall earlier than they did at the beginning by eleven days and upwards; which would fix the autumnal equinox to Oct. 6, at that date before the Christian era. It would therefore follow, that if the 23d of *Phaophi* was after the equinox, it would fall upon Oct. 7, and not upon Sept. 26, and consequently the 1st of *Athyf* would correspond with the 15th of October. This would happen 44 years earlier than B. C. 1388, and about 1504 years before A. D. 72.

* See Dodwell Diss. II. p. 69. Corsin. tom. II. p. 406.

^y Ptolem. *Meγ. Συναξ.* VII. 3. p. 169. 170. The year of Nabonassar 465 commenced Nov. 1 (or rather Nov. 4) B. C. 284, which determines the 29th of *Athyf* (the 89th day of the year) to Jan. 29 B. C. 283. The year 466, commencing Nov. 4 B. C. 283, fixes the 7th of *Thoth* and the 25th *Pyanepsion* to Nov. 8.

^z *Dissertation sur une ancienne inscription Grecque*, &c. p. 92. *Mém. de l'Acad.* t. XLVIII. p. 397.

^a Harpocrat. in voce. Repeated by Phot. *Lex.* in voce.

^b Bekker. *Anecd. Græc.* p. 297, 16.

^c *Hist. Animal.* V. 9, 2.

^d Dodwell. *Diss.* II. p. 102.

capienda. Corsini has missed the meaning of this passage, and has applied it to a wrong purpose^c.

7. GAMELION. ἴ μὴν Ἀθηναίων ἑβδομος. Aristotle^g attests the season of this month: μηνὸς γαμηλιῶνος περὶ τροπὰς ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου χειμερινάς. And Theophrastus^h: μεθ' ἡλίου τροπὰς, τοῦ γαμηλιῶνος μηνός.

8. ANTHESTERION. ἰ ὀγδοὺς μὴν οὗτος παρ' Ἀθηναίους, ἱερὸς Διονύσου. Ἰστρος δὲ ἐν τοῖς τῆς συναγωγῆς κεκλησθῆναι φησιν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνθεῖν τότε. The *Anthesteria*, which were celebrated on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month, were according to Ruhnkenius the same festival as the *Lenæa*.

Ἀνθεστήρια or Λήναια. } 11. Πιθοιγία^l.
12. Χόες^m.
13. Χύτροιⁿ.

9. ELAPHEBOLION. The Διονύσια μεγάλα, or Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει, were celebrated in this month, between the 8th and 18th of the month^o. Whence we learn the season of *Elaphebolion*: for these were ἡ ἡρος Διονύσια.—ἡ ἡρὶ ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν. Lysias^r marks the position of *Elaphebolion*, as the third month before *Thargelion*: καταστὰς χορηγὸς τραγωδοῖς—καὶ τρίτῃ μὲν Ἰαργηλίοις νικήσας. The *Thargelia* were in *Thargelion*^s; the τραγωδοὶ exhibited in *Elaphebolion*; and it appears from this testimony that one Attic month came between them. There is consequently an error in the grammarian^t, who makes *Elaphebolion* the fifth month.

10. MUNYCHION. Harpocratio^v:—ὁ δέκατος μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίους οὕτω καλεῖται. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μὲν Ἀρτέμειδι θύεται Μουνυχία. Photius^u: Μουνυχίων. καὶ οὗτος μὴν Ἀθήνησι δέκατος. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδος. ἥρως τινος καθιερώσαντος αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀκρωτηρίῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τούτῳ. This and the two following months are placed in their

^e See above c. 1. p. 198.

^f Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 228, 26.

^g Meteorolog. I. 6. p. 535. D.

^h Hist. Plant. VII. 1, 2.

ⁱ Harpocrat. v. Ἀνθεστηριών. The same account occurs in Bekk. Anecd. Græc. p. 403, 32. and in Suidas in voce p. 371. B. except that the name of *Ister* is omitted.

^l Plutarch. Sympos. III. 7. p. 655. E. τοῦ νέου οἶνον Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἑνδεκάτῃ μηνὸς κατάρχοντι, Πιθογίαν τὴν ἡμέραν καλοῦντες.

^m Harpocr. Χόες:—ἐορτή τις παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἀγομένη Ἀνθεστηριῶνος δωδεκάτῃ. φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδοωρος Ἀνθεστήρια μὲν καλεῖσθαι κοινῶς τὴν ὅλην ἐορτὴν Διονύσου ἀγομένην· κατὰ μέρος δὲ, Πιθογίαν Χόας Χύτρον. Repeated by Suidas p. 3911. B. Hesych. δωδεκάτῃ: ἐορτή Ἀθήνησιν ἣν Χόας ἔλεγον. Phot. Lex. μιὰρὰ ἡμέρα: ἐν τοῖς Χουσίῃν Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ δοκοῦσιν αἱ ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων ἀνιέναι, ῥάμνῳ ἔωθεν ἐμασῶντο καὶ πίττῃ τὰς θύρας ἔχρυν.

ⁿ Harpocr. Χύτροι:—ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴ τις ἐορτὴ Χύτροι—ἦγετο δὲ ἡ ἐορτὴ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα. ὡς φησὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐορτῶν. Transcribed by Suidas p. 3944. D.

On the time of the *Lenæa* see the Supplement at the end of this chapter.

^o Compare Æschin. Fals. Legat. p. 36. in Ctes. p. 63. and consult Ruhnkenius ad Hesych. t. I. p. 1000.

^p Max. Tyr. Diss. III. p. 46. Reisk.

^q Thucyd. V. 20. The *Nubes* of Aristophanes were exhibited ἐν ἄστει: see the Tables B. C. 423, 4. and in this drama the poet v. 311 alludes to the season:

ἦρι τ' ἐπερχομένην Βρομία χάρις,
εὐκελάδων τε χορῶν ἐρεθίσματα,
• καὶ Μοῦσα βαρύβρομος αὐλῶν.

Schol. τὴν παρούσαν ἐορτὴν λέγει, τούτεστι τὰ Διονύσια. ἀρχομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἡρος, ἀρχεται καὶ ἡ πανηγυρίς.

^r Ἀπολογία δωροδοκ. p. 161, 36.

^s Harpocrat. v. Θαργήλια.

^t Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 249, 7. Ἐλαφηβολίων: μὴν Ἀθήνησι πέμπτος.

^v In voce.

^u In Lexico v. Μουνυχίων. He also repeats the passage of Harpocratio: Μουνυχίων, ὁ δέκατος μὴν παρ' Ἀθηναίους, κ. τ. λ. in which he is copied by

order by Aristotle^w: τρισὶ μηνὶ, μουνυχίων, θαργηλιῶνι, σκιόροφοριῶνι, which Pliny^x represents in Roman months thus: *tribus mensibus, Aprili, Maio, Junio*.

11. THARGELION. ὧ μὴν Ἀθήνησιν ια΄.—^z μὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἐνδέκατος. Dionysius^a attests, that the 23d of *Thargelion* was seventeen days before the summer solstice, and computes thirty-seven days from that day of *Thargelion* to the end of the Attic year: Ἰλιον ἤλω τελευτῶντος ἡδὴ τοῦ θέρους, ἑπτακαίδεκα πρότερον ἡμέραις τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς; ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος μηνὸς θαργηλιῶνος, ὥς Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χρόνους ἄγουσι. περιτταὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἐκπληροῦσαι μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν εἴκοσι ἡμέραι. It is evident that Dionysius makes his computation according to the form of the Attic year in use in his own time; and the result of his numbers is, that the 1st *Thargelion* might fall forty days before the tropic, the 1st *Scirophorion* ten days before it; and the 1st *Hecatombæon* on the twenty-first day after the tropic.

In this month the *Panathenæa Minora* were celebrated according to Meursius. Petitus and Corsini have dissented from him on this point, and place the *Panathenæa Minora* in *Hecatombæon*. The arguments of Meursius in favour of *Thargelion* are thus stated and answered by Petitus^b. *Meursius Panathen. c. 6. censet celebrata esse vere: Panathenæis 333 enim aperiri mare. Aristot. Anim. Generat. I. 18. ἐκ τῶν Παναθηναίων ὁ πλοῦς. Ergo ista Panathenæa vere.—Majora autem Hecatombæone: restat igitur ut Minora sint. Addit Minora hæc Panathenæa fuisse celebrata postridie Bendidiorum, 20 Thargelionis. Proclus commentario in Timæum Platonis p. 9. δῆλοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ χρόνοι τῶν διαλόγων τῆς τε πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ Τιμαίου, εἴπερ ἡ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βενδιδεοῖς ὑπόκειται τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεὶ ὁρωμένοις, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς τῶν Βενδιδεῶν. ὅτι γὰρ τὰ ἐν Πειραιεὶ Βενδιδεῖα τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος, ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν γράψαντες, ὥστε ὁ Τίμαιος ὑποκέοιτο ἂν τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός. εἰ δὲ, ὥς ἐξῆς ῥηθήσεται, καὶ Παναθηναίων ὄντων ὑπόκειται, δῆλον ὅτι τὰ μικρὰ ἦν ταῦτα Παναθήνια. τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα τοῦ ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἐγένετο τρίτῃ ἀπίνοντος, ὥς καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἱστόρηται. Rursus idem Proclus p. 27. ὅτι γε μὴν τὰ Παναθήνια τοῖς Βενδιδεοῖς εἴπετο λέγουσιν οἱ ὑπομνηματισταί, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Ῥόδιος ἱστορεῖ τὰ μὲν ἐν Πειραιεὶ Βενδιδεῖα τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, ἐπεσθαι δὲ τὰς περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἑορτάς. Iterum commentario in Politeiam p. 353. τὰ δὲ Παναθήνια καὶ ταῦτα μικρὰ λέγων τοῖς Βενδιδεοῖς ἐπόμενα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἶχε τῆς ἑορτῆς πρόσφασιν.—Tertium argumentum est ex eo quod postridie Bendidiorum lampade certatum est. Plat. Rep. I. initio. Ego vero nullus dubito Panathenæa Minora eodem tempore celebrata fuisse quo Majora. 1°. Lampadis certamen, de quo Plato, fiebat in honorem Dianæ, non autem Minervæ. 2°. Proclo imposuit Aristoteles Rhodius: non enim intelligit Arist. Rhod. Panathenæa, sed potius Καλλυντήρια καὶ Πλυντήρια. 3°. Majoris momenti ad firmandam Meursii sententiam videtur Aristot. Gen. Anim. locus: sed non intelligendus est quasi tunc primum a Panathenæis maria aperirentur; hoc enim falsum est; nam Elaphebolione aperiébantur. Theophrast. Char. 4. [3.] τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώϊμον εἶναι. 4°. Probat Minora et Majora eodem tempore celebrata fuisse quod in Minoribus eadem agebantur quæ in Majoribus, si excipias pepulum. 5°. Timocrates legem scripsit apud Demosth. 12 Hecatombæonis, eodem autem anno accusatus*

Suidas; Μουνυχίων, ὁ δεύτερος [*leg. cum Kuster, ὁ δέκατος*] μὴν—κ. τ. λ. In the admirable Oxford edition of Suidas p. 2528. A. the editor has restored the true reading δέκατος from two MSS.

^w Hist. Animal. V. 9, 6.

^x H. N. IX. 51.

^y Phot. Lex. v. Θαργηλιῶν.

^z Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 263, 27.

^a Antiq. I. p. 158.

^b Leg. Att. p. 87—92. ed. Wess. I abridge his language, and state the substance of his arguments.

est quo legem scripsit, quia adhuc ὑπεύθυνος erat. Igitur Panathenæa celebrata sunt Ol. 106. 4. Igitur Minora Hecatombæone. Corsini^c agrees in all these propositions.

The authority of Proclus is too hastily set aside by Petitus. If it were true that Plato rather referred to the festival of Diana than to that of Minerva in his mention of *the torches*^d, it would not therefore follow that Proclus was wrong in affirming that the *Panathenæa Minora* followed the *Bendidia*. This he affirmed upon other testimony. His interpretation of the meaning of Aristoteles Rhodius is unnecessarily disputed. Proclus, who had seen the passage of that writer *περὶ ἑορτῶν*, was more competent to judge of its import than Petitus, who had not seen it, and who affixed a meaning to it upon conjecture. Nor does Proclus
334 refer to Aristoteles alone, but to other writers: *ὅτι γε μὴν τὰ Παναθήναια τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις εἶπετο λέγουσιν οἱ ὑπομνηματισταί.* The account derived from Proclus is more distinctly given in the Scholia which Ruhnkenius^e has published: *ἑορτὴν ἐνταῦθα τὴν τῶν μικρῶν Παναθηναίων φησὶν. ἦν γὰρ καὶ μεγάλη. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦγον εἰς ἄστυ, ἑκατομβαιῶνος μηνὸς τρίτῃ ἀπιδύοντος· ἐν οἷς πέπλος τὶς ἀνῆγετο τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, καθ' ὃν ἐδείκνυτο ἡ κατὰ τῶν Γιγάντων ταύτης τε καὶ ἡ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων νίκη θεῶν. τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Παναθήναια κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐτέλουν· ἐν οἷς καὶ πέπλος ἄλλος ἀνείτο τῇ θεῷ, καθ' ὃν ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τροφίμους ὄντας αὐτῆς νικῶντας τὸν πρὸς Ἀτλαντίνους πόλεμον· ἃ δὲ τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις καλουμένοις εἶπετο. τούτων δὲ καὶ Θοῤῃκες ἐκοινωνουν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Βένδις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἀρτεμις καλεῖται.—ταῦτα δὲ ἐτελεῖτο θαργηλιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.* Whether or not the commentator be wrong in applying the allusion of Plato to the one festival rather than to the other, is wholly a distinct question. But the *Panathenæa Minora* are here described with so many circumstances, and their date is so positively affirmed, that this testimony, evidently derived from writers on Athenian festivals, ought not lightly to be called in question. The argument of Meursius, founded upon those expressions, *ἐκ τῶν Παναθηναίων ὁ πλοῦς*, is of less weight. We may agree in the interpretation of Petitus, and omit that passage as irrelevant. The reasons which Petitus has produced in favour of *Hecatombæon* as the date remain to be considered. His first argument, that the two *Panathenæan* festivals were celebrated in the same month because they consisted of the same ceremonies, is of no force. His second is of greater moment. It is urged, that Timocrates proposed a law in *Hecatombæon* of Olymp. 106. 4^f respecting the *Panathenæan* festival: but as the *Panathenæa Magna* were in every third Olympic year, this festival was necessarily the *Panathenæa Minora*. If, indeed, the law of Timocrates was proposed in the fourth year of the Olympiad, it is manifest that the festival in question could not be the *Majora*,

^c Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 357. *Minora quidem Panathenæa singulis annis redire solebant: id vero 20 Thargelionis die contigisse Meursius existimavit, quia Proclus testetur Bendidia ac Panathenæa περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον celebrari, atque dixerit Bendidia 19 Thargelionis die instaurari; ἔπειθαι δὲ τὰς περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἑορτάς. Itaque concludit Meursius, cum Bendidia 19 die Panathenæa sequenti adeoque 20 Thargelionis adscribi debent. At insignem hunc Procli et Meursii errorem perspicue confutavit Petitus, simulque ostendit Platonis verba λαμπὰς εἶσθαι —non de Pallade et Panathenæis, cum Proclo et Meursio, sed de Diana Bendidiisque festis intelligenda fore; ideoque Panathenæa prorsus immerito Bendidiis adjungi. Illud etiam Petitus observavit,*

Ol. 106. 4, 12 Hecatombæonis die, qua Timocrates legem a Demosthene impugnatam edidit, Panathenæa festa nondum peracta esse. Ergo, cum certissime Minora illa fuerint, Minora ipsa, Majorum instar, Hecatombæoni concedi debent. Biagi de Decretis Athen. p. 201. adopts the same opinion: Panathenæa Majora ac Minora eodem ipso mense (Hecatomb.) celebrabantur.

^d Rep. I. p. 328. a. ἀρά γε οὐδ' ἵστε ὅτι λαμπὰς εἶσται ἀφ' ἵππων τῇ θεῷ;

^e Schol. in Platonem Ruhnken. p. 143. ad verba Reipub. I. initio, τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι.

^f That is, in the archonship of Eudemus. See the Tables B. C. 353, 3.

which undoubtedly belonged to the *third*. But, although the cause of Timocrates came to a hearing in the fourth year of that Olympiad, as we know from Dionysius, it does not follow that his law was proposed in Hecatombæon of that year. The proceedings of Timocrates might belong to Hecatombæon of the year preceding; the year of the *Panathenæa Magna*. To this it is objected, *eodem anno accusatus est quo legem scripsit, quia adhuc υπεύθυνος erat*. It is true that the impeachment must be preferred within the year: *εὐὸν γράψαντα νόμον ἢ ψήφισμα μετὰ ἐνιαυτὸν μὴ εἶναι υπεύθυνον*. but the cause might come to a hearing subsequently. The cause of the Crown was a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, and therefore the indictment was laid within the year, as Petitus has accurately explained^h; but the cause was not heard till eight years afterwards, and yet Ctesiphon still continued responsible. It is plain, then, that Timocrates might be still responsible in the archonship of Eudemus for a law proposed in the preceding year, provided that the indictment had been laid within the limited timeⁱ. Consequently there is no reason for our rejecting the authority of Proclus on account of this law of Timocrates. Moreover, the particulars described in that law (which was proposed by his party, as preliminary to his own) make it probable that the greater festival was in view. 33^ε

^k Regulations to be prepared by a committee of one thousand citizens in conjunction with the senate of Five-hundred are more applicable to a solemn public festival, occurring every fifth year, which drew together spectators from all parts of Greece to Athens itself, than to a minor festival celebrated annually, only at the Piræus. It may be further remarked, that when *Παναθήναια* simply are named, and when there is nothing in the context to mark the contrary, the presumption is that the greater festival is meant. Thus Herodotus and Demosthenes apply the term^l.

Proclus is confirmed by Lysias in placing this festival in *Thargelion*. A client of Lysias^m enumerates his several *λειτουργίαι* in the order in which these services occurred: *ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου χορηγὸς τραγῳδοῖς—καὶ τρίτῃ μηνὶ Θαργηλίοις.—ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις—ἔτι δὲ χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος*. All these are placed in their proper order of succession:—*ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος κωμῳδοῖς χορηγῶν—καὶ Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς ἐχορήγουν*. It is to be supposed that the order of time is observed in this as in the

^g Argum. Demosth. Leptin. p. 453.

^h Leg. Att. p. 339. 340. Wess. Ol. 110. 2. *Elaphebolione creatus est Demosthenes quæstor. Ol. 110. 3 Pyanepsionis die 22^{da} Ctesipho populi scitum fecit ut coronâ donaretur Demosthenes Elaphebolione:—die quinto Elaphebolionis Æschines Ctesiphontis nomen apud archontem detulit:—eodem quo populi scitum fecit Ctesiphon anno Æschines dicam scripsit: nam, si intra annum non scribe-retur, is qui accusabatur ἔξω κινδύνων fuit.*

ⁱ The expressions of Demosthenes Leptin. p. 501. *ἐξῆλθον οἱ τῆς κρίσεως χρόνοι*, might be supposed adverse to this. But in that passage the words *τῆς κρίσεως* are an interpolation. They are absent from many MSS. they are suspected by Reiske, and are omitted in the critical and accurate edition of Mr. Bekker.

^k Demosth. Timocrat. p. 708. *ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρώτης—Ἐπικράτης εἶπεν, ὅπως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ θύηται*

καὶ ἡ διοίκησις ἱκανὴ γένηται καὶ εἴ τινας ἐνδεῖ πρὸς τὰ Παναθήναια διοικητῇ, τοὺς Πρυτάνεις τοὺς τῆς Πανδιονίδος καθίσαι νομοθέτας αἰρεῖον, τοὺς δὲ νομοθέτας εἶναι ἓνα καὶ χιλίους ἐκ τῶν ὁμομοκότων, συννομοθετεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν βουλὴν.

^l Herodot. V. 56. *ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων*. Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 394. *εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια φήσας ἀποπέμψειν*. In both these cases the *Παναθήναια μεγάλα* are meant. It is true that Xenophon Rep. Athen. 3, 4. uses *Παναθήναια* simply for the lesser festival: *δεῖ δὲ—χορηγοῖς διαδικάσαι εἰς Διονύσια, καὶ Θαργήλια, καὶ Παναθήναια, καὶ Προμήθεια, καὶ Ἑφαιστεια, ὅσα ἔτη*. But in this enumeration he proposed to describe only such festivals as were *annual*: his meaning therefore was sufficiently clear from the context, and the addition of *ὅσα ἔτη* made the addition of *μικρὰ* superfluous.

^m Ἀπολογ. δωροδοκ. p. 161. 162.

preceding cases; and that the *Panathenæa Minora* were subsequent to the exhibitions of comedy. It therefore follows that this lesser festival was subsequent to the months *Anthesterion* or *Elaphebolion*, which confirms the account of Proclusⁿ.

Mr. Muller in treating this subject^o contends against Corsini^p that the *Panathenæa Minora* were not on the 14th day of the month. But he holds that *Hecatombæon* was the month of this festival. He examines all the points which have been here considered. He forbears to urge in favour of his opinion the law of *Timocrates*^q upon which Corsini had established the proposition which Mr. Muller rejects.

He affirms that the opinion of Proclus was merely founded upon his own reasoning on the passage of Plato, and not upon any knowledge derived from any other sources^r: *Nullam aliam ob causam nisi ex hac ratiocinatione Proclum de Panathenæorum tempore ita statuissse ut liquido appareat, adscribam locum &c.*—*Hicne sermo est hominis certis documentis de tempore Panathenæorum minorum edocti, an ratiocinantis et computantis? Intelligitur autem hujus ratiocinationis cardinem verti in illis Timæi locis de sacrificio et panegyri Minervæ. At quod nos cogat ut hæc sumamus fuisse Panathenæa in Platone nihil invenio.* And yet Mr. Muller immediately admits that Proclus had other sources^s: *Sed Proclus non primus hæc sibi finxit, sed antiquiores sequitur commentatores*; and then repeats the argument of Petitus, that Proclus had misinterpreted Aristotle of Rhodes^{ss}. But Proclus, who passed a great part of his life at Athens, was early enough in time to have been well acquainted with the ancient customs of Athens, and to have consulted monuments and writings now no longer extant. To some of these he refers by the name of *ὑπομνηματισταί*: whose authority again we should not be justified in rejecting upon a matter so easy to be known as the date of a public festival.

Lysias in Mr. Muller's opinion might recite the festivals in that order for some other

ⁿ If Xenophon in the passage quoted in a preceding note (Rep. Athen. 3, 4) intended to observe the order of time, he would agree with Proclus and Lysias in the position of the lesser *Panathenæa*: his order being this.

Διονύσια. . . [in Elaphebolion.]

Θαργήλια. . . [7th Thargelion.]

Παναθήναια. . . [20th Thargelion.]

Προμήθεια.

Ἡφαίστεια.

As the season of the *Προμήθεια* and *Ἡφαίστεια* is not known, it might perhaps be doubted whether Xenophon designed to follow the order of time. The same order, however, is observed in an inscription apud Chandler Inscr. Antiq. N^o. VI. p. 49. . . οξεν τῇ Πανδιονίδι φυλῇ. Καλλικράτης εἶπεν . . . ἀνέσαι Νικίαν Ἐπιγένης Κυδαθηναῖα ἀνδραγαθίως ἐνέκα τῆς εἰς τὴν φυλὴν, ὅτι εὖ καὶ προθύμως ἐχορήγησεν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἐνέκα Διονύσια καὶ Θαργήλια ἀνδράσιν, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτόν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος νενίκηκεν ἀπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος παισὶν ἢ ἀνδράσιν Διονύσια ἢ Θαργήλια ἢ Προμήθεια ἢ Ἡφαίστεια. ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἴαν τις τούτων τι νικήσῃ τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς ἐφ' ὧν ἂν νικήσῃ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ. The

concurrence of the Marble with Xenophon renders it probable that these festivals are recited by both in the order in which they happened. The *Παναθήναια μικρὰ*, then, are placed by Xenophon after the *Θαργήλια*, and the *Προμήθεια* and *Ἡφαίστεια* probably occurred after the 20th Thargelion.

^o Phil. Museum Vol. II. p. 227.

^p Ib. p. 227—231.

^q Ib. p. 234. *Nihil ipsi ad nostram sententiam stabiliendam hinc derivavimus. Nihil igitur nos cogit ut Clintono obloquamur, qui id plebiscitum priori anno tribui posse contendit ejus quo oratio habita sit; ita ut oratio quidem Timocratea locum suum Ol. 106. 4 teneat, plebiscitum autem in 3^{um} annum removeatur.*

^r P. 232.

^s P. 233.

^{ss} Ibid. *At pergit Proclus: καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης—&c. Concedo Aristotelem hunc ea non ex interpretatione Platoniorum locorum sed ex fide monumentorum referre videri. Sed quid hæc ad Panathenæa? de quibus nihil est in verbis Aristotelis, quamquam illis in eum sensum detortis sive a Proclo sive ab antiquioribus Platonis commentatoribus.*

reason, and not because the lesser *Panathenæa* followed the *Dionysia*^t. But the order of *Lysias* is confirmed by *Xenophon*, and *Xenophon* is supported by the Marble of *Chandler*.

Mr. Muller quotes^u against *Corsini* an Inscription from which he collects that the *Panathenæa Minora* were celebrated after the 16th day of the month *Hecatombæon*. Of this monument he gives the following account. *Fortius tamen argumentum extremæ disputationi reservavimus; titulum dico quo quantum ex δερματικῷ per aliquod tempus ad publicos reditus redundaverit computatur, editum a Boeckhio.*—*Hoc cum sacrificia stata eo quo se excipiebant ordine enumerentur, Panathenæa recensentur post Sacrum Pacis. Paci Athenienses eodem Hecatombæonis die litabant quo Synæcesia sive Metæcia celebrabant: 16^o. Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 1017. conf. Plutarch. Thes. c. 24. Hæc igitur Panathenæa nullo modo cadere possunt in diem Hecatomb. 14^{um} vel 15^{um}; Sed, cum etiam Ammonis sacrificium inter Pacis solemne et Panathenæa interponatur, ultimæ mensis decadi tribuenda erunt. Atqui hæc Panathenæa minora sunt, cum ea tituli pars ad Nicocratem Archontem Ol. 111. 4 pertineat. Fit conclusio, etiam minora Panathenæa ultima mensis decade—esse celebrata.*

In the edition of Mr. Boeckh^v we find what is extant upon the Marble, which Mr. Boeckh transcribes from *Fourmont*, to stand as follows: after reciting under the archonship of *Ctesicles* these festivals—

(*Dionysia* κατ' ἀγρούς) [in *Posideon*]
Dionysia ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ [in *Anthesterion*]
Sacrificium Cereri [in *Anthesterion*]
Asclepiea [in *Elaphebolion*]
Dionysia ἐν ἄστει [in *Elaphebolion*]
Olympiea—————
Sacrificium Mercurio—————
Bendidea [in *Thargelion*]
Sacrificium Jovi.—————

—it proceeds thus:

ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
 ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΘΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΗ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ
 ΠΑΡΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ < ΠΗΗΗΗ. ΔΔΕΕΕΕ
 ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΘΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ ΠΑΡΑ
 ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ < ΔΔΔΔΕΕΕΕ ΠΗΗΗ
 ΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ
 Ν. [x]ΔΕΕ
 ΩΝΕΙ
 > ΔΕΕΕΕ ΠΗΗ

^t P. 234. Non magis *Lysia* loco moveor.—*Hoc quidem chorus Pyrrhichistarum ad Panathenæa minora instructus postponitur comico choro. Sed hujus rei causa—etiam alia poterat esse. Duæ statim in promptu sunt; altera quod comicus Chorus multo majore sumptu instruebatur quam Pyrrhichistæ, quod ipse orator nos docet; altera quod is*

qui causam suam orat, comico choro vicit, Pyrrhichistis certavit tantum.

^u P. 231.

^v Inscr. Gr. N^o. 157 tom. I. p. 250.

^w This from the conjecture of Mr. Boeckh. The Marble only gives ΔΥΕΙΩΝΤΩΝ
 ... PA.

All we learn of the date of the last named festival is, that it was after the 16th *Hecatombæon*, a day preoccupied by the festival τῇ Εἰρήνῃ. But, as many sacrifices are omitted in this Marble, and only a part are mentioned, we cannot conclude that the festival at the 6th line immediately followed the preceding one. It might belong to the next month; and as the name is in part obliterated, we are not informed of the name of this festival, which might have been Ἐκατόμβαια as probably as Παναθήναια^x. The Ἡραία or Ἐκατόμβαια were celebrated not only at Argos but at Athens^y.

To sum up the question. The account of Proclus is supported by an inference from Lysias, and is at present uncontradicted by any testimony; for Mr. Muller admits that the law of *Timocrates* does not establish the point against Proclus, and in the inscription which we have examined the word Παναθήναια is not extant. If it should appear unlikely that the lesser *Panathenæa* should be in a different month from the Greater, we may observe that the *Eleusinia* were in different months; the Greater Mysteries in *Boëdromion*, the Lesser in *Anthesterion*^z.

12. *SCIOPHORION*. ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναίων ιβ'. ρ μὲν Ἀθηναίων δωδέκατος. The Scholiast on Plato 9:—μηνὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ] ὁ Σκιροφοριῶν οὗτος· ὠνομάσθη δὲ οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς. *Sciophorion* and *Hecatombæon* are described together by Theophrastus^r as lying near the tropic: τοῦ σκιρόφοριῶνος καὶ ἑκατομβαιῶνος ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὸν τροπῶν μικρὸν ἢ ὑπὸ τροπᾶς.

The Attic year after the time of *Solon* was lunar of 354 days: ^s Σόλων—ἤξιωσε Ἀθηναίους τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν.—^t συνιδὼν τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν, καὶ τὴν κίνησιν τῆς σελήνης οὔτε δυομένῳ τῷ ἡλίῳ πάντως οὐτ' ἀνίσχοντι συμφορομένην, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, αὐτὴν μὲν ἔταξε ταύτην ξυνη καὶ νέαν καλεῖσθαι· τὸ μὲν πρὸ συνόδου μόριον αὐτῆς τῷ πανομένῳ μηνὶ τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἦδη τῷ ἀρχομένῳ προσήκειν ἡγούμενος—τὴν δ' ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραν νομηνίαν ἐκάλεσε^u. The 360 days were reduced to the lunar time by the omission of six days from six of the months^x. *Geminus*:—οἱ πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀγωγὴν ὀλοσχερέστερον λαμβανόμενοι μηνιαῖοι χρόνοι εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν κθ^z. ὥστε τὸν δῆμιον χρόνον γενέσθαι ἡμερῶν νθ'. ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν μῆνες ἐναλλάξ ἄγονται

^x In the mutilated fragment OMBAION may have been changed into ΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ.

^y For the *Argive* festival consult Schol. Pindar. Ol. VII. 152. IX. 132. XIII. 148. Pyth. VIII. 114. Nem. X. 1. Pausan. II. 24, 2. Hesych. Ἐκατόμβαια. And Plutarch. tom. II. p. 291. A. for the *Athenian*. The same is implied by Theodoret Græc. Aff. Cur. 7. p. 885. where, in reciting *Athenian* festivals, he mentions Ἡραία τῇ Ἡρᾷ.

^z Plutarch. Demetr. c. 26. τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐτελοῦντο τὰ δὲ μεγάλα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος [conf. Plutarch. Camill. c. 19. Phocion. c. 28. Schol. Ran. 326]. Julian. or. V. p. 173. B. ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν τῷ κριῷ τὰ μικρὰ φασὶ μυστήρια, τὰ μεγάλα δὲ περὶ τὰς χηλὰς ὄντος ἡλίου.

^o Phot. Lex. in voce.

^p Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 304, 22. Suid. in voc.

^q Ruhnken. p. 231. ad Platon. Leg. VIII. p. 828. d.

^r Hist. Plant. IV. 11, 5.

^s Laërt. I. 59.

^t Plutarch. Solon. c. 25. conf. Dodwell. Diss. III. p. 160. 161. Corsin. tom. I. p. 56. 57. *Petavius perspicuis certisque argumentis ostendit quod ab ipsa Solonis ætate lunares omnino menses adhibebantur; ut civilis proinde ac popularis annus ex 12 lunaribus mensibus alterne plenis cavisque compositus 354 dies complecteretur, mensiumque embolismorum ope cum vero solari anno conjungeretur.*

^u Hence the practice of counting the last ten days inversely: τὰς ἀπ' εἰκάδος οὐ προστιθεῖς ἀλλ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ ἀναλύων, ὥσπερ τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἑώρα, μέχρι τριακάδος ἡρίθμησεν Plutarch. Ibid.

^x These days were omitted between the 20th and the 30th of every alternate month. But in those months from which a day was deducted the last day was still called τριακάς, and the day omitted was perhaps the 29th (Dodwell. Diss. III. p. 169. Corsin. tom. I. p. 68. 82), or any other day than the 30th.

^y Element. Astronom. c. 6. p. 31.

πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι, διὰ τὸ τὴν σελήνην δέμνηον ἡμερῶν εἶναι νθ'. ἐκ δὲ τούτων συνάγεται ὁ κατὰ σελήνην ἐνιαυτὸς ἡμερῶν τνδ'.—^z γίνονται οὖν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἕξ πλήρεις καὶ ἕξ κοῖλοι· συνάγονται δὲ ἡμέραι τνδ'. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν μῆνα παρὰ μῆνα πλήρη καὶ κοῖλον ἄγουσι. These lunar years were brought to the course of the sun by an intercalary month *Posideon II.* inserted at the end of every two years: Herodotus ^a:—Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκε.

The object was, to adapt the months to the moon, and the years to the course of the sun: Geminus ^b:—πρόθεσις ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοὺς μὲν μῆνας ἄγειν κατὰ σελήνην τοὺς δὲ ἐνιαυτοὺς καθ' ἡλίων. τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν παραγγελλόμενον, τὸ θύειν κατὰ τρία,—μῆνας, ἡμέρας, ἐνιαυτοὺς, τοῦτο διέλαβον ἅπαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ τοὺς μὲν ἐνιαυτοὺς συμφώνως ἄγειν τῷ ἡλίῳ τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς μῆνας τῇ σελήνῃ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν καθ' ἡλίων ἄγειν τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς, τὸ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν μὲν ἑαρινὴν θυσίαν διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ συντελεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ θερινὴν κατὰ τὸ θέρος, κ. τ. λ.—τοῦτο δ' ἄλλως οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο γενέσθαι εἰ μὴ αἱ τροπαὶ καὶ αἱ ἰσημερίαι περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους γίνονται. τὸ δὲ κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν τὰς ἡμέρας τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τὸ ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς τῆς σελήνης φωτισμοῖς τὰς προσηγορίας τῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεσθαι. The days of the civil month were to accompany the changes of the moon, and the deficiency of the lunar year was to be supplied by intercalation. But this object was not accomplished, because the ancient astronomers had not accurately determined the true amount either of lunar or of solar time ^c. Hence irregularities in the calendar. In *Boëdromion* of B. C. 490 the full moon would fall upon the fifth day of the month ^d. If Herodotus is to be trusted for the facts, which there is no reason to doubt or question ^e, there was a variation at that period of ten days between the civil month and the lunar time. ³³⁷ In B. C. 432 *Meton* commenced his cycle with the new moon nearest to the summer solstice ^f.

^z Ibid. p. 35. E.

^a II. 4.

^b C. 6. p. 32.

^c Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 18. *Inter astrologos non convenit quanto vel sol plus quam 365 dies in anno conficiat, vel luna minus quam triginta in mense.*

^d See the Tables B. C. 490, 2.

^e Plutarch *Malign.* p. 861. E. among other charges against Herodotus for his account of the Lacedæmonians (οἷτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον. VI. 106), has the following objection: ταύτης τῆς μάχης, ἕκτη Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου γενομένης, δλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν—σὺ δὲ μεταφέρεις τὴν πανσέληνον εἰς ἀρχὴν μηνὸς, διχομηνίας οὔσης, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πάντα πράγματα συνταράσσεις. Wesseling ad Herod. VI. 106. and Corsini *Fast. Att.* tom. I. p. 61. 184. rightly collecting from Herodotus that the battle of Marathon happened about the sixteenth day of the moon, are disposed to call in question the date which Plutarch gives, the 6th of *Boëdromion*, as the anniversary of that battle. Wesseling observes—*Sit certamini dies 16 Boëdromionis, potuit victoriæ memoria anteverti et sexto die sacrari.* Corsini (p. 184): *Si Lacedæmonii post plenilunium Sparta profecti tridui itinere Athenas pervenerunt, bellum ipsum circa 16 Boëdromionis diem committi debuit, &c.* But why are we to

suppose, in that rude state of the calendar, that the full moon must of necessity fall upon the fifteenth day of the civil month? In B. C. 432 the full moon fell upon the 28th *Thargelion*, and the new moon upon the 13th *Sciophorion*; a variation of thirteen days between the civil month and the lunar time. We may therefore well admit in the present case a variation of ten. Corsini justly collects (p. 61) from Plutarch's observations, that in Plutarch's opinion the civil months of Athens at that period were lunar. This is a just inference. But we cannot conclude (whatever Plutarch himself might either imagine, or think fit to state for the sake of his argument) that the civil month was skilfully and accurately adjusted to the moon, when we have facts which shew the contrary.

^f Scaliger *Emend. Temp. lib. I. p. 26.* *Meton primum novilunium enneadecaeteridis suæ constituit σκιροφοριῶνος τρισκαιδεκάτη.* Dodwell *Diss. I. p. 33.* *Quod certe cycli caput Meton nec ab ipso solstitio nec a Sciophorionis fine arcessiverit, ratio alia nulla fingi vel verisimilis potest ab ea quam veram fuisse docet Plato [Leg. VI. p. 767. c]; ut scilicet a proximo post solstitium novilunio illud arceseret.*

But this new moon fell upon the 13th day of *Scirophorion*. The irregularity which *Meton* undertook to rectify was as great as it could well be, if the new moon coincided with the thirteenth day of the civil month. Dodwell^g agrees in the irregularity of this preceding period: *Cyclus (Metonicum præcedens) novilunia ad mensium civilium initia non antea reduxit quam cyclo integro evoluto novi cycli exordium iniret*^h.

The *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίς* of *Meton*ⁱ intercalated seven months in nineteen years. The years which received the intercalary months were these: 3. 5. 8. 11. 13. 16. 19. Geminus^k: τοὺς ἐμβολίμους μῆνας ἔταξαν ἄγεσθαι ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει καὶ πέμπτῳ καὶ ὀγδόῳ· δύο μὲν μῆνας μεταξὺ δύο ἐτῶν πιπτόντων, ἓνα δὲ μεταξὺ ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀγομένου. His nineteen years accordingly contained 235 months of 30 days, or 7050 days. But, as nineteen years in solar time contained 6940 days according to *Meton's* computation^l, there was an overplus of 110 days to be expunged from his cycle. These 110 days he deducted by a new method. In the old method of deducting a day from every alternate month, at the rate of six days in the year, too much was gained: the overplus not being $19 \times 6 = 114$ days, in the whole period, but only 110, or about 5 d. 19 h. in the year, nearly. His method therefore was, in his whole period of 235 months or 7050 days, to strike out every sixty-third day. Geminus^m: δι' ἡμερῶν ἄρα ξγ' ἐξαιρέσιμον τὴν ἡμέραν ἀγειν δεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ περιόδῳ. οὐδὲ γίνεται ἐξαιρέσιμος ἡ 338 τριακὰς διὰ παντός· ἀλλ' ἡ διὰ τῶν ξγ' ἡμερῶν πίπτουσα ἐξαιρέσιμος λέγεταιⁿ. The ἡμέραι ἐξαιρέσιμοι accordingly fell, in the cycle of *Meton*, as in the following table.

^g Diss. I. p. 13.

^h The *ἐκκαίδεκαετηρίς* is thus characterised: Dodwell. Diss. III. p. 174. *Dedit operam hujus cycli auctor ut cycli initio responderent Neomeniis caelestibus civiles Neomeniæ: cyclo decurrente effecit ut per omnes mensium civilium dies veræ et cælestes decurrerent Neomeniæ.*

ⁱ To the testimonies respecting *Meton* quoted in the Tables B. C. 432, 3. may be added the following: Ptolem. Μεγ. Συντάξ. III. 2. p. 62. Κἂν πρὸς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Μένωνά τε καὶ Εὐκλήμονα τετηρημένην θερμὴν τροπὴν ὡς ὀλοσχερέστερον ἀναγεγραμμένην τὴν σύγκρισιν ποιησώμεθα—ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ ἀναγράφεται γεγεννημένη ἐπὶ Ἀψεύδους ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησι κατ' Αἰγυπτίους φαιμένῳ κα' πρώτῳ. The 21st of the seventh month *Phamenoth* was the 201st day of the Egyptian year: and as the year in question, N. E. 316, commenced December 9th B. C. 433, this consequently gives June 27th B. C. 432 for the day of the summer solstice observed by *Meton*. June 27th for the summer solstice of *Meton* is verified by the following computation. It appears that the equinoxes and solstices fall earlier by nearly one day in 130 years; or 11 days in 1433 years. (See Ferguson's *Astronomy* c. XIV. s. 250.) Now the summer solstice was June 10th in A. D. 1748. But B. C. 432 + A. D.

1748=2180 years; and, at 130 years to a day, it had fallen back in that period almost 17 days: which gives June 10+17=June 27th for the summer solstice of *Meton*.

^k C. 6. p. 35. c. Conf. Dodwell. Diss. I. p. 46. Corsin. tom. I. p. 58. 106.

^l Censorin. c. 18. *Annus Metonicus, quem Meton Atheniensis ex annis undeviginti constituit, eo-que ἐννεαδεκαετηρίς appellatur, et intercalatur septies, in eoque anno sunt dierum sex millia et DCCCCXL.*

^m C. 6. p. 38. B.

ⁿ Corsin. tom. I. p. 82. *Instituta Metonis enneadecaeteride ita exemtilium dierum series variata fuit, ut ab initio cycli sexagesimus tertius quisque dies eximeretur. Ita, cum cyclus Ol. 87. 1 ab initio Hecatombæonis incepisset, primus exemtilis dies in tertium Boëdromionis incidere debuit:—ut in cavis proinde mensibus dies, quæ exemtilis esse poterat, una ex sequentibus esse debuerit: 3. 6. 9. 12. 15.*18. 21. 24. 27. 30. Dodwell and Corsini both agree that this order prevailed during the cycle of *Meton* B. C. 432—331. Corsini holds that it continued through the cycle of *Calippus*, which Dodwell denies. The arguments by which Corsini establishes this latter point are stated tom. I. p. 82—91.*

YEARS OF THE CYCLE.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Hecatombæon		18		24		30		3		9	27	15		21					18
Metagitnion			6		12		18		24				3		9	27	15		
Boëdromion	3	21		27				6		12	30	18		24				3	21
Pyanepsion			9		15	3	21		27				6		12	30	18		
Mæmacterion	6	24		30				9		15		21		27				6	24
Posideon	{		12		18	6	24		30		3		9		15		21		
			B.		B.			B.12		B.		B.			B.3				B.27
Gamelion	9	27	15		21					18	6	24	12	30				9	
Anthesterion				3		9	27	15							18	6	24		30
Elaphebolion	12	30	18		24				3	21	9	27	15					12	
Munychion				6		12	30	18						3	21	9	27		
Thargelion	15		21		27				6	24	12	30	18					15	
Sciophorion		3		9		15		21						6	24	12	30		

It is manifest, on inspection of this table, that six particular months are improperly called (by Potter and others) *menses cavi*, and six other months *menses pleni*; because the ἡμέραι ἐξαπέσμοι were taken from every month in turn, while the cycle of Meton continued in use. Thus, *Metagitnion Anthesterion* and *Gamelion* are improperly called *cavi*, or months of twenty-nine days, since *Metagitnion*, for example, in the 1. 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 18. 19. years of the cycle was a *mensis plenus*, of thirty days. *Hecatombæon* again, *Boëdromion Posideon Elaphebolion* are improperly termed *pleni*; for, in the years of the cycle 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. 11. 12. 14. 19. *Hecatombæon* was a *mensis cavi*.

Although the cycle of *Meton* was calculated to adjust the months to the moon and to the seasons upon the whole, yet in detail any particular month might not coincide with the course of the moon. Thus, in the very first year of the cycle, the third new moon of the year would commence 59 d. 1 h. 28 m. 5 s. from the first of *Hecatombæon*: but the third month *Boëdromion* commences on the sixty-first day: consequently the new moon would fall upon the 29th of *Metagitnion*. Again, the true duration of a lunar year being 354 d. 8 h. 48 m. 34 s. the first year of the cycle, being of 354 days, would fall short of the moon by almost nine hours. The eighth year of his cycle contains 383 days: but thirteen lunations are equal to 383 d. 21 h. 32 m. 37 s. and he falls short of the true time twenty-one hours and a half. The nineteenth 33! year contains 385 days, exceeding the true time by 1 d. 2 h. 27 m. 24 s. Again, the four last months of the cycle have 120 days; but four lunations are only 118 d. 2 h. 56 m. 11 s. Aristophanes ° in B. C. 422 ridicules the cycle of *Meton*, then newly established p.

° Nub. 615.

p Dodwell Diss. I. p. 11—13. admits a slight variation: *Thucyd. II. 28. eclipsin solis memorat νοσηννία κατὰ σελήνην. Auctori animus erat obser-*

vare quam cito novus ille cyclus ad lunæ motus cum sole conciliandos institutus a vero tamen aberrasset novilunio. I know not whether Elmsley ad Eur. Heraclid. 779. had Dodwell in view; but he has

Meton made great improvements upon the calculations of his predecessors. But the difference between *Meton's* computation and the true time was still considerable. In his solar year there was an excess of thirty minutes. Hence his nineteen years, amounting to 6940 days^q, exceeded the true solar time by about nine hours and a half. In four of his cycles, or seventy-six years, there was an excess of almost thirty-eight hours; and in five cycles, or ninety-five years, an excess of nearly two days. Nor did his months correspond with the lunations. Five of his cycles contained 1175 months: these contained (after deducting the *ἡμέραι ἑξαίρεσιμοι*) 34,700 days^r. But 1175 lunations are only equal to 34,698d. 10h. 36m. 27s. So that the difference was this.

		Metonic time.	True time.*				Excess.			
		D.	D.	H.	M.	S.	D.	H.	M.	S.
1 cycle.	{ 235 months	6940	6939.	16.	31.	17	7.	28.	42	
	{ 19 solar years	6940	6939.	14.	30.	3	9.	29.	57	
4 cycles.	{ 960 months	27760	27758.	18.	5.	10	1.	5.	54.	49
	{ 76 solar years	27760	27758.	10.	0.	12	1.	13.	59.	48
5 cycles.	{ 1175 months	34700	34698.	10.	36.	27	1.	13.	23.	32
	{ 95 solar years	34700	34698.	0.	30.	15	1.	23.	29.	45

The excess of *Meton's* calculation was in part corrected by *Calippus*; whose reformed cycle of seventy-six years, containing four Metonic periods, commenced in the archonship of Aristophon July B. C. 330. He estimated the excess to be one day in seventy-six years, or two days in one hundred and fifty-two years^t. *Calippus* had made a nearer approach to the true solar time than *Meton*. But, as in the solar year of *Calippus* there was still an excess of 11m. 3s. which amounted in four Metonic periods to 13h. 59m. 48s. and in eight to 1d. 3h. 59m. 36s. he concluded the error of *Meton* to be less than it really was; computing it at one day in seventy-six years, and two days in one hundred and fifty-two, whereas it was in reality thirty-eight hours in the one case, and more than three days in the other^v.

rightly interpreted Thucydides: *Verba κατὰ σελήνην addidit Thucydides, propterea quod νομηνία πολιτικὴ cycli Metonici non semper in veram νομηνίαν incidebat.*

^q The solar year of *Meton* (as will be shewn in a future note) was 365d. 6h. 18m. 57s. And this multiplied by 19 gives 6940 days.

^r $1175 \times 30 = 35,250$ days; and, deducting 550, = 34,700.

^s For the calculations in this column, use has been made of the Tables of Lunations and of Solar Years, published by Dr. Hales, *Analysis of Chronology* vol. I. p. 160. 161. In the lunations in these pages I have not expressed the fractions of time below a *second*, although in computing the sums they have been taken into the account. Hence an apparent want of agreement in some of the amounts.

^t See Dodwell Diss. I. p. 46. Corsin. tom. I. p. 84.

^v Hipparchus apud Ptolem. *Μεγ. Συντάξ.* III. 2. p. 63. describes the solar year of *Meton* and *Ca-*

lippus, together with his own: "Ἰππαρχος—ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐμβολίων μηνῶν τε καὶ ἡμερῶν, προειπὼν ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τοὺς περὶ Μέτωνα καὶ Εὐκτῆμονα ὁ ἐνιαύσιος χρόνος περιέχει ἡμέρας τξέ' δ' καὶ ος" μίᾱς ἡμέρας, κατὰ δὲ Κάλιππον ἡμέρας τξέ' δ' μόνον, ἐπιλέγει κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως· "Ἡμεῖς δὲ μῆνας μὲν ὅλους εὐρίσκομεν περιεχομένους ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσιν ὅσους ἀκρίβειαν τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔτι καὶ τοῦ δ' ἔλασσον τριακοσιοστῶ ἐπιλαμβάνοντα μάλιστα μέρει μίᾱς ἡμέρας. ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἑλλείπειν παρὰ μὲν τὸν Μέωνα ἡμέρας ε', παρὰ δὲ τὸν Κάλιππον ἡμέραν μίαν."—"Συντάξα δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου ἐν βιβλίῳ ἐνὶ, ἐν ᾧ ἀποδεικνύω ὅτι ὁ καθ' ἡλίον ἐνιαυτός (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ὁ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἥλιος ἀπὸ τροπῆς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τροπὴν παραγίνεται, ἢ ἀπ' ἰσημερίας ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσημερίαν) περιέχει ἡμέρας τξέ' καὶ ἑλαττον ἢ δ' ἡμέρας τῷ τριακοσιοστῶ ἔγγιστα μέρει μίᾱς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός." *Censorinus de Die Nat. c. 19. Annum naturalem dies habere prodidit—Meton 365 et dierum quinque undevigesimam partem.* This computation of the overplus (over and above the three hundred and sixty-five days), the nineteenth part of one hun-

That the year of *Aristophan* Ol. 112. 3 N. E. 419 was the first year of the first Calippic 340 period is proved by many references in Ptolemy. According to the passages already quoted ^u, the 47th year of the first Calippic period was N. E. 465 Ol. 124. 1. and the 48th year was N. E. 466 Ol. 124. 2. The first year therefore was Ol. 112. 3 and N. E. 419. Ptolemy observes again ^x: τῷ λς' ἔτει τῆς πρώτης κατὰ Κάλιππον περιόδου—κατὰ τὸ νυδ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. But if the 36th year was N. E. 454, the 1st was N. E. 419.—γ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀψευδοῦς ἀναγεγραμμένης θερυνῆς τροπῆς μέχρι τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀρίσταρχου τετηρημένης τῷ ν' ἔτει τῆς πρώτης κατὰ Κάλιππον περιόδου—ἔτη ρυβ'. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου ν' ἔτους, ὃ ἦν κατὰ τὸ μδ' ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς—. But if the 50th year was 152 years from *Apseudes*, the 1st was 103 years from that archon; which coincides with the 8th year of the sixth Metonic cycle, or Ol. 112. 3.^z And N. E. 424 + 44 = N. E. 468. which also gives N. E. 419 for the first year of the period.—^a ὁ μὲν Ἰππαρχος φησὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ λβ.Ϟ ἔτει τῆς τρίτης κατὰ Κάλιππον περιόδου ἔαρινήν ἰσημερίαν ἀκριβέστατα τηρηθεῖσαν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ κζ' τοῦ μεχίρ πρώτης. καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἔτος τὸ ροη.^ω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς. But N. E. 424 + 178 = N. E. 602. And in that year of *Nabonassar* (which began Sept. 29) the 27th of *Mechir* would give March 24th B. C. 146 for the vernal equinox observed by *Hipparchus* in the spring of that 32d year of the third Calippic period ^b. And, if the 32d year of the third period was N. E. 602, 341

dred and twenty hours for *Meton's* time, and the computation of *Hipparchus*, the seventy-sixth part of twenty-four hours added to six hours, give precisely the same result: namely 6h. 18m. 56s. 50t. And the solar year of *Meton* may be reckoned 365 d. 6 h. 18 m. 57 s. nearly. *Hipparchus* himself deducted from the six hours a three hundredth part of twenty-four hours; or 4 m. 48 s. consequently he reduced the six hours to 5 h. 55 m. 12 s. It is curious to remark the gradual progress towards accuracy; each astronomer successively correcting the excess of his predecessors.

	D.	H.	M.	S.	Excess.
<i>Meton & Euctemon</i> [B. C. 432]	365.	6.	18.	57.	30. 0
<i>Calippus</i> [B. C. 330]	365.	6.	0.	0.	11. 3
<i>Hipparchus</i> [B. C. 146]	365.	5.	55.	12.	6. 15
True time.	365.	5.	48.	57.	

^u P. 331.

^x *Mey.* Συναγ. VII. 3. p. 171.

^y *Ibid.* III. 2. p. 63.

^z The solstice was observed by *Meton* in June B. C. 432. therefore the solstice observed by *Aristarchus* 152 years afterwards, towards the end of the 50th Calippic year—τῷ ν' ἔτει λήγοντι according to Ptolemy p. 63—was the summer solstice of June B. C. 280, and this was *Scirophorion* of Olymp. 124. 4, the seventh month (*Phamenoth*) of N. E. 468.

^a *Ibid.* p. 62.

^b In the preceding autumn of the same 32nd year, September B. C. 147, *Hipparchus* had observed the autumnal equinox: Ptolem. *Ibid.* ἐν μὲν

γὰρ τῷ λβ.^Ϟ. ἔτει τῆς τρίτης κατὰ Κάλιππον περιόδου ἐπεσημήνατο μάλιστα τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ὁ Ἰππαρχος,—καὶ ἐπιλελογίσθαι φησὶν αὐτὴν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ τριτῇ τῶν ἐπαγομένων τοῦ μεσουκτίου τοῦ εἰς τὴν τετάρτην φέροντος· καὶ ἔστι τὸ ἔτος ροη.^ω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς. As this observation was made three days (current) before the termination of N. E. 601, or Sept. 26 B. C. 147, it in reality fell within the 177th year after the death of *Alexander*; and we might read ροζ.^ω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀ. τ. Probably however Ptolemy designedly called this by anticipation the 178th year, because his own corresponding observations, which he compares with those of *Hipparchus*, fell within one and the same Egyptian year: 285 years after the observations of *Hipparchus*, in the 3d year of *Antoninus* and the 463d from the death of *Alexander*, he found the autumnal equinox to fall upon the 9th of *Athyr* [=Sept. 25 A. D. 139], and the vernal upon the 7th of *Pachon* [=March 22 A. D. 140]: p. 62. μετὰ σπέ' ἔτη τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει Ἀντωνίνου, ὃ ἔστι υξγ.^ω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐτηρήσαμεν τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ θ' τοῦ Ἀθύρ.—ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν μετὰ τὰ σπέ' ἔτη τῷ υξγ.^ω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς ἔαρινήν ἰσημερίαν εὐρίσκομεν γεγενῆσθαι τῇ ζ' τοῦ Παχών. He might therefore for the sake of greater ease of comparison name ἔτος ροη.^ω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀ. τ. as the date of both the observations of *Hipparchus*.

Ptolemy in computing time ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς (who died in the middle of N. E. 425) always reckons 424 years complete to the death of *Alexander*: p. 79. ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ναβονασάρου βασιλείας μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς ἔτη συνάγεται

the first year of the first was N. E. 419.^c The purpose of *Calippus* was to deduct in 76 years one day more than *Meton* had done. In four Metonic cycles, $110 \times 4 = 440$ days were deducted from the 960 months. *Calippus* proposed to deduct 441 days. Beyond this, he appears to have made no change in the *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίς* of *Meton*. He not only made no change in the order of the intercalary years, but it is highly probable (as Corsini has argued^d) that he made none in the order of the *exemptile* days. But, although *Calippus* made no change in the structure of the *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρίς*, yet, according to Dodwell's Tables^e, he made that 8th year of *Meton* the beginning of a new series. The Metonic cycle was broken off and interrupted at that eighth year, which became the first of a new cycle; and the intercalary year was changed into an *annus communis*. This arrangement of the Calippic period is supported by the dates of Timocharis, according to which the 36th and 47th years of *Calippus* were *anni communes*; which could not have happened if the original Metonic cycle, instead of being interrupted at its eighth year, had proceeded to the end. And yet the evidence of a Marble, which will be produced in a future page, renders this arrangement doubtful.

From this view of the cycle of *Meton* we are enabled to determine the time of the eclipse, which preceded the battle of Arbela; and which happened in the seventh year of the sixth Metonic period. The observation made in the Tables B. C. 331, 2 was made with a view to reconcile Plutarch's account of the time of the eclipse with Arrian's account of the month of the battle. I had followed Scaliger^f in supposing that the eclipse might fall upon the 20th of *Boëdromion*, and the battle ensue upon the 1st of *Pyanepsion*. Arrian seemed a better authority for the history of *Alexander* than Plutarch^g, who dates that battle on the 26th of *Boëdromion*. But a closer examination of the cycle of *Meton* has led me to renounce that opinion as erroneous. The variation of the Attic calendar would be the other way; and the days of the month would follow the lunar time instead of preceding it^h. The sixth *Enneadecaeterid* commenced when the first moon was 1 d. 13 h. 23 m. 32 s. old. The first seventy-six Metonic months, ending at *Boëdromion* B. C. 331, would contain 2244 days (the *exemptile* days being deducted); but seventy-six lunations are equal to 2244 d. 7 h. 47 m. 39 s. 342 which would still leave the new moon of *Boëdromion* 1 d. 5 h. 35 m. 53 s. earlier than the first day of the month; the full moon would consequently fall 13 d. 12 h. 46 m. 8 s. after the

κατ' Αἰγυπτίους υκδ'. Thus he reckons the third year of *Antoninus* to be the 463rd from the death of *Alexander*: p. 62. τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει Ἀντωνίνου, ὃ ἐστὶ υξγ.^ο ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς. But the third year of *Antoninus* was N. E. 887. And 887—463=424 years for the space which had elapsed before *Alexander's* death.

^c It will be remembered, that the first year of *Calippus* did not commence in N. E. 419. In these computations the Attic year is compared with that year of Nabonassar with which the greater part of it was coincident. In the time of *Calippus* the year of Nabonassar commenced in the fifth month of the Attic. In the time of *Ptolemy* they both began in the same month: if, at least, Hecatombæon still remained the first of the Attic year.

^d See p. 338. note ^u.

^e P. 724—727.

^f Emend. Temp. p. 25. 26. *Plutarchus scribit XI diebus ante cladem Persarum ad vicum Gaugamela et fugam Darii ultimi deliquium lune contigisse μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος περὶ ἀρχὴν μυστηρίων. Jam constat μυστήρια celebrari solita τῇ εἰκάδι βοηδρομιῶνος, ut ipse Plutarchus auctor est in Camillo. — p. 27. A vicesima mensis Boëdromionis ad exitum mensis sunt dies XI, Pyanepsion, Mæmacterion, &c.*

^g Camill. c. 19. Πέρσαι ἡττήθησαν—βοηδρομιῶνος πέμπτῃ φθίνοντος ἐν Ἀρβήλοις.

^h See Dodwell Diss. I. p. 42. who observes very justly, that at the end of the Metonic period *Seniores veris fuerint civilia novilunia atque plenilunia*.

beginning of *Boëdromion*, or on the 14th day of the month; and the battle of Arbela, eleven or twelve days after the eclipse, would fall upon the 25th or 26th, nearly where Plutarch has placed it, and six days earlier than the date of Arrian.

It has been a question whether *Hecatombaëon* always began at the first new moon after the solstice, or whether it sometimes preceded the solstice. Scaliger held that *Hecatombaëon* never commenced before the solstice. Petavius thought otherwise. Dodwellⁱ concluded that the new moon of *Hecatombaëon* was that which lay nearest to the tropic, whether it preceded, or whether it followed the solstice. Corsini^k collects the different opinions, but declares no judgment of his own, and is satisfied with stating generally that the year began ¹*circa æstivi solstitii tempora*. There are no positive proofs^m of this point, but the probability is that Petavius and Dodwell are in the right.

The first day of every Attic month, on the principles of the lunar year, falls annually back about eleven days until the arrival of the intercalary year; when it is carried forward by the intercalary month about eighteen days lower in the Julian Calendar than the place which it occupied in the preceding year. In the next year it falls back again eleven days, and so successively, till another operation of the intercalary month brings it down eighteen days in advance of its former position. As for example, if in the first year of the Metonic cycle, *Elaphebolion*, the month of the *Dionysia Magna*, began March 10, in the second it fell back to Feb. 27th, in the third year it would be carried forward by the intercalary month to March 17th, in the fourth it fell back to March 6th, in the fifth it was carried down by the second intercalary month to March 25thⁿ. The intercalary years within the period of *Meton's* cycle were these,

ⁱ Diss. I. p. 24.

^k Tom. I. p. 98.

¹ Tom. I. p. 65.

^m Petavius Doctrin. Temp. I. 12. p. 29. produces two arguments from Ptolemy: *Probatur ex Ptolemaicis observationibus VII. 3. ubi—Anthesterion caput Januarii 22. Ergo Hecatombaëon Junii 19. Item Elaphebolion iniit Feb. 22. Ergo Hecatombaëon Junii 21.* The passages in question (which are not the observations of Ptolemy himself, but of Timocharis) are these: Ptol. p. 170. τῷ λς' ἔτει τῆς πρώτης κατὰ Κάλιππον περιόδου, τοῦ μὲν ἐλαφεβολιῶνος τῇ ιε' τοῦ δὲ τυβι τῇ ε',—καὶ ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ νυδ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. The year N. E. 454 began Nov. 4 B. C. 295, consequently the 5th day of the fifth month *Tybi* (the 125th day of the Egyptian year) fell upon March 8th, and if that day coincided with the 15th of *Elaphebolion*, the 1st of *Elaphebolion* would undoubtedly be fixed to Feb. 22. Again p. 169.—τῇ η' τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους τῇ κθ' τοῦ Ἀθύρ—κατὰ τὸ υξέ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. It has been already shewn (p. 331) that the 29th of the month *Athyri* in N. E. 465 corresponded to Jan. 29 B. C. 283. Consequently the 1st of *Anthesterion* would be coincident in that year with Jan. 22. But the conclusion which Petavius draws from hence is erroneous. These were not intercalary years, but

anni communes of 354 days. It therefore follows that when the 1st *Anthesterion* fell upon Jan. 22, the 1st of *Hecatombaëon* would fall upon June 29th; and the 1st *Elaphebolion* being Feb. 22d, the 1st *Hecatombaëon* would be 2d July; the beginning of the Attic year in both cases being subsequent to the solstice. That the first of these two years, N. E. 454, was an *annus communis* in the account of Timocharis, is proved by Timocharis himself: Ptolem. p. 171. πάλιν Τιμόχαρις μὲν φησιν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τηρήσας ὅτι τῷ λς' ἔτει τῆς πρώτης κατὰ Κάλιππον περιόδου, τοῦ μὲν ποσειδεῶνος τῇ κε' τοῦ δὲ φαιφί τῇ ις'.—καὶ ἔστιν ὁ χρόνος κατὰ τὸ νυδ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Ναβονασάρου. The 16th of *Phaophi*, the 46th day of N. E. 454, coincided with Dec. 19. The 25th therefore of *Posideon* was 79 days before the 15th of *Elaphebolion*, and the first of *Posideon* was on the 26th of November. This, then, was *Posideon* of an *annus communis*. That the year N. E. 465 was not intercalary is shewn by Dodwell's Calippic Tables p. 726, which are adapted to the dates of Timocharis. If it should hereafter appear that there is cause for questioning the correctness of Dodwell's Tables, and of the dates of Timocharis, in that case the conclusion of Petavius would fail for another reason.

ⁿ See Dodwell's Tables Diss. de Cyclis p.

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	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Years.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.
3.	$42\frac{3}{9}$.	$41\frac{1}{6}$.	$39\frac{7}{8}$.	$37\frac{3}{2}$.	$35\frac{4}{3}$.	$33\frac{4}{3}$.
5.	$42\frac{8}{7}$.	$40\frac{9}{8}$.	$38\frac{9}{8}$.	$37\frac{1}{6}$.	$35\frac{2}{3}$.	$33\frac{3}{2}$.
8.	$42\frac{5}{4}$.	$40\frac{6}{5}$.	$38\frac{7}{6}$.	$36\frac{8}{7}$.	$34\frac{9}{8}$.	$(33\frac{3}{2})^o$
11.	$42\frac{2}{3}$.	$40\frac{3}{2}$.	$38\frac{4}{3}$.	$36\frac{5}{4}$.	$34\frac{6}{5}$.	
13.	$42\frac{0}{9}$.	$40\frac{1}{6}$.	$38\frac{2}{3}$.	$36\frac{3}{2}$.	$34\frac{4}{3}$.	
16.	$41\frac{7}{6}$.	$39\frac{8}{7}$.	$37\frac{9}{8}$.	$35\frac{0}{9}$.	$34\frac{1}{6}$.	
19.	$41\frac{4}{3}$.	$39\frac{5}{4}$.	$37\frac{6}{5}$.	$35\frac{7}{6}$.	$33\frac{8}{7}$.	

In these years the twelve months which followed *Posideon II.* (the six last months of the intercalary year and the six first of the next year) were brought down, as compared with their station in the Julian Calendar of the preceding year, each about eighteen days lower respectively: and in these months the Athenian festivals and the occurrences of civil history would fall so much later than in the other years of the period. In these intercalary years, of thirteen months, the *prytaniæ* into which the year was distributed, instead of thirty-five and thirty-six days, were of thirty-eight and thirty-nine days duration.

The Athenians divided their civil year into ten *prytaniæ*, corresponding to the number of their tribes^p, each of thirty-five days. Harpocratio:—*ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἡ πρυτανεία, ἥτοι*

716—727. In the account of the dramatic exhibitions in the fourth column of the Tables, *Anthesterion* is expressed by *February* and *Elaphebolion* by *March*, because the Lenæan festival for the most part fell within the month of February, and the *Dionysia Magna* within the month of March. But in the intercalary years it generally happened that these two festivals were brought down to the beginning of the following month. This has occurred in four instances in the Tables. The *Ἰππεῖς* of *Aristophanes* in B. C. 424 were probably represented on the 4th or 5th of March. The Lenæan victory of *Agatho* in B. C. 416, of *Aristophanes* in B. C. 405, and of *Dionysius* in B. C. 367, might also fall upon March 4th or 5th.

^o In this year the cycle of *Calippus* was adopted; containing four Metonic periods or seventy-six years.

^p The ten tribes lasted from their institution by *Clisthenes* B. C. 510 (Herodot. V. 66. 69) to the addition of the two tribes in B. C. 306, in honour of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*. (Plutarch. Demet. c. 10. Pollux VIII. 110. conf. Steph. Byz. v. *Βερενικίδα*.) Corsini Fast. Att. Dissert. IV. has proved that the order of precedence among the tribes was this: *Ἐρεχθίδης· Αἰγυῖς· Πανδιονίδης· Λεοντίς· Ἀκαμαντίς· Οἰνηῖς· Κεκροπίς· Ἰπποθωντίς· Αἰαντίς· Ἀντιوخίς*.—by the following arguments. 1. Demosthenes Epitaph. p. 1397—1399 and Etymolog. v. *Ἐπώνυμοι* recite them in this order. 2.

An ancient Marble which originally stood in the Ceramicus, and on which were inscribed the names of citizens who fell in battle in B. C. 457, under their respective tribes, places the tribes in the same order. This monument, valuable for its high antiquity, is given by Corsini tom. I. p. 159—161. It begins thus: *Ἐρεχθίδος οἶδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον ἐν Κύπρῳ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Φοινίκῃ ἐν Ἀλιεῦσιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ Μεγαρο . . ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ . .* . . . then follow the names of citizens of the tribe *Erechtheis*: then, after a lacuna, [*Πανδιονίδος*] *Λεοντίδος· Ἀμφιάναξ, κ. τ. λ. Ἀκαμαντίδος Θεοφάνης, κ. τ. λ. Οἰνηίδος Δυκέας, κ. τ. λ. Κεκροπίδος Αὐτοκράτης, κ. τ. λ. Ἰπποθωντίδος Γόρδος, κ. τ. λ.* The other tribes are effaced. *Πανδιονίδος* does not now appear; but was found legible by Spon, and placed before *Λεοντίς*. This monument therefore exhibits seven of the ten tribes (the other three being effaced) in the order given by Demosthenes and the Etymologus. 3. An inscription given by Spon, of the age of *Hadrian*, has the ten original tribes in the same order. 4. He produces another mutilated fragment, of the age of *Hadrian*, in which the names appear *Ἐρεχθίδος—Αἰγυῖδος—Πανδιονίδος εὐντίδος κροπίδος ωντίδος*, from which he reasonably infers that the same order was observed. A monument preserved in the Townley collection, now in the British Museum, confirms this order, and at the same time marks the position of the three addi-

τριάκοντα ἐξ ἧ τριάκοντα πέντε· καὶ ἑκάστη φυλὴ πρυτανεύει γ. Photius[†]:—ὁ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸς· 344 δέκα ἐγίνοντο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ὅτι καὶ δέκα αἱ φυλαί. ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν σεληνιακὸν ἥγον. ἐπέβαλε δὲ ἑκάστη φυλὴ τῶν δέκα λέ' ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπερίττενον ἐκ τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέραι τέσσαρες, ὥς ἐπεμέριζον ταῖς πρώταις λαχούσαις πρυτανεύειν τέσσαρσι φυλαῖς· καὶ τῶν μὲν τεσσάρων πρώτων ἑκάστη εἶχε τὴν πρυτανείαν ἀπαρτιζομένην εἰς λς' ἡμέρας αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ ἐξ ἀνὰ λς' ε. Dodwell, having collected from the works of Demosthenes the station which some of the tribes happened to occupy in some particular years, assumed that the order in which they presided was fixed and permanent. He observed that in B. C. 354 the tribe *Pandionis* presided first[†]; that in B. C. 340 the tribe *Hippochoontis* had the third place[‡]; that upon another occasion the tribe *Leontis* had the sixth presidency[§]; that *Erechtheis* had the eighth^{||} and *Aeantis* the tenth[¶]. He accordingly concluded that these were uniformly the stations of those tribes; that the tribe *Pandionis* always had the first, *Erechtheis* the eighth, and *Aeantis* the tenth *prytania*. This opinion Corsini^z has combated by many ingenious arguments. He contends, that the order in which the tribes presided was annually determined by lot^a. Some of his arguments to this purpose are cogent. 1. It is distinctly asserted by ancient testimonies that the order was fortuitous: ^b τὸ δέκατον μέρος τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ μιᾶς φυλῆς.—ἐπρυτάνεον δὲ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλων αἱ δέκα φυλαὶ κληρολαχοῦσαι κατὰ ἐνιαυτόν.—^c ἐνταῦθα καλῶς προσέθηκε τὴν φυλὴν τὴν Πανδι-

tional tribes: Ἀλκαμένους κοσμητέοντος ἔφηβοι· Ἐρεχθείδος Ἀνρ. Δημήτριος, κ.τ.λ. Ἀιγείδος Μεγιστόδωρος, Κάρπος. The tribe *Pandionis* (the third in order) is wanting; the others are thus arranged: after Ἀιγείδος—without any sign of a lacuna, the Marble proceeds: Λεωντίδος—Πτολεμαΐδους—Ἀκαμαντίδος—Ἀδριανίδος—Οἰνείδος—Κεκροπίδος—Ἰπποθοοντίδος—Αἰαντίδος—Ἀντιωχίδος—Ἀτταλίδος. Corsini tom. IV. p. ix.—xiii. has given some account of this inscription: but an exact and authentic copy will be found in *Combe's Description of the Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, Part II. plate 36.

The order of Corsini for the Athenian tribes is confirmed by Androtio apud Schol. Aristid. p. 182=tom. III. p. 485. ed. Dindorf. τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ ὀνόματα κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνα· Σωκράτης Ἀναγυράσιος [*Erechtheidis*], Σοφοκλῆς ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ὁ ποιητής [*Ægeidis*], Ἀνδοκίδης Κυδαθηναίεὺς [*Pandionidis*], Χρέων Σκαμβωνίδης [*Leontidis*], Περικλῆς Χολαργεὺς [*Acamantidis*], Γλαῦκων ἐν Κεραμέων [*Acamantidis*], Καλλίστρατος Ἀχαρνεὺς [*Æneidis*], Ξενοφῶν Μελιτεὺς [*Cecropidis*]. The tribes are ascertained by the *demi*; and the order of the seven here given is the order of Corsini. Androtio therefore named the generals in the order of their tribes. Two of the generals are wanting, and three tribes. In this short fragment we have no information why two of the ten were of the same tribe.

[†] V. πρυτανείας. [‡] Lex. v. πρυτανεία.

[§] Repeated by Suidas in voce p. 3150. B.

[†] Demosth. Timocrat. p. 706. 708. ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης πρυτανείας τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ—ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πρώτης, ἐνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας. Again, in B. C. 346. Demosth. Coron. p. 235. ἐκατομβαιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσας Πανδιονίδος.

[‡] Demosth. Coron. p. 250. βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα—πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἰπποθοωντίδος. p. 261. μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσας Ἰπποθοωντίδος.

[§] Demosth. Coron. p. 253. ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἔκτη ἀπὸντος, φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσας Λεωντίδος.

^{||} Demosth. Coron. p. 282. μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἔκτη φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσας Ἐρεχθείδος.

[¶] Demosth. Coron. p. 288. φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσας Αἰαντίδος, σκироφοριῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.

^z Tom. I. p. 127. 128. 179.

^a This had already been the opinion of Petitus: Leg. Att. p. 268. *Sorte ductæ tribus imperabant sibi invicem succedentes*. p. 275.—ordine, quem sors ab ipso anni principio unicuique attribuerat. But Corsini has supplied many additional proofs.

^b Etymol. v. πρύτανις. Conf. Corsin. tom. I. p. 179. This, however, is better given in Harpocrat. v. πρυτάνεις—πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες ἀπὸ μιᾶς φυλῆς—ἐπρυτάνεον δὲ—αἱ δέκα φυλαὶ κλήρω λαχοῦσαι. Compare Schol. Aristoph. Eccles. 396. where this passage of Harpocrat had been inserted by Musurus. Conf. Dindorf. Aristoph. tom. IV. l. p. VIII. tom. IV. 3. p. 296.

^c Ulpian. ad Demosth. Timocrat. p. 447, 44. Conf. Corsin. tom. I. p. 149.

νῖδα, ἐπεὶδὲ ἔτυχε τότε αὐτὴν κληρωθῆναι πρώτην πρυτανεύσαι. ἀνωτέρω ἐπεὶδὲ τὴν ἐπιχειροτονίαν τῶν νόμων ἀνέγνωκεν εἰκότως οὐχ ὥρισε ποίας πρυτανευούσης πρώτης, ἐπεὶδὲ ἄδηλον ἦν, ὥς εἶπομεν, ποία κληροῦται αἰεὶ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον μῆνα πρώτη πρυτανεύσαι. 2. Some examples of a different order may be collected. The tribe *Æantis*, which was the tenth in the time of Demosthenes, was the second in B. C. 490. ^d τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξήγαγε (Μιλτιάδης) τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης ἐγράφη. That decree referred to the 6th of *Boëdromion*, the 65th day of the year, within the *prytania* of the second^e presiding tribe. *Erechtheis*, which was the 8th in Demosthenes, is the first in Antipho *περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ*.

345 The speaker in that oration was of this tribe, *Erechtheis* ^f, and during the months *Hecatombeon* and *Metagitnion* ^g τῶν βουλευτῶν εἰς ἦν,—καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις πρυτανεύσας τὴν πρώτην πρυτανείαν ἄπασαν πλὴν δυοῖν ἡμέραιν. He farther observes very justly ^h, that the addition of πρώτη, πέμπτη, ἕκτη, would not have been necessary, had the station of every tribe been always known; that the tribe *Erechtheis*, which was first in dignity, would be always degraded by Dodwell's system to the eighth place; that the tribe *Æantis*, which never was the last according to Plutarch ⁱ, would be permanently fixed to the *tenth prytania* ^k.

The opinion of Corsini is confirmed and established beyond dispute by evidence which has since come to light. The Choiseul Marble ^l, which preserves an account of sums issued from the treasury of Minerva Polias in the archonship of *Glaucippus* B. C. 4¹⁰/₉, exhibits a perfect series of the *prytaniæ* in the order which they occupied in that year. This monument, from the clear information which it affords upon this subject, deserves a particular consideration. I subjoin such parts of it as are material, omitting only the amount of the sums issued, as not necessary to the present question.

^m Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆλθωσαν ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἧς Κλεγένης Ἀλαίεος προ-

^d Plutarch. Sympos. I. 10. p. 628. E. conf. Corsin. tom. I. p. 183.

^e The *third*, according to Corsini, who placed the battle of Marathon at the 16th of *Boëdromion*, for a reason which has been considered in a former note. See above p. 336. But in his discussion of this point tom. I. p. 182. 183. he has forgotten his own doctrine respecting the commencement of the year in *Gamelion*; according to which, *Boëdromion* in B. C. 490 would have been the ninth, and not the third month.

Mr. Boeckh with Dodwell and Corsini formerly reckoned that the Attic year began in *Gamelion* in Ol. 80; which makes *Metagitnion* the 8th month. But, in fixing the time of the battle of Marathon in Ol. 72, he makes *Metagitnion* the second month. And again in Ol. 80. 3 he begins the year at *Hecatombeon*. See above Notes upon the Tables p. 217. 227, 228. 233. His reasons for this change of opinion are given *Commentatione de Sophoclis Antigona*: See Inscr. Græc. tom. I. p. 295.

^f Antipho *περὶ χορευτ.* p. 142, 33.

^g P. 146, 35. conf. Corsin. tom. I. p. 181. 189.

^h Tom. I. p. 149.

ⁱ Plutarch. Sympos. I. 10. p. 628. B. τῇ Αἰαντίδι φυλῇ γέρας ὑπῆρχε τὸ μὴ κρίνεσθαι τὸν αὐτῆς χορὸν ἔσχατον.

^k Corsin. tom. I. p. 150.

^l This Marble was brought from Athens in 1788, and is illustrated by Barthélemy in a treatise entitled *Dissertation sur une ancienne inscription Grecque relative aux finances des Athéniens par J. J. Barthélemy*. 1792. Republished in *Mém. de l'Acad. &c.* tom. XLVIII. p. 337.

^m In the original—Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέλθωσαν ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἀρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς Κλεγένης Ἀλαίεος προεγραμματοῦ. ταμίαι ἱεροῦ χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Καλλιστράτος Μαραθωνίου καὶ Χουναρχόντες παρέδοσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπετειῶν Φσεφισαμένο το δέμο. Ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος πρώτης πρυτανευούσης. Ἡ[λλε] νοταμῖαι παρέδοθε Καλλιμαχοὶ Ἡγνοῖοι, κ. τ. λ. This specimen (which I exhibit in small letters to save space) represents the ancient form of writing, before the archonship of *Euclides*. See the references in the Tables B. C. 403, 2. We are not however to conclude, as some have done, that the works of *Sophocles* and *Euripides* were wholly written in this ancient form. The establishment by law of the new mode of writing in the archonship of *Euclides*, upon the

εγραμμάτενε. ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Καλλίστρατος Μαραθώνιος καὶ ξυνάρχοντες παρέδωσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπετείων ψηφισαμένου τοῦ δήμου. Ἐπὶ τῆς ΑἸΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ πρώτης πρυτανευούσης, Ἐ . . . νοταμίαις παρεδόθη Καλλιμάχῳ Ἀγνουσίῳ Ἰ . αριεὶ ἵπποις σίτος ἐδόθη Ἀθηναίας Πολιάδος—Ἐπὶ τῆς ΑἼΓΗΙΔΟΣ δευτέρας πρυτανευούσης, ἀθλοθέταις παρεδόθη ἐς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα Φίλωνι Κυδαθηναίῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν Ἀθηναίας Πολιάδος—ἱεροποιοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Διῶλλῳ Ἐρχιεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἐς τὴν ἑκατομβήν—Ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνηιδος τρίτης πρυτανευούσης, Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη Περικλεῖ Χολαργεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἵπποις σίτος ἐδόθη—ἕτερον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἵπποις σίτος ἐδόθη—ἕτερον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις Ἑρμῶνι ἐδόθη ἄρχοντι ἐς Πύλον—ἕτερον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν—Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντιδος τετάρτης πρυτανευούσης, Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη Περικλεῖ Χολαργεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν σίτος ἵπποις ἐδόθη—ἕτερον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν ἐδόθη—Ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπιδος πέμπτης πρυτανευούσης, Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη Περικλεῖ Χολαργεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν—Ἐπὶ τῆς Λεοντιδος ἑκτῆς πρυτανευούσης, τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη Διονυσίῳ Κυδαθηναίῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—ἐνάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις Θράσωνι Βουτάδῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—ἐνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη Προξένῳ Ἀφιδναίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσιν (στρατηγῷ ἐξ Ἑρετρίας Εὐκλείδῃ ἀνομολόγημα)—τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, 346 Ἑλληνοταμίαις Περικλεῖ Χολαργεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—ὀγδόῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις Σπούδιδι Φλυεὶ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας τὰ ἐκ Σάμου ἀνομολογήθη Ἑλληνοταμίᾳ Ἀναιτίῳ Σφηττίῳ καὶ παρέδρω Πολυαράτῳ Χολαργεῖ—Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχιδος ἐβδόμης πρυτανευούσης, πέμπτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, παρεδόθη Διονυσίῳ Κυδαθηναίῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν—ἐβδόμῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις Θράσωνι Βουτάδῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν—τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἑλληνοταμίαις Φαλάνθῳ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν καὶ συνάρχουσιν σίτον ἵπποις—ἕκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις Προ . . . νῳ Ἀφιδναίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις Εὐπολ φιδναίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις Καλλίᾳ Εὐωνν αὶ συνάρχουσιν—Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντιδος ὀγδῆς πρυτανευούσης, δωδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις παρεδόθη Προξένῳ Ἀφιδναίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐδόθη Διονυσίῳ Κυδαθηναίῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐδόθη Θράσωνι Βουτάδῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—Ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθιδος ἐνάτης πρυτανευούσης, δωδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐδόθη Προξένῳ Ἀφιδναίῳ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐδόθη Διονυσίῳ Κυδαθηναίῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνοταμίαις ἐδόθη Θράσωνι Βουτάδῃ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, τὰ ἐκ Σάμου ἀνομολόγησα υς στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σάμῳ Δεξικράτει Ἀγίλιεῖ—Πασιφῶντι Φρεαρίῳ—Ἀριστοκρα ι — Ε Εὐωνυμεῖ—Νικηράτῳ Κυδαντλῇ τριηράρχῳ—Ἀριστοφάνει Ἀνα ραρ . . —Ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονιδος δεκάτης πρυτανευούσης, ἐνδεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνο Προ καὶ συνάρχουσιν—τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, Ἑλληνο σιν—ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας Ἑλλ ουσιν—Κεφάλαιον ἀργυρίου συμπαν . ο

motion of *Archinus*, is to be understood only of its use in public documents. It was in use already before that date in the writings of private individuals. Thus it appears from Athenæus X. p. 454. b. quoting the *Theseus* of Euripides, that, when Euripides composed that tragedy, (which

was before B. C. 422, since Aristophanes Vesp. 313 alludes to it,) the name of his hero was written ΘΗΣΕΥΣ. An antiquated form of writing would naturally remain longer in public monuments than in the writings of private persons.

This valuable monument exhibits the tribes in an order wholly different from that which is collected from Demosthenes. In the year of Glaucippus, *Æantis* is the first and *Pandionis* the last; directly the reverse of the order which Dodwell had pronounced to be fixed and unchangeable. A clear demonstration that the *prytaniæ* were arranged by lot, and that the order in which they presided was fortuitous. We likewise are enabled to correct an error into which we had been led by Photius and Suidas. They had represented that the four supernumerary days were given to the four *first* presiding tribes; who had 36 days, while the last six had each 35ⁿ. Petitus Dodwell and Corsini naturally followed these authorities, and distributed the four days to the first four tribes^o. But as in this Marble the 36th day of the eighth ninth and tenth *prytaniæ* is distinctly expressed, it appears that the contrary distribution prevailed, and that the supernumerary days were given to the *last* tribes, and not to the first. In the year of Glaucippus, which was not intercalary, but a year of 354 days, the 4th of a Metonic cycle, the order of the *prytaniæ* was this:

	<i>Days.</i>		<i>Days.</i>		<i>Commenced.</i>	
347	... 1.	Æantis	35.	1.	Hecatombæon <i>July 14 B. C. 410</i>	
	70. ... 2.	Ægeis	35.	7.	Metagitnion..... <i>Aug. 18</i>	
	105. ... 3.	Æneis	35.	12.	Boëdromion..... <i>Sept. 22</i>	
	140. ... 4.	Acamantis	35.	18.	Pyanepsion	<i>Octob. 27</i>
	175. ... 5.	Cecropis	35.	23.	Mæmaacterion	<i>Dec. 1</i>
	210. ... 6.	Leontis	35.	29.	Posideon.....	<i>Jan. 5 B. C. 409</i>
	246. ... 7.	Antiochis	36.	5.	Anthesterion	<i>Feb. 9.</i>
	282. ... 8.	Hippothoontis	36.	11.	Elaphebolion	<i>March 17 p</i>
	318. ... 9.	Erechtheis	36.	18.	Munychion	<i>April 22</i>
	354. ... 10.	Pandionis	36.	24.	Thargelion	<i>May 28—July 2</i>

In the year of the next archon *Diocles* B. C. 40 $\frac{2}{3}$, according to the evidence of another Marble, the tribe *Cecropis* presided first: ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἀρχοντος Κεκροπίδος πρυτανευούσης πρώτης ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ Νικοφάνης Μαραθώνιος πρῶτος ἐγγραμμάτευσεν.—In the archonship of *Nicodorus* B. C. 31 $\frac{1}{3}$, this tribe had the sixth presidency; as appears from an inscription which runs thus according to the account of Chandler^r: Ἐπὶ Νικοδώρου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος ἑκτῆς πρυτανείας, γαμηλιῶνος ἑνδεκάτῃ, ἑκτῇ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησία τῶμ προέδρων. ἐπεψήφισθεν^s Ἀριστόκρατος Ἀριστοδήμου Οἶν καὶ συμπρόεδροι. Θρασυκλῆς Ναυσικρά-

ⁿ To the same purpose Schol. in Hermogenem p. 400. δέκα δ' οὐσῶν Ἀθήνησι φυλῶν, ἐπρυτάνεον αἱ μὲν πρῶται λαχοῦσαι φυλαὶ τέσσαρες ἀνὰ 45' ἡμέρας, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ 5' ἀνὰ 45'.

^o Petitus Leg. Att. p. 268. *Illi quatuor dies imputabantur quatuor tribubus quæ primæ imperaverant.* Dodwell Diss. III. p. 186. *Prytaniæ dierum aliæ 36 aliæ 35. sic autem ut primarum prytaniarum dies fuerint plures.*—Corsini. tom. I. p. 103. *Quatuor dies illi ita primis 4 anni tribubus adjugebantur, ut illarum singulæ non 35 diebus, aliarum sequentium instar, sed potius 36 continuos*

dies imperarent.

^p If February was of 29 days, then March 16—April 21.—May 27.

^q Chandler, Inscript. Ant. P. 2. N^o. I. p. 37.

^r Ibid. p. 50. N^o. XI.

^s This word perhaps ought to be ἐπεψήφισεν. Thus an Athenian decree in Josephus Ant. XIV. 8, 5. ἐκκλησίας γενομένης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προέδρων, ἐπεψήφισε Δωρόθεος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι. Another in Laërtius VII. 10. ἐκκλησία κυρία τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἰππῶν Κρατιστοτέλους Ξυπετεῶν καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι.

τους Θριάσι· εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ [᾽Ωσαχάραν[†]] ᾽Αγάθωνος Μακεδόνα ἐπαινέσαι ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἰδίᾳ τε περὶ ᾽Αθηναίους τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κοινῇ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν ᾽Αθηναίων, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς ἰδίας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρ

This monument establishes that the year of *Nicodorus* was an intercalary year of thirteen Attic months. We have seen that in a common Attic year of twelve months the 6th *Prytania* commenced on the 29th *Posideon*. But, if the 26th day of the *Prytania* was on the 11th *Gamelion*, the first day would be on the 16th of *Posideon*. And this could only happen in an intercalary year. In the intercalary years of the Metonic cycle 3. 5. 11. 13. 16. 19. the sixth *Prytania* commenced on the 14th day of the intercalary month *Posideon II*. In the 8th year, on the 15th of that month. And the 26th day of this presiding tribe in the years 3. 5. 13. 16. fell upon the 9th of *Gamelion*, in the other three intercalary years upon the 10th of *Gamelion*. This monument therefore is at variance with the Calippic Tables of Dodwell, and proves against him that in the Attic Calendar no alteration was made in the series of the intercalary years at the commencement of the Calippic cycle. For according to the scheme of Dodwell, which supposes a new *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρὶς* to have taken its beginning from the first year of *Calippus*, the year of the archon *Nicodorus* would have been an *annus communis* of 354 days; while according to the original order it was really an intercalary year, the fifth of a Metonic cycle^u. In the numbers however on the Marble there is a difficulty: in the 5th year of the cycle the 16th day of *Posideon II*. would be the 193d day³⁴⁸ of the year, which leaves 192 days for the first five tribes. But $38 \times 5 = 190$ days; so that

[†] This name he has inserted upon conjecture.

^u This will be made very clear by comparing the scheme of Dodwell, as it is given in his Ca-

lippic Tables p. 724 with the original order. The letter B will mark the intercalary years.

Olymp.	Original order.	Dodwell.
110. 4.	1.	1.
111. 1.	2.	2.
2.	3. B.	3. B.
3.	4.	4.
4.	5. B.	5. B.
112. 1.	6.	6.
2.	7.	7.
3.	8. B. <i>Calippus</i> .	1. <i>Calippus</i> .
4.	9.	2.
113. 1.	10.	3. B.
2.	11. B.	4.
3.	12.	5. B.
4.	13. B.	6.
114. 1.	14.	7.
2.	15.	8. B.
3.	16. B.	9.
4.	17.	10.
115. 1.	18.	11. B.
2.	19. B.	12.
3.	1.	13. B.
4.	2.	14.
116. 1.	3. B.	15.
2.	4.	16. B.
3. <i>Nicodorus</i>	5. B. archon.	17.
4.	6.	18.
117. 1.	7.	19. B.

there is a redundancy of two days. We must therefore suppose one of these three things ; either that some alteration in the order of the *ἡμέραι ἐξαιρέσιμοι* was made by *Calippus*, which is not probable, or that two of the four supernumerary days were given to the first two tribes, or lastly, that Chandler has inaccurately copied the numbers on the Marble, and has exhibited *γαμηλιῶνος ἐνδεκάτη* for *γαμηλιῶνος ἐνάτη* *.

And yet Dodwell has the support of Timocharis, and of all the references in the observations of Hipparchus. See above p. 339, 340. The only mode of reconciling these difficulties is to suppose that this Calippic cycle of 76 years commencing July B. C. 330 was a scientific period, acknowledged only by astronomers ; and that it was not immediately received into public use at Athens. But the dates of Timocharis appear to prove that the Athenians had adopted it, and adapted to it their intercalations, before the 36th year of the period B. C. 295.

* Since these observations were written, I have had an opportunity of examining the Marble itself, which is now in the Gallery of Antiquities in the British Museum, Room XV. N°. 280. and it

appears that Chandler is perfectly accurate in the date, which is plainly legible as follows :

ἐπὶ Νικοδωροῦ ἀρχόντος
ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος ἐκτῆς
πρυτανείας γαμηλιῶνος
ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐκτῇ καὶ εἰκο
στῇ τῆς πρυτανείας—

It remains therefore to conclude that, instead of the four days being assigned to the last four tribes, as was the practice in the archonship of *Glaucippus* B. C. 410, these four days, now in the time of *Nicodorus* B. C. 314, were otherwise distributed, and that two were given to the first two tribes, and two to the ninth und tenth.

SUPPLEMENT TO C. XIX.—TIME OF THE LENÆA.

THE testimonies of Plutarch to the *Πιθοιγία*, of Harpocratio Photius and Hesychius to the *Χόες*, and of Harpocratio to the *Χύτροι*, are given at p. 332 of the preceding chapter. “Ruhnkenius has poured upon the *Anthesteria* so clear a light that the subject is placed beyond the reach of doubt or controversy.” I had written thus sixteen years ago. I am no longer permitted to say this by the followers of Mr. Boeckh, who places the *Lenæa* in *Gamelion*. I learn from Kruger F. H. p. 345 ed. Lips. that his work is written in the German language, and I am indebted to the Philological Museum Vol. II. p. 273 for an abstract of his arguments; of which a short view may be presented in this place.

We must first however survey the opinions of Ruhnkenius^a. He first shews that the *Lenæa* were a distinct festival from the *τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς Διονύσια*, in which he has the concurrence of Mr. Boeckh. He then proceeds to determine the place of the *Lenæa* and the time. He quotes the following testimonies. Hesych. *Διονύσια*: ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ Διονύσῳ ἦγγο· τὰ μὲν κατ' ἀγρούς μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος· τὰ δὲ Λήναια μηνὸς Ληναίων· τὰ δὲ ἐν ᾧσπερ Ἐλαφηβολιώνος. *Lexicon Rhet. MS.* [sc. Bekker *Anecd.* p. 235]. *Διονύσια*: ἐορτὴ Ἀθηνησιν Διονύσου· ἦγγο δὲ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἀγρούς μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος· τὰ δὲ Λήναια Γαμηλιῶνος [legit Ruhnken. ex Hesychio *Ληναίωνος*]. τὰ δὲ ἐν ᾧσπερ Ἐλαφηβολιώνος. *Theophrast. Char.* 3. Βοηδρομιῶνος τὰ Μυστήρια, Πυανεψιώνος δὲ Ἀπατούρια, Ποσειδεῶνος δὲ τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς Διονύσια. *Etymol.* ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ: περιαιλός τις μέγας Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Διονύσου Ληναίου, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἦγον τοὺς σκηνικούς. *Lex. Rhet. MS* [sc. Bekker. *Anecd.* p. 278]. Λήναιον: ἱερὸν Διονύσου, ἐφ' οὗ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐτίθεσαν πρὸ τοῦ τὸ θέατρον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι. *Phot. Lex.* Λήναιον: περίβολος μέγας Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἦγον πρὸ τοῦ τὸ θέατρον οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὀνομάζοντες ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. ἔστιν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερὸν Διονύσου Ληναίου. *Harpocr.* ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσιον: Ἰσάιος περὶ τοῦ Κίρωνος κλήρον [sc. p. 72, 39]. τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀθήναις Λίμναι, ἐν ᾧ ὁ τιμώμενος Διόνυσος. Hesych. *Λιμναγενές*: Λίμναι ἐν Ἀθήναις τόπος ἀνειμένους Διονύσῳ, ὅπου τὰ Λήναια ἦγγο. *Idem* *ικρία*: τὰ ξύλινα (καταστρώματα)——ἀφ' ὧν ἐθεώντο πρὸ τοῦ τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον γενέσθαι. *Pausan.* I. 20, 3. ἔστι πλησίον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου κατασκευάσμα. I. 20, 2. τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖοτατον ἱερὸν. *Athenæus* X. p. 437. b. τὴν δὲ τῶν Χοῶν ἐορτὴν τὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιτελουμένην Φανόδημος φησὶ Δημοφῶντα τὸν βασιλέα βουλόμενον ὑποδέξασθαι παραγενόμενον τὸν Ὀρέστην Ἀθήναζε κ. τ. λ.——περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκαστον περιβῆναι, καὶ τῇ ἱερείᾳ ἀποφέρειν τοὺς στεφάνους πρὸς τὸ ἐν Λίμναις τέμενος, ἔπειτα θύειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὰ ἐπιλοιπα· καὶ ἐκ τότε τὴν ἐορτὴν κληθῆναι Χόας. *Thucyd.* II. 15. τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαῖοτερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. *Demosth. Neær.* p. 1371. τῷ ἀρχαιοτάτῳ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀγιοτάτῳ ἐν Λίμναις——ἀπαξ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστον ἀνοίγεται τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός. *Philostratus Vit. Apoll.* IV. 21. ἐπιπλήξαι δὲ λέγεται περὶ Διονυσίων Ἀθηναίους, ἃ ποιεῖται σφισιν ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μονοφθῆνος ἀκροασόμενος καὶ μελοποιίας παραβάσεων τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν, ὅποσοι κωμωδίας τε καὶ τραγωδίας εἰσὶν, ἐς τὸ θέατρον ξυμφοιτᾷν ᾤετο. The month *Lenæon* he finds named in *Aristides*^b tom. I. p. 280. and in the Scholiasts upon *Hesiod Opp.* 502. *Proclus*: μῆνα δὲ Ληναίωνα: Πλούταρχος οὐδένα φησὶ μῆνα Ληναίωνα καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς· ὑποπτεύει δὲ ἢ τὸν Βουκάτιον αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅς ἐστιν ἡλίου τὸν αἰγόκερον διόντος, καὶ τὸν βούδορα τῷ βουκέρῳ συνάδοντος [τὰ βούδορα τῷ Βουκατίῳ συνάπτοντος *Wyttenbach.* τοῦ βούδορα τῷ Βουκατίῳ συνάδοντος *Boeckh.*], διὰ τὸ πλείστους ἐν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖρεσθαι βόας· ἢ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον, ὅς ἐστι μετὰ τὸν βούδορα, καὶ εἰς ταυτὸν ἐρχόμενος τῷ Γαμηλιῶνι, καθ' ὃν καὶ τὰ Λήναια παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. Ἴωνες δὲ τοῦτον οὐδ' ἄλλως ἀλλὰ Ληναίωνα καλοῦσιν. Ἄλλως. Ληναίωνα: ὄνομα μηνός κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς——Ληναίων δὲ εἴρηται διὰ τὸ τοὺς οἶνους ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσκομίζεσθαι· οὗτος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀρχὴ χειμῶνος ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ Ληναίωνα φάσκουσιν αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὰ Λήναια, ὃ ἐστὶν ἔρια——ἢ ἐπειδὴ Διονύσῳ ἐποίουν ἐορτὴν τῷ

^a Auct. Emend. in Hesychium tom. I. p. 999.

^b Ruhnken. *Nec memini me illud nomen alibi præterquam apud Aristidem* tom. I. p. 280 legisse. He might have found this month in use at Ephe-

sus: *Joseph. Ant.* XIV. 10, 12. ἐπὶ πρυτανείας Ἀρτέμιος, Ληναίωνος πρώτῃ, Δολοβέλλας αὐτοκράτωρ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ καὶ ἄρχουσιν καὶ δήμῳ χαίρειν, κ. τ. λ.

μηνὶ τούτῳ, ἣν Ἀμβροσίαν ἐκάλουν. Tzetzes: Ληναῖωνα: τὸν Χοῖακ ἤγουν τὸν Ἰανουάριον, ὃς Ληναῖον παρ' Ἰωσὶ καλεῖται.—ἢ ὅτι τῷ τῶν ληνῶν αἰτίῳ Διονύσῳ ἐορτὴν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀμβροσίαν ἐτέλουν. Moschopolus: κατὰ τὸν μῆνα δὲ τὸν Ληναῖωνα, ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰανουάριος· ἐκλήθη δὲ οὕτως ἐπειδὴ τῷ Διονύσῳ τῷ τῶν ληνῶν ἐπιστάτῃ ἐτέλουν ἐορτὴν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ ἣν Ἀμβροσίαν ἐκάλουν. Hesychius. Ληναίων: μῆν. οὐδένα τῶν μηνῶν Βοιωτοὶ οὕτω καλοῦσιν· εἰκάζει δὲ ὁ Πλούταρχος Βουκάτιον· καὶ γὰρ ψυχρὸς ἐστίν. ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον, ὃς μετὰ τὸν Βουκάτιον ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τῶν Ληναίων ἐορτὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἄγουσιν.^c

He proceeds to shew that the Πιθιογία, Χόες, Χύτροι, were parts of the *Anthesteria*; and argues from Aristophanes *Acharn.* 960 ἐς τοὺς Χόας αὐτῷ μεταδοῦναι τῶν κυλῶν. 1209. τοῖς Χουσὶ γὰρ τις ξυμβολὰς ἐπράττετο; 1075 ὑπὸ τοὺς Χόας γὰρ καὶ Χύτρον αὐτοῖσί τις ἠγγεῖλε ληστὰς ἐμβαλεῖν Βοιωτίους. that the *Acharnenses* were exhibited at the *Anthesteria*. But this play was performed at the *Lenæa*: v. 503. 1153. The *Lenæa* then and the *Anthesteria* were the same festival. Again, the *Ranæ* were exhibited at the *Lenæa*: Arg. fabulæ. But also at the Χύτροι: v. 217 ἦν ἀμφὶ Νυσήμιον Διὸς Διόνυσον ἐν Δίμναισιν ἰαχίσσμεν, ἥνιχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκομος τοῖς ἱεροῖσι χύτροισι χωρεῖ κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος. The *Lenæa* then comprehended the Χύτροι.

Ruhnkenius admits that the Χόες are distinguished from the *Lenæa* by Alciphron II. 3. τῶν κατ' ἔτος Χοῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις Ληναίων. and the Χύτροι from the *Lenæa* by Athenæus IV. 130. d. Λήνια καὶ Χύτρον θεωρῶν. Ælian H. A. IV. 43. κεκήρυκται γὰρ Διονύσια καὶ Λήνια καὶ Χύτροι καὶ Γεφυρισμοί. And Laertius III. 56. τέτρασι δράμασιν ἡγωνίζοντο, Διονυσίοις, Ληναίοις, Παναθηναίοις, Χύτροις. He answers that either the name *Lenæa* might comprehend as a whole the three as parts, or that there might be a fourth day called *Lenæa*, or that the Πιθιογία, the first of the three, might be especially named *Lenæa*.

Mr. Boeckh^d distributes the subject under seven heads.

- 1°. Evidence of the time of year at which the *Lenæa* were originally celebrated.
- 2°. Express testimonies to the coincidence of the *Lenæan* festival with either of those with which it has been supposed identical, or to the contrary effect.
- 3°. Arguments from the place of the festival.
- 4°. From allusions in *Aristophanes*.
- 5°. From the manner in which it was celebrated.
- 6°. From its occasion and nature.
- 7°. Traditions concerning the introduction of the worship of *Bacchus* into Attica.

1°. Mr. Boeckh argues that the month *Lenæon* was *Gamelion* from Hesiod *Opp.* 502, who fixes it in the depth of winter:

μῆνα δὲ Ληναῖωνα, κάκ' ἤματα, βούδορα πάντα,
τοῦτον ἀλεύσασθαι, καὶ πηγάδας αἰ·τ' ἐπὶ γαίαν
πνεύσαντος Βορέου δυσηλεγέες τελέθουσιν.

He supplies an inscription not mentioned by Ruhnkenius, in which this month appears at Cyzicus: . πρυτάνευσαν μῆνα Ποσειδεῶνα καὶ ασαν μῆνα Ληναῖωνα. ἐπρυτάνευσαν μῆνα Ληναῖωνα καὶ ἐκαλλί μῆνα Ἀνθεστηριῶνα. Hence it appears that the Ionian *Lenæon* corresponded to the Attic *Gamelion*. He infers the same from Aristides tom. I. p. 280. Now, as the Ionian festivals were derived from the mother city, at the time of the Ionic migration there must have been two Dionysiac festivals at Athens, one in *Lenæon* the other in *Anthesterion*. Plutarch *apud Proclum et Hesychium* conjectures that the Ionian *Lenæon* might be the Bœotian *Bucatius* or the Bœotian *Hermæus*. *Bucatius* corresponds to *Gamelion*, which probably began the old Attic year, as did *Bucatius* the Bœotian. But either Plutarch or some other writers conjectured that Hesiod's *Lenæon* might be *Hermæus*, which coincided with *Gamelion*. This “is incorrect with regard to the order of the months; for *Hermæus* in this respect corresponds to *Anthesterion* ^{dd}.” Mr. Boeckh endeavours to shew that from different periods of intercalation *Hermæus* might coincide with *Gamelion* once in 3 years, or once in 2 years^e. He then quotes the other commentators in Schol.

^c Eustathius ad Hom. II. p. 138, 11 names *Lenæon*: Ληναίων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἀττικοὺς μῆνας. but does not determine what place this month occupied.

^d Philolog. Mus. tom. I. p. 275—302.

^{dd} P. 278.

^e Dodwell however diss. V. de cyclis p. 270 removes the difficulty by a transposition. His emendation of the text of Proclus will be given in a future note.

Hesiod. for the etymology of *Lenæon*; Moschopulus and Tzetzes, who fix *Lenæon* to *January* or the Egyptian *Chæac*. "The Etymolog. Magn. also makes this last comparison, and adds that *Lenæon* "was ἀρχὴ μηνῶν." The whole testimony of Etym. Magn. is as follows: *Ληναίων*: 'Ἡσιοδος' μήνα δὲ *Ληναίων*—τὸν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Χοιακὸν καλούμενον. ἐκλήθη δὲ *Ληναίων* διὰ τὸ τοὺς οἶνους ἐν αὐτῷ κομίζειν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ μὴν ἀρχὴ μηνῶν ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ *Ληναίονα* φασὶν ἐπειδὴ Διονύσου ἐποιοῦν ἑορτὴν ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ ἦν Ἀμβροσίαν ἐκάδουν. καὶ *Λήναιον*, ἱερὸν Διονύσου. Another remark of Tzetzes "that *Lenæon* was so named ὅτι τὰ Πιθοίγια ἐν τούτῳ ἐγένετο," he rejects because this would place the *Anthesteria* in the middle of winter. In Lex. Rhet. MS. Mr. Boeckh retains the reading *Γαμηλιῶνος*, and observes that "the same statement is repeated by the scholiast on *Æschines* p. 729 Reisk." This scholiast, however, does not make the same statement as the Rhetorical Lexicon, but the same statement as Hesychius, whom he transcribes; for the passage stands thus in Reiske's edition^f to which Mr. Boeckh refers: *Διονύσια ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν Διονύσῳ ἤγετο, τὰ μὲν κατ' ἀγροὺς μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος, τὰ δὲ Λήναια μηνὸς Ληναίωνος, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἄστει μηνὸς Ἐλαφβολιῶνος*. Thus confirming the emendation of Ruhnkenius g.

Mr. Boeckh concludes this head with the following remark εἰ: "Although the Ionic *Lenæon* were "the Attic *Gamelion*, it is possible that after the Ionic migration the Attic *Lenæa* may have been "united to either the Rural *Dionysia* or the *Anthesteria*, or that the Ionians may have separated two "festivals united before, and may have transferred the *Lenæa* to a different month; as the *Apaturia* "at Athens were in *Pyanepsion*, but in *Apaturion* at Cyzicus. This however cannot be presumed without express evidence."

2o. As to the coincidence of the *Lenæa* with either of the other two festivals. The only express text in favour of Ruhnkenius is Tzetzes. There is also a shew of evidence in Apollodorus apud Schol. Acharn. 960. But all that Apollodorus asserts is that the *Anthesteria* were a festival of *Διόνυσος Ληναῖος*. Mr. Boeckh refers to Phanodemus apud Athenæum, who does not name the *Lenæa*, and to the three texts of Alciphron, Ælian, Athenæus (which Ruhnkenius had quoted); and rejects the explanations offered by Ruhnkenius. The passage of Laërtius Mr. Boeckh prudently omits; as we may agree with Wytténbach and Mr. Boeckh himself that the four words *Διονυσίους*, *Ληναίους*, *Παραθηναίους*, *Χύτροις*, are an interpolation.

3o. Of the place of the festival. Having quoted the testimonies already given by Ruhnkenius^h, he remarks, "It was therefore the *Lenæan Bacchus* to whom the place called *Limnæ* was consecrated; "and the same god was honoured in the *Anthesteria*. Ruhnken considers this as evidence for his "opinion. But it might be just as well used to prove that the *Dionysia Magna* were the *Anthesteria*; "for they are connected with the same enclosure.—There can be no doubt that the entertainments of "the *Dionysia Magna* were anciently (before the theatre was built) performed on the boards of the "*Lenæon*. Nothing then can be inferred as to the identity of the festivals from the identity of the "place." The testimonies from Demosthenes (see the Tables B. C. 349. 4), and from an Inscription (given above at p. 405), which are next quoted, do not establish Mr. Boeckh's opinion more than that of Ruhnkenius. The law gives the following order: 1. *Dionysia ἐν Πειραιῇ*. 2. *Lenæa*. 3. *Dionysia ἐν ἄστει*; which only proves that the *Lenæa* came between the Rural *Dionysia* in *Posideon* and the Great *Dionysia* in *Elaphebolion*. The Inscription attests that the *Lenæa* were before the Lesser *Mysteries*. Mr. Boeckhⁱ assumes that these were early in the month: "If the *Mysteries* were celebrated early in *Anthesterion* and the *Lenæa* in *Gamelion*, they will have been near enough to each "other" &c. But we have no proof that the Lesser *Mysteries* were celebrated early in the month; and, if the *Lenæa* were on the 13th of *Anthesterion*, the *Mysteries* might follow them.

4o. Of the argument from *Aristophanes*. Mr. Boeckh, having shewn that the play, the *Acharnenses*, also alludes to the Rural *Dionysia*^j, argues that the allusions to the *Lenæa* in v. 960 ἐκέλευσε Λάμαχος — 1211 τοῖς Χοῦσι γὰρ τις—and to the inroad of the enemy v. 1075 ὑπὸ τοὺς Χόας καὶ Χύτρον were, like the former, dramatic fictions and not literal facts. The mention of *Χύτροι* in Ran. 215 he

^f Where Reiske remarks, *Mensis Lenæonis haud meminī qui mentionem fecerit*.

^g It must be remarked too that, although in Bekker's edition of the Lex. Rhet. (sc. Anecd. Gr. p. 235) the word is corrected to *Γαμηλιῶνος*, in the original MS. as given by Ruhnkenius it is

Γαμηλαιῶνος.

^{εἰ} P. 280.

^h Hesych. ἐπὶ *Ληναίῳ*. *Λιμναγενές*. *ἱκρία*. Etymol. ἐπὶ *Ληναίῳ*. Phot. lex. *Λήναιον*. Pausan. I. 20.

ⁱ P. 287.

^j v. 202. 251.

explains by supposing that "the croaking choir were ready to entertain *Bacchus* with their music a month earlier than usual—in *Gamelion* instead of *Anthesterion*."

5°. Of the mode of celebrating the *Lenæa*. He limits his inquiry to one point, the dramatic exhibitions at the several *Dionysia*, and argues thus: It is very doubtful whether dramatic exhibitions were offered at the *Anthesteria*. Hippolochus in Athenæus does not mention the nature of the spectacle; Alciphron appears to distinguish the *Xôes* from τὰ ἐν θεάτροις as different entertainments; the χύτρινοι ἀγῶνες in Philochorus apud Schol. Ran. 218 do not suggest a dramatic contest; Apollonius in Philostratus was disappointed at not finding at the *Anthesteria* monodies and pieces such as belonged to tragedy and comedy. These passages contribute little towards deciding the question. Of an institution of the orator *Lycurgus*^k—εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους, τὸν περὶ τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἀγῶνα τοῖς Χύτροις ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφάμιλλον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, καὶ τὸν νικῆσαντα εἰς ἄστυ καταλέγεσθαι, πρότερον οὐκ ἔξόν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκλελοιπότα—he reports various interpretations, and concludes that the utmost that can be inferred from the law is that at a certain period comedies were exhibited at the *Anthesteria*; of tragedies we hear nothing; whereas both were performed at the *Lenæa*.

6°. Of the occasion of the *Lenæa*. "The name connects it with the vintage and separates it from the *Anthesteria*, because the name *Lenæa* was derived from the wine-press erected in the *Lenæon*. "But in the *Anthesteria* on the 1st day the casks were broached, on the 2nd the new wine is drank."—Spalding and the partizans of Ruhnken's hypothesis "I felt the difficulty of assigning a vintage festival to February, &c." This reasoning will not much assist Mr. Boeckh's argument; for *January* is not more fitted for a vintage festival than *February*, and we must farther observe that in the cycle of *Meton* during nine years out of nineteen the month *Gamelion* began sometimes after the middle and sometimes at the end of *January*, and coincided for the most part with *February* in all those years of the cycle^m.

7°. The last head, of the introduction of the worship of *Bacchus* (upon which Mr. Thirlwallⁿ remarks, "That the author's proposition will be very slightly affected by the success of his endeavours "to determine the order and epochs in which the Attic *Dionysia* were instituted") we may omit as irrelevant to the present inquiry.

After this view of the arguments of Ruhnkenius and of Mr. Boeckh, let us briefly state the conclusions to which we are led upon this subject. Both sufficiently establish that the Rural *Dionysia* were not the *Lenæa*, and that the scholiast on Aristophanes *Acharn.* 201. 503 and those who follow this authority are in error. On this point Mr. Boeckh has been anticipated by Ruhnkenius. Both again clearly shew the place in which the *Lenæa* were celebrated. For Ruhnkenius has also preceded Mr. Boeckh upon this part of the subject. But the place is no argument in favour of Mr. Boeckh: for it is quite consistent with Ruhnkenius's opinion that the *Lenæa* were the *Anthesteria*, while it by no means proves the *Lenæa* to be in *Gamelion*. With respect to the month *Lenæon* Mr. Boeckh has shewn that this Ionian month corresponded to the Attic *Gamelion*. We must however distinguish *how* this is proved. The authority of Tzetzes is of no great weight; and Mr. Boeckh himself rejects him upon another point. Moschopulus only followed and repeated Tzetzes. The *Etymol. Magnum* comparing this month with the Egyptian *Chæac* drew from the same source as Tzetzes. *Chæac* however

^k Apud. Vit. X. or. p. 841. F.

^l P. 297.

^m The position of *Gamelion* was this in those nine years of the cycle.

ⁿ P. 302.

In years	It began	It ended
3	Jan. 18	Feb. 15
5	25	22
6	14	12
8	21	19
11	19	16
13	26	23
14	15	12
16	22	20
19	19	17

did not correspond with *January*. For in the fixed calendar ° it commenced on the 27th of November; and, if this season was ἀρχὴ μηνῶν, would not correspond with *Gamelion*. The conjectures of Plutarch shew that he had no certain knowledge of the time of the month *Lenæon*. What is so confidently affirmed by Tzetzes was not known to Plutarch. The reading of Lex. Rhet. MS. has been already noticed. But that in the Ionian cities *Lenæon* coincided with *Gamelion* is proved by the Marble and by Aristides, who is very justly interpreted by Mr. Boeckh. For Aristides P, after naming Ποσειδεῶν μῆν, and numbering the days of this month—τρίτῃ φθίνοντος [the 28th] and τῇ ἐπιούσῃ [the 29th],—mentions ἡ Ληναῖος νομηνία: which Ruhnkenius had not observed. *Lenæon* then at Smyrna corresponded to *Gamelion* at Athens. The lines of Hesiod also justify the inference that he described a winter month, and this had been already shewn at large by Dodwell r. But Mr. Boeckh admits it to be possible that the Lenæan festival might still after the rise of the drama at Athens have been transferred to a different month. The argument founded on *Aristophanes* is not quite refuted by Mr. Boeckh. His explanation of the allusion in Ran. 214 is much less easy and natural than that of Ruhnkenius. In the *Acharnenses* the mention of τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια in the beginning of the play is a dramatic fiction. But the references to the Χόες in the latter part of the drama are so many and so much interwoven with the scene that the interpretation of Ruhnkenius appears to be just t. That dramatic exhibitions were offered at the *Anthesteria* is plain from Lycurgus, and may be deduced from Philostratus. The assertion of Apollodorus, that the *Anthesteria* were ἐορτὴ Διονύσου Ληναίου (which Mr. Boeckh u is inclined without reason to reject as not belonging to Apollodorus), is to the same effect. The word Ληναίου would not be added without a meaning. In Hesychius v. Ληναίων the Lenæan festival is referred to the Boeotian month *Hermæus*; and Proclus as amended by Dodwell is consistent with Hesychius v. But it is granted that *Hermæus* corresponded to *Anthesterion*, and this may explain why some commentators (though improperly and contrary to Hesiod's meaning) compared Hesiod's *Lenæon* with the Boeotian *Hermæus*. If the Lenæan festival was celebrated in *Hermæus* or *Anthesterion*, they would infer that the month *Lenæon* was also the month *Hermæus*.

Of the three passages adduced from Alciphron Ælian and Athenæus, the last Λήναια καὶ Χύτρον θεωρῶν does not divide, but unite these festivals; the two former would be explained by the interpretation of Ruhnkenius, that the name *Lenæa* might be peculiarly applied to the first day, Πιθογία; and this is in some degree confirmed by Thucydides, who names only one day for the *Anthesteria*, the 12th of the month, or the day of the Χόες: whence we might conjecture that the 11th of that month was the *Lenæa* or *Pithægia*, that the 12th was especially named the *Anthesteria* or Χόες, and the 13th the Χύτροι.

The events which happened in the archonship of *Callias* confirm the opinion of Ruhnkenius that the *Lenæa* were in *Anthesterion*. For *Euripides* died in the sixth month of that archon w. And his death preceded the death of *Sophocles* x. And yet *Sophocles* was dead before the *Ranæ* of *Aristophanes* and the *Musæ* of *Phrynichus* were composed. But these comedies were produced at the *Lenæan* festival of the archon *Callias*. Now if this had been in the seventh month *Gamelion* the time was too short: whence it follows that the *Lenæa* were celebrated in the eighth month of *Callias* rather than the seventh.

° See F. H. III. p. 356.

P Tom. I. p. 446. ed. Dindorf.

Q P. 452. r Diss. V. p. 271.

s v. 201. 250.

t Besides the three lines already quoted by Ruhnkenius we have v. 1000 ἀκούετε λεφ' κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς Χόας Πίνειν—v. 1068 ἵν' οἶνον ἐγγέω λαβὼν ἐς τοὺς Χόας. 1086 ἐπὶ δέπνον ταχὺ βάδιζε τὴν κίστην λαβὼν καὶ τὸν Χόα. 1202 τὸν Χόα πρῶτος ἐκπέπωκα. 1224 ὡς τοὺς κριτὰς μ' ἐκφέρετε ποῦ 'σται ὁ βασιλεὺς; ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἀσκόν. where the scholiast remarks, δηλοῖ ὡς ἄρα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχε τῆς ἀμίλλης τοῦ Χόας καὶ τὸ ἄθλον ἐδίδου τῷ νικῆσαντι τὸν ἀσκόν. But the βασιλεὺς or king-archon presided also at the *Lenæa*: Pollux VIII. 89. 90.

u P. 280.

v Hesych. ἐνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον ὅς μετὰ τὸν Βουκά-

τιον ἐστίν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τῶν Ληναίων ἐορτὴν ἐν αὐτῷ [sc. τῷ Ἑρμαίῳ] ἄγουσιν. Dodwell Diss. V. p. 270 reads Proclus in this manner: ὑποπτεύει δὲ ἢ τὸν Βουκάτιον αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅς ἐστιν ἡλίου τὸν αἰγόκερων διῶντος, καὶ τοῦ Βουκατίου τῷ Βουδόρῳ συνάδοντος, διὰ τὸ πλείστους ἐν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖρεσθαι βόας, καὶ εἰς ταυτὸν ἐρχόμενον τῷ Γαμηλιῶνι ἢ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον, ὅς ἐστι μετὰ τὸν Βουκάτιον, καθ' ὃν τὰ Λήναια παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. We may read with less alteration thus: ἢ τὸν Βουκάτιον αὐτὸν λέγειν ὅς ἐστιν ἡλίου τὸν αἰγόκερων διῶντος (καὶ τοῦ Βουδόρα τῷ Βουκατίῳ συνάδοντος διὰ τὸ πλείστους ἐν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖρεσθαι βόας) καὶ εἰς ταυτὸν ἐρχόμενος τῷ Γαμηλιῶνι ἢ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον ὅς ἐστι μετὰ τὸν Βουκάτιον καθ' ὃν τὰ Λήναια κ. τ. λ. Where the antecedent to καθ' ὃν will be Ἑρμαῖον.

w See the Tables B. C. 406, 2. 4.

x Ibid. 405. 4.

XX.

DEMOSTHENES.

TWO accounts are transmitted to us of the age of *Demosthenes*, which vary considerably. The author of the *Lives of the Orators*^a gives the following dates : Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλεοβούλης τῆς Γύλωνος θυγατρὸς, τὸν δὲ δῆμον Παιανιεύς, καταλειφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ μετ' ἀδελφῆς πενταετίδος, τὸν μὲν τῆς ὀρφανίας χρόνον παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ διήγε. —τελειωθεὶς δὲ, ἐλάττω παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων παραλαβὼν, ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους ἄρχοντος, τρεῖς ὄντας, Ἄφωβον, Θηριπιδην, Δημοφῶντα ἢ Δημέαν. —καὶ εἶλεν αὐτούς· τῆς δὲ καταδίκης οὐδὲν ἐπράξατο, τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίου τοὺς δὲ καὶ χάριτος [ἀφείς.] —καὶ χορηγὸς ἐγένετο· Μειδίαν δὲ τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον πλήξαντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ χορηγοῦντα εἰς κρίσιν καταστήσας, λαβὼν τρισχιλίας 349 ἀφῆκε τῆς δίκης. —ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγωνῶς, λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ Δεξιθέου εἰς Καλλίμαχον, ἐφ' οὗ ἡ παρ' Ὀλυνθίων ἦκε πρεσβεία περὶ τῆς βοηθείας, —ἔπεισεν ἐκπέμψαι τὴν βοήθειαν· τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς, ἐφ' οὗ Πλάτων ἐτελεύτησε, Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθίους κατεστρέψατο. ἔγνω δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφῶν —ἡ ἀρχόμενον ἢ ἀκμάζοντα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ ἐτελείτο εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην ἄρχοντα δὲ Χαρικλείδην· ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους εἶλε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους. Between *Deaitheus* B. C. 385 and *Timocrates* B. C. 364 are twenty archons; between *Deaitheus* and *Callimachus* B. C. 349 are thirty-five. According to this chronology, then, *Demosthenes* was born B. C. 385; was in his twenty-second year when he prosecuted his guardians, and in his thirty-seventh at the time of the Olynthian war. *Petitus*^b, *Corsini*^c, and *Mr. Wolf*^d, follow the computations of this author. To these I now learn that we may add *Mr. Boeckh* and *Mr. Thirlwall*, who both adopt the date of the *Pseudo-Plutarch*^{dd}.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus^e computes differently : Οὗτος ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Τιμοκράτους εἰς ἔτος ἦν ἐμβεβηκὼς ἑπτακαιδέκατον· δημοσίους τε λόγους ἤρξατο γράφειν ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος, εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔχων ἔτος. Between *Demophilus* Ol. 99. 4 and *Timocrates* are sixteen archons. Between *Demophilus* and *Callistratus* B. C. 355 are twenty-five. Although, therefore, *Demosthenes* might be said to be seventeen in the year of *Timocrates*, he could not be called twenty-five in the year of *Callistratus*. This, however, is hardly to be imputed to *Dionysius* himself, but rather to the transcriber, since the numbers probably were εἰκοστὸν καὶ ἑκτόν ἔχων ἔτος^f. There is a difference of four years between this and the former computation. According to *Dionysius*, *Demosthenes* was born B. C. 381, was seventeen at the prosecution of his guardians, twenty-six at the time of his first public cause, and thirty-two at the period of the Olynthian war.

The following dates occur in *Zosimus Ascalonita*^g : ἐβίωσε δὲ ἔτη ξ' καὶ τρία· ἐγεννήθη δὲ

^a Vit. X. Or. p. 844. A.—845. E.

^b Leg. Att. p. 267. ed. Wess.

^c Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 138.

^d Prolegom. ad Leptineam Demosth. p. LXII.

^{dd} Philological Museum vol. II. p. 389—411 on the birth-year of *Demosthenes*.

^e Ad Ammæum p. 724.

^f And yet the number εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον occurs again in the text of *Dionysius* p. 732. which seems to fix the error upon *Dionysius* himself. *Photius* cod. 265. has still more erroneous numbers : φασὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην δ' καὶ κ' γεγονότα ἔτη τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν λόγον φιλοπονήσασθαι.

^g Vit. Demosth. apud Reisk. tom. IV. p. 151.

ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος.—ἀπέθανε δὲ ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ πνανεψιδῶνος μηνός. Of these three propositions, the first is inconsistent with the second, and with the known year of his death. The last particular is in conformity with Plutarch^h. The date of the birth of Demosthenes agrees with that of Dionysius, from whom it was probably taken.

Gelliusⁱ has the following account: *Ab utriusque oratoris studiosis animadversum et scriptum est, quod Demosthenes et Cicero pari ætate illustrissimas orationes in causis dixerint, alter κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος—septem et viginti annos natus, alter anno minor pro P. Quintio, septimoque et vicesimo pro Sex. Roscio. Vixerunt quoque non nimis numerum annorum diversum, alter tres sexaginta annos; Demosthenes sexaginta.* These numbers are consistent: twenty-seven years complete in the archonship of Callistratus would raise the birth of Demosthenes to the year of Evander B. C. 382, between whom and Callistratus are twenty-six archons; and sixty years complete at the period of his death in the fourth month of the archon Philocles would raise his birth to the fourth month of Evander, between whom and Philocles are fifty-nine archons. Plutarch^k is consistent with the chronology of Gellius: τῶν δὲ δημοσίων ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος, καὶ Τιμοκράτους, καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους, ἑτέροις ἐγράφησαν, οὐπω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθότος: δοκεῖ γὰρ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν δέοντα ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονῶς ἐξευεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους. These general expressions, not intended to be precise, make the orator seven or eight and twenty at the preparation of his first public causes. Libanius^l also agrees with Gellius: ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἦν ὅτε πρὸς τούτους [tutores] ἠγωνίζετο. Between Evander and 350 Timocrates are seventeen archons. This statement, then, of his age would place his birth in the year of Evander; and there is a difference of about a year between Gellius and Libanius on the one hand, and Dionysius on the other; while the higher date, of the year of Dexitheus, rests on the solitary testimony of the Pseudo-Plutarch. Which, then, of the two computations, that of Gellius Libanius Plutarch and Dionysius, or that of the Pseudo-Plutarch, is most in conformity with the account which the orator has given of his own age?

Demosthenes has stated his own age in two passages of his works. 1. He affirms that his father left him an orphan of seven years old: ^m οὐμὸς πατὴρ κατέλειπεν ἐμὲ ἔπτ' ἐτῶν ὄντα. And that ten years of guardianship were expired in the last month of the archon Polyzelus: ⁿ ἐγῆματο ἐπὶ Πολυζήλου ἀρχοντος σκιροφοριῶνος μηνός.—^o οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσι πρότερον δέκα τὰμὰ λαβὼν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος ὧν ὥφλε τὴν δίκην, ἢ κηδεστὴν σοι γενέσθαι; But in the statement of the ten entire years of guardianship it was evidently the orator's interest and purpose to make the most of the amount of time; because the length of time during which his guardians had enjoyed his property was an aggravation of the wrong he had sustained. Hence in another passage ^{oo} he urges χρόνον δὲ τοσοῦτον τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐπιτροπεύσας. The whole period of guardianship was no more than ten years^p; and at the time of that marriage Demosthenes

^h Vit. Demosth. c. 30.

ⁱ Noct. Att. XV. 28.

^k Vit. Demosth. c. 15.

^l Prolegom. ad Olynth. p. 3.

^m In Aphob. I. p. 814.

ⁿ In Onetor. I. p. 868.

^o Onetor. II. p. 880.

^{oo} In Aphob. p. 862.

^p Demosth. Aphob. I. p. 815. δέκα ἔτη ἡμᾶς ἐπιτροπεύσαντες. p. 819. τὸ ἔργον τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν.

p. 821. ἐν δέκα ἔτεσιν. Ibid. καρπωσάμενοι δέκα ἔτη τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. p. 822. δέκα δ' ἐτῶν τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν δύο τάλαντα. p. 824. τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν. Ibid. ἐν τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι. p. 825. τὸ ἔργον δέκα ἐτῶν. p. 832. ἐν δέκα ἔτεσι. p. 833. δέκα ἐτῶν διαγενομένων. p. 835. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔρει δεκάτῳ. whence it would seem that the tenth year was not completed. Contra Aphob. p. 854. ταύτας δέκ' ἔτη κεκαρπωμένους. p. 862. δέκα δ' ἔτη μετὰ τῶν συνεπιτρόπων διαχειρίσας.

Mr. Thirlwall p. 394 finds my argument in the

was yet a minor. The full term of the minority was yet unexpired. His *δοκιμάσια* was subsequent to the marriage; in the year of another archon: from which it is manifest that the space expressed by *ὅλα δέκα ἔτη* ending at the last month of *Polyzelus* was less than ten years complete. In these detached numbers of Demosthenes we are not to take the sum of the two, or to suppose seventeen years complete. The expressions of the orator only prove that sixteen years were completed at the time of his kinsman's marriage in the last month of *Polyzelus*. The ten years terminated at the *δοκιμασία* of Demosthenes^q: *καρπώσασθαι τοσούτον χρόνον ἕως ἐγὼ ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθῆναι*.—^r ὁ δ' ἐμοὶ δοκιμασθέντι παρέδοσαν.—^s οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐχ ἡγείτο τῶν εἰδῶτων δίκην με λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθῆναι. If the *δοκιμασία*^t is brought to the sixth or seventh month of Ceph-

text (that the space expressed by *ὅλα δέκα ἔτη* was less than ten years complete) "not convincing." He argues, "The exact time was undoubtedly well known, and appears never to have been a subject of dispute between the litigants. Demosthenes mentions it as the basis of his calculations of the interest of sums due to him. But he avoids the appearance of demanding any thing more than is due to him upon the most moderate computation. It seems therefore very doubtful whether the pleader would have thought it expedient to name a time longer than that which had really elapsed."

Mr. Thirlwall has not quite understood the drift of my argument. I did not affirm the whole period of guardianship to be less than ten years, but the period which ended at the marriage. And this I founded upon Demosthenes himself. For if he calls the whole term of guardianship ten years and no more, as in all these passages, it is evident that a term less than the whole (because included within it) was less than ten years complete. And if the orator in another place calls that lesser term "an entire ten years," it is no less evident that in so describing that shorter period he uses an exaggerated expression.

^q Aphob. I. p. 814. ^r Ibid. p. 825.

^s In Onetor. I. p. 865.

^t *Δοκιμάζειν* was the proper term on these occasions; Demosth. p. 947. *δοκιμασθέντος Πασικλέους*. p. 950. *ἡνίκα Πασικλῆς ἀνὴρ γεγωνὺς ἐκομίζετο τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς*. Isocrates p. 147. a. *ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἀνδρας δοκιμασθέντων*. p. 352. c. *ἐπετροπεύθη ὑπὸ Περικλέους—δοκιμασθεὶς δὲ—κ. τ. λ.* Lysias p. 897. Reisk. *ὀγδόῳ ἔτει δοκιμασθέντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦν μαιρακίου*. Idem apud Dionys. tom. V. p. 600. *ἐπιτροπος—παραδούς τοῖς νίοις δοκιμασθεῖσι τὰ χρήματα*. Bekker Anecd. Gr. p. 235, 14. *δοκιμάζονται οἱ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ὀρφανοὶ εἰ δύνανται τὰ πατρῶα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἀπολαμβάνειν*. The minor was held to be capable of managing his own estate at *two years beyond the age of puberty*: Isæus p. 72, 16.

κύριοι τῶν χρημάτων—οἱ παῖδες ὅποτε ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβήσαν. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν. p. 80, 45. ὁ νόμος—*ἐὰν τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβήσαντας κρατεῖν τῶν χρημάτων*. Demosthenes p. 1135. νόμος—*ἐάν τις ἡβήσῃ ἐπὶ δέτετες, κρατεῖν τῶν χρημάτων*. p. 1136. νόμος—*ὅ τι ἂν γνησίῳ ὄντων νίων ὁ πατήρ διαθῇται, ἐὰν ἀποθάνωσιν οἱ νιεῖς πρὶν ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῶν, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διαθήκην κυρίαν εἶναι*. Hyperides apud Harpocr. v. *ἐπὶ δέτετες*. ὁ νόμος—*κελεύει κύριους εἶναι τῆς ἐπικλήρου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης τοὺς παῖδας ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβώσι*. Respecting the value of this expression grammarians differ: Harp. v. *ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῆσαι*. Δίδυμος φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐὰν ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν γενόμενοι τὸ γὰρ ἡβῆσαι μέχρι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐστίν. ἄλλοι, *ἔφηβοι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ὀκτωκαίδεκαετῆς γίνονται, καὶ μένουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἔτη δύο*. ἔπειτα τῷ ληξιαρχικῷ ἐγγράφονται γραμματεῖν. Schol. in Æschin. p. 766. Reisk. has this passage nearly in the words of Harpocratio. Etymologus v. *ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῆσαι*. τούτεστιν ἐτῶν ἐκκαίδεκα γενέσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἡβῆσαι μέχρι δεκατεσσάρων ἐστίν. ἄλλοι, *ἔφηβοι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν γινόμενοι ἐλέγοντο*. καὶ ἔμενον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἔτη δύο. ἔπειτα εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν ἐγγράφοντο γραμματεῖον. Bekker p. 255, 15. *ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῆσαι*. τὸ γενέσθαι ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα. ἵνα ἡβῇ ἢ τὸ ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν γενέσθαι. τὸ δ' οὐν ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῆσαι ἐστὶ τὸ γενέσθαι ἐτῶν ἄλλων δυοῖν μετὰ τὴν ἡβην. This difference may be reconciled by supposing a distinction between civil rights and military service. The minors were admitted to their estates at sixteen, the *ephebi* were called to military service at home at eighteen. Æschines Fals. Leg. p. 70, 42, has the expression—*ὅσοι ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβώσι*—upon which Valesius ad Harpocr. p. 158. observes, *ridiculum esset capere hæc de pueris 16 annos natis*. There is, however, nothing absurd in this interpretation: Æschines means to say, that all the Delphians who were of age for military service were called upon to go forth on that occasion; and, although the greater republics of Athens and Lacedæmon could dispense with the service of their citizens until the

sodorus, it will bring the death of the father to the sixth or seventh month of Charisander; 351 if, on the contrary, we place the father's death at the second month of Charisander, this will fix the *δοκιμασία* of the son to the second month of Cephisodorus. We may assume that Demosthenes was born in the first month of *Evander* [July B. C. 382], and that his father died about the third or fourth month of *Charisander* [Sept. or Oct. B. C. 376], when the seventh year of *Demosthenes* was current^u. From that date to the marriage of the guardian would be strictly *nine years and nine months*, which the orator, to favour his claim, might well call *ὅλα δέκα ἔτη*.

This date for the birth of Demosthenes, obtained from Demosthenes himself, is in conformity with Gellius and Libanius, and about a year higher than the date of Dionysius, but is wholly irreconcilable with the date of the Pseudo-Plutarch, because Polyzelus is the nineteenth archon, both inclusive, from Dexitheus, and Demosthenes, if he had been born in the year of Dexitheus, must have been nineteen years of age in the last month of Polyzelus. Corsini^x, indeed, defends the date of the biographer by an extraordinary mode of computing: *Demosthenis ortus ad exeuntem Sciophorionem Ol. 98. 2* [June B. C. 384] *referri debet; ut nimirum Sciophorione mense Ol. 103. 2* [June B. C. 366] *octavum decimum ætatis annum absolveret. Quod si Demosthenes ipse testatur se vivente patre septennium decennium vero defuncto patre sub tutoribus egisse, observari facile poterit tum septem tum decem etiam annos illos ita completos vel integros esse potuisse, ut ex utrisque una conjunctis integra octodecim annorum summa conficeretur.* By what powers of computation this is to be accomplished it is difficult to imagine.

Mr. Thirlwall contends^{xx} “that the difficulty seems to lie only in the words of Corsini “and not in their meaning.”——“What Corsini meant was that the two numbers were “round numbers, and each of them some months short of the real time, and that the sum “of these fractions might have amounted to a whole year.—Neither does this supposition “appear to be at all absurd or extravagant.—If the reasoning of Corsini is weak, his “error certainly does not consist in miscalculation.” But, as in current numbers it was usual with the Greeks to reckon both extremes, so in using round numbers it was also most usual to name current years and to speak inclusively^{xxx}. If, then, according to an assump-

age of eighteen or twenty, yet, in the smaller states of Greece, military service might be required as early as the age of sixteen. Thus the Acarnanians in B. C. 211 require military service from the age of *fifteen* to sixty: Liv. XXVI. 25. *ab quindecim ad sexaginta annos*. The use then of this phrase in Æschines is not inconsistent with the interpretation of Didymus; and the numbers of Demosthenes, 7 years (current) added to 10 years, or the seventeenth year current, for the admission of the minor to his estate, also agree with the account of Didymus.

^u The hypothetical case put by Demosthenes p. 833—*εἰ κατελείφθην μὲν ἐνιαύσιος ἐξ ἑτῆ δὲ προσπετροπυεύθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ἂν τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπέλαβον· εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἀνήλωται ὁρθῶς, οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν νῦν παραδοθέντων ἐξήρκεσεν εἰς ἕκτον ἔτος*——does not establish that the seven years were

complete. Those however who contend for a longer period than I have allowed will raise the birth of the orator to the beginning of B. C. 382; the sixth or seventh month of Ol. 99. 2, and a few months earlier than the date assumed in these Tables.

^x Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 140.

^{xx} Phil. Mus. Vol. II. p. 392. 393.

^{xxx} Of the first practice we have examples above at p. 247=p. 302. and in ἡματι τριτάτῳ in Hom. Il. i. 363: in τετράτοις Pindar. Ol. VIII. 46. τρίτον Pyth. XII. 11. ὄγδοον Pyth. IV. 65. where Disen remarks, *Quum Arcesilaus a Battō septimus sit, nota Battum simul numeratum.* Round numbers are also used inclusively. The 10 years of the Trojan war were less than 10: Iliad. β. 329. The 23 years and a half of Philip son of Amyntas are called 24 years by Diodorus. The 10 years

tion of Mr. Thirlwall *Demosthenes* had been $7\frac{1}{2}$ or $7\frac{3}{4}$ years old at his father's death, he would have called this in round numbers *eight* years and not *seven*; and the round numbers $7 + 10$ might mean less than 17 years, but could not according to usage express 18 years complete. We affirm that, when the orator calls a period in one place ἐπ' ἑτῶν, and divides it on another occasion into ἐνιαύσιος and ἐξ ἔτη (which latter portion he terms ἕκτον ἔτος in the same sentence), he cannot mean *seven years and a half*; and that he cannot mean *ten years and a half* when he calls another period ἔτει δεκάτῳ in one passage, and δέκα ἔτη in all the others.

Corsini ^{yy} has another argument for the date of the biographer. "Demosthenes was "enrolled among the *Ephebi* when he prosecuted his guardians. But the date of Dionysius "for his birth makes him only 14 years old in the archonship of Polyzelus; and, by every "account, 16 was the earliest age for that enrolment: the date, therefore, of the Pseudo-Plutarch is the right one." *At orator ipse perspicuos temporis characteres exponens asserit sororem suam Polyzelo archonte Scirophorione mense nupsisse, seque statim post nuptias virilem togam sumpsisse, &c.*^z This is not quite accurate. Demosthenes thus describes the proceedings: ^a δύο μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἔτη τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ συνοικῆσαι τε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ φῆσαι τούτους πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀπόλειψιν—ἡ ἀπόλειψις ἐγράφη ποσειδεῶνος μηνὸς ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους· ἐγὼ δ' εὐθὺς μετὰ τοὺς γάμους δοκιμασθεὶς ἐνεκάλουν καὶ λόγον ἀπήτουν.—^bὥς ἐγγήματο μὲν ἡ γυνὴ καθ' ὃν ἐγὼ 352 λέγω χρόνον, ἀντίδικοι δ' ἡμεῖς ἤδη πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ κατέστημεν, ὕστερον δ' ἢ ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην ἔλαχον τὴν ἀπόλειψιν οὗτοι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντ' ἀπεγράψαντο, λαβέ μοι καθ' ἕκαστον ταύτας τὰς μαρτυρίας.—μετὰ τοίνυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄρχοντα [*Polyzelum*] Κηφισόδωρος, Χίων. ἐπὶ τούτων ἐνεκάλουν δοκιμασθεὶς, ἔλαχον δὲ τὴν δίκην ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους. The expressions, εὐθὺς μετὰ τοὺς γάμους, are not to be rigidly taken: they are general terms, and do not fix the date of the admission to a single point. *Demosthenes* was admitted to his estate in the archonship of *Cephisodorus*: some months, perhaps, after that marriage. Nor is the result of the computation of Dionysius 14 years for his age at the time of his admission; for from the year of Demophilus to the year of Polyzelus, both inclusive, are *fifteen* years complete, which would suppose the admission in the sixteenth year ^c.

and a half of *Perseus* are called by Livy 11 years in round numbers. See above p. 227, 243. So among the Jews the years of the kings of *Judah* are more in round numbers than in the true amount. See F. H. I. p. 329.

^y P. 408.

^{yy} Fast. Att. tom. II. p. 138, 139.

^z Corsini must have written from memory: the marriage in question was not a marriage of the sister of Demosthenes, but a marriage of the sister of Onetor to Aphobus the guardian. I learn from Mr. Thirlwall p. 394 (note) that Mr. Boeckh has fallen into the same mistake as Corsini.

^a In Onetor. I. p. 868.

^b Ibid.

^c Petitus Leg. Att. p. 230. Wess. follows the Pseudo-Plutarch: *Demosthenes, cum Aphobus tutor Polyzelo archonte mense Scirophorione uxorem duxisset, statim post nuptias togam virilem sumpsit, ἀνὴρ εἶναι δοκιμασθεὶς, ut ipse testatur Onet. I. scilicet*

anno novo ineunte, primis Hecatombæonis diebus, anno ætatis suæ vicesimo. Ibid. p. 267. where he examines the age of Demosthenes at large, he has a single argument for the date of the Pseudo-Plutarch: he asserts that an action could not be brought before the age of twenty: *Vere Plutarchus confert natalem Demosthenis in Ol. 98. 4 Dexitheo prætore. Neque enim audiendi sunt Dionys. Halic. et anonymus in Descriptione Olympiadum* [Scaliger: see *Introduct.* p. xxv] *qui adscribunt Ol. 99. 4.—Proculdubio vera est gravissimi scriptoris Plutarchi sententia; cujus vindicem dabinus Demosthenem, qui scribit—ἐγγήματο—ἐπὶ Πολυζήλου ἄρχοντος σκироφοριῶνος μηνός. Polyzeli prætura incidit in Ol. 103. 2. Cephisodoro qui Polyzelum excepit archonte Aphobum accusavit, qui annus erat Ol. 103. 3, cum in viros esset adscriptus et jam sui juris, ut legitur ibidem: εὐθὺς μετὰ τοὺς γάμους δοκιμασθεὶς ἐνεκάλουν. Atqui in viros adscri-*

The chronology, then, of Gellius, supported by Libanius, placing his birth in the beginning of the year of *Evander*^d, would make him sixteen in the last month of *Polyzelus*. He

bebantur anno ætatis vicesimo circa Hecatombæonis initia. Neque ante hanc ætatem actionem ἐπιτροπῆς instituere poterat. Whence he derived this doctrine he has not informed us. It is wholly without foundation; and is effectually disproved by Dionysius and Libanius, who were surely competent judges upon this point, and who believed that Demosthenes conducted that prosecution at seventeen or eighteen years of age; and, above all, by the positive dates of Demosthenes himself, which Petitus, when he quotes Demosthenes, appears to have forgotten. He has similar observations in other passages: p. 215. *Puer antequam annos natus esset viginti rerum suarum non erat dominus.* p. 227. he understands ἐπὶ δέτετες to mean 18+2 or 20 years of age. p. 555. *antequam in viros esset transcriptus ephebus sui juris non erat: sed postquam lexiarchico inscriptus erat ad negotia mitti poterat.* p. 582. πρὶν ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβᾶν id est, priusquam annos natus viginti; a quo demum anno sui juris est et τῶν ἐπιτρόπων curd exiit. p. 594. *Tutela eribant Athenienses anno ætatis vicesimo cum lexiarchico essent inscripti.* Petitus, after Pollux and other grammarians, confounds two things which were distinct: the δοκιμασία of the ward, and the final inscription of the name of a citizen in the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον. The former was done, as we have seen in a former note, at the age of 16, or in the 17th year; the latter at the age of twenty, after the two years of home service as an *ephebus*: Pollux VIII. 105. περίπολοι ἔφηβοι περιήσαν τὴν χώραν φυλάττοντες,—καὶ εἰς μὲν τοὺς ἐφήβους εἰσήσαν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γενόμενοι, δύο δὲ εἰς περιπόλους ἱριμοῦντο. εἰκοστῇ δὲ ἐνεγράφοντο τῷ ληξιαρχικῷ γραμματεῖῳ, καὶ ὤμνον ἐν Ἀγραύλου· “Οὐ κατασχοινῶ τὰ ὅπλα” κ. τ. λ. [conf. Lycurg. Leocr. p. 157. Stob. Serm. 43, 48. Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 438. Plutarch. Alcib. c. 15.] But Pollux VIII. 104. is in error when he says that this was the period at which the ward was admitted to his estate: ὁ εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφείς ἦδη τὰ πατρώα παρελάμβανεν. ἡ δὲ πατρώα οὐσία καὶ λήξις ἐκαλεῖτο. And Harpocrates repeated by Photius and Suidas: ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον. Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμάρχου [p. 3, 28. 14, 36]. εἰς ὃ ἐνεγράφοντο οἱ τελευθώντες τῶν παίδων οἱς ἐξὴν ἦδη τὰ πατρώα οἰκονομεῖν, παρ’ ὃ καὶ τοῦτομα γεγονέναι, διὰ τὸ τῶν λήξεων ἀρχεῖν. λήξις δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τε κληροὶ καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι· ὡς Δείναρχος κ. τ. λ. Pausanias II. 24, 5. in the phrase λήξεσιν ἀρχοντα appears to allude to the same etymology. But a different etymology of the word ληξιαρχικὸν is preserved by Photius (whom Suidas repeats):

ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον. Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀστῶν τῶν ἐχόντων ἡλικίαν ἀρχεῖν ἀναγράφεται τὸ ὄνομα προστιθεμένων τῶν δῆμων αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν γραμματεῖων κληροῦσι τὰς ἀρχάς. The word, then, would be derived παρὰ τὴν λήξιν τῶν ἀρχῶν, quod civi Atheniensi licebat temp. capessere et adipisci magistratus. (Hieron. Wolf. ad Æschin. Timarch. p. 3, 28.) And this etymology seems preferable; for every male Athenian of the age of twenty, whether in the lifetime of the father or otherwise, was inscribed in that register, whereas the other meaning of the word would refer only to the case of orphans; the one interpretation applied universally to all the citizens, the other only to one particular class of persons. But whatever etymology be adopted, it is evident from Demosthenes, who emerged from his minority in his 17th year, that the register of the name in the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον was not the period for the admission of the ward to his estate. Æschines, indeed, Timarch. p. 14, 36. has this expression: ἐπειδὴ ἐνεγράφη Τιμαρχος εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον καὶ κύριος ἐγένετο τῆς οὐσίας. but these general terms, where a precise legal definition is not intended, are not inconsistent with the account which Demosthenes has given of himself, and do not establish that the accession of a minor to his father’s property was literally delayed till the time of his inscription in that register. The expressions of the orators are not always to be strictly taken. The terms of Lycurgus Leocr. p. 157. speaking of the oath of the *ephebi*—ὡμὴν γὰρ ἔστιν ὄρκος ὃν ὁμνίουσι πάντες οἱ πολῖται, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ ἔφηβοι γένωνται—these terms rigidly interpreted would express that the oath was taken and the name inscribed in the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, not at the end of the two years of home service and the age of twenty, but at the beginning and at the age of eighteen; and this might be confirmed from Ulpian ad Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 264. ed. Par. ἐν τῷ τεμένει (τῆς Ἀγραύλου) οἱ ἐξιόντες εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐκ παίδων ὤμνον. which would consequently convict of error Pollux VIII. 105. and Harpocrates and the Etymologus v. ἐπὶ δέτετες ἡβῆσαι. Perhaps however these words are used by Lycurgus, like those of Æschines, in a lax and general sense, and are not intended to convey a precise definition.

Mr. Boeckh Phil. Mus. Vol. II. p. 398—400 holds that the civil rights and the military service began together; that the oath was taken and the name inscribed in the register at the beginning of the *ephebia*, in the 18th year; and rejects upon

was admitted to his estate in his seventeenth year^{dd} in the archonship of *Cephisodorus*; and was in his nineteenth year in the beginning of the year of *Timocrates*, when he prosecuted his guardians, consistently with the description of Quintilian^e: *Demosthenem puerum admodum actiones pupillares habuisse manifestum est*^f. All these positions are consistent with the

this latter point Pollux and Harpocratio, preferring a literal interpretation of *Lycurgus*. Mr Thirlwall p. 398—401 considers this question at large. His arguments for placing the military oath at the beginning of this period of home service are ably urged; but he founds his opinion upon reasonings rather than upon testimonies. It must be admitted that there are conflicting authorities upon this latter point. The former proposition, however, that the admission of the minor to his estate and the commencement of his military service at home were at the same period, is by no means established by Mr. Boeckh.

He reviews p. 397 the various leading epochs of a citizen's progress. He finds that at about 15 the young Athenian was subjected to an examination to ascertain his age; that the age now attained seems to have been called ἡβη, and lasted two years, at the end of which the youth was said ἐπὶ διετές ἡβῆσαι; that he then underwent a second examination (δοκιμασία), which gave him admission to his estate; after which he entered upon a second period, ἐφηβία. This also lasted two years; and at its close he was entitled to take part in the popular assembly, and liable to foreign service. These steps in the progress of the citizen are accurately stated by Mr. Boeckh. But he has not shewn that the admission of the minor to his estate was delayed till the 18th year. His account implies the contrary; for, if the examination of age was at "about 15" and then two years of ἡβη brought the second examination or δοκιμασία, this last will be at "about 17 years" of age.

^d Corsini, attempting to adjust the dates of the Pseudo-Plutarch to those of the orator himself, supposes Demosthenes to be born in the last month of Dexitheus. But according to that author he was in his thirty-seventh year in the archonship of Callimachus: and between Dexitheus and Callimachus are only thirty-five archons: that writer, then, to be consistent with himself, must have dated the birth of Demosthenes early in the year of Dexitheus. Consequently the discrepancy between the biographer and the orator cannot be reconciled. Photius cod. 265. p. 1472. makes the discrepancy still greater; reckoning the orator 38 at that period: ἐτὼν μέντοι γεγονὼς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἢ καὶ ἔπεισε δημηγορήσας τὸν δῆμον βοήθειαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἀποστεῖλαι.

^{dd} Mr. Thirlwall p. 397 remarks on the "ab-

"surdity of imagining that a boy just entering his 16th year (as implied by the chronology of Dionysius) could have been expected to struggle against such difficulties as those which Demosthenes encountered;" and asks "whether it is probable that a boy only one year older should have been held qualified for such a task." "For at this age it was, according to Mr. Clinton's calculation, that Demosthenes began to call his guardians to an account;" and concludes it to be "difficult to believe that the law which supposed that every litigant pleaded his own cause (Quintil. II. 15, 30) should have placed a boy of 16 in a situation that required it."

To this we answer, 1. The archonship of *Timocrates* was an epoch at which *Demosthenes* is called by Quintilian *puer admodum*, and calls himself p. 813, 15 ἀπειρον παντάπασι πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, and at which κατόκει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καταμεφόμενος ἡλικίαν p. 844, 11. And yet we know that the admission to the estate was at a period of life two years earlier than that epoch. Now we shall not add much to his experience or his fitness on account of his age for the task, if we assume this period of life to have been the 18th year rather than the 17th year. 2. The difficulties of the minor's task are somewhat imaginary. For although litigants, according to Quintilian II. 15, 30, were required to plead in person (though Spalding ad loc. has supplied some reasons for doubt upon this point), yet this was in form rather than substance; for every litigant in the Athenian courts could always command the services and be aided by the talents of a paid advocate, by whom the discourse which he pronounced might be composed.

^e XII. 6, 1.

^f Mitford, who is not favourable to Demosthenes, asserts that this prosecution of his guardians "was considered as a dishonourable attempt to extort money from them." Vol. VIII. p. 123. He quotes *Æschin. de Coron.* and *Plutarch. Vit. Demosth.* as authorities for this charge. The passage of *Æschines*, which Mitford has in view, (for in the oration de Corona there is nothing to his purpose,) is probably the following: *Fals. Leg. p. 41, 15. ἐκ παίδων ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ δεκαταλάντους δίκας ἐκάστω τῶν ἐπιτρόπων λαγχάνων Ἀργῆς ἐκλήθη.* Some deduction ought in reason to be made from

account which he has given of himself, and are about one year higher respectively than the dates of Dionysius.

Mr. Thirlwall^{ff} supplies a mark of time first noticed by Boeckh. "*Demosthenes*" mentions "that his father was no sooner dead than *Aphobus* proceeded to take possession of the house, and to raise the portion he was to have with the widow. This he did when on the point of sailing as a trierarch to Coreyra:" οὗτος γὰρ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον ᾤκει τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσελθὼν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου διαθήκην, καὶ λαμβάνει τὰ τε χρυσία κ.τ.λ.—καὶ ἐπειδὴ εἶχεν, ἐκπλεῖν μέλλων εἰς Κορκύραν τριήραρχος ἀπέγραψε τὰτα πρὸς Θηριππίδην ἔχοντα ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὁμολόγει κεκομίσθαι τὴν προῖκα. "Two expeditions fall in the childhood of *Demosthenes*: the first when *Timotheus* reduced Coreyra, placed by Diodorus in Ol. 101. 1; the second under *Iphicrates* in the archonship of *Socratides*: and this is consistent with the account which fixes the birth of *Demosthenes* in Ol. 99. 4. The first expedition will not conform to the chronology of Boeckh, if it be placed (as Dodwell assigns it) in the spring of Ol. 101. 1. If however we suppose that the event belonged to the latter end of Ol. 100. 4 and that the father of *Demosthenes* died in the winter or spring of Ol. 100. 4, we may still retain the archonship of *Dexitheus* as the date of the orator's birth."—"But the battle of Naxos stands in the way of this calculation. Mr. Boeckh has seen the necessity of placing this event also a year earlier than the date of Dodwell, for it happened in the autumn preceding the expedition to Coreyra. But he has not explained how his own date, Ol. 100. 4, is to be reconciled with Xenophon's narrative, which, as Mr. Clinton observes^h, clearly implies that the battle was fought in the autumn following the spring in which *Cleombrotus* failed in his attempt upon Bœotia. The allusion to Coreyra therefore still requires some further explanation to reconcile it with Boeckh's opinion; and, if referred to the first expedition, must at present be considered as a confirmation of Mr. Clinton's."

Let us shortly examine the particulars. The expedition under *Iphicrates* was in April B. C. 373ⁱ, the 10th month of the archon *Socratides*; from whence to the 12th month of

the charges of an adversary, which are not to be considered as containing strict historical truth. But in reality the terms of Mitford much exceed the measure of what is expressed even by *Æschines*. The account which Plutarch gives has directly an opposite meaning: ὡς γοῦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἤρξατο δικάζεσθαι, καὶ λογογραφεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πολλὰς διαδύσεις καὶ παλινδικίας εὕρισκοντας—οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀργῶς κατενυχίσας, ἐκπρᾶξαι μὲν οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν ἤδυνήθη μέρος τῶν πατρίων. Vit. Demosth. c. 6. Besides, it is utterly improbable that a boy of eighteen or nineteen (*puer admodum* according to Quintilian, *μειρακύλιον κομῶν* according to Demosthenes himself in Mid. p. 539) should have acquired sufficient influence to be successful in an unfounded charge against his guardians. In Mr. Mitford's narrative, indeed, this improbability does not appear, because he represents Demosthenes to be twenty-five at the time of the prosecution: on emerging from minority, by the Athenian law at five and

twenty, he earned another opprobrious nickname by a prosecution of his guardians. (Vol. VIII. p. 123.) But the testimonies which I have collected in the preceding inquiry demonstrate that this was plainly impossible. Even the erroneous dates of the Pseudo-Plutarch only make the orator twenty-two at the time. And Mitford could not profit by those dates, because he himself adopts the chronology of Dionysius; fixing with that writer the birth of Demosthenes at the fourth year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad. (See Vol. VIII. p. 120.) It is probable that by inadvertence he applied to the prosecution of the guardians that date, twenty-five years, which his author Dionysius applied to the first public cause: δημοσίους λόγους ἤρξατο γράφειν—εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔχων ἔτος. Dionys. ad Amm. p. 724.

^{ff} Phil. Mus. p. 407.

^g In Aphob. I. p. 817.

^h Tables B. C. 376.

ⁱ See the Tables.

Polyzelus are only a little more than 7 years instead of a little less than ten. This expedition then is out of the question. It was therefore the former expedition. Now the battle of Naxos was in September B. C. 376, the third month of the archon *Charisander*^j. The expedition to Corcyra was in the spring following, about February B. C. 375^k; and in the spring of the archon *Charisander* (about the 8th month of that archon) *Aphobus* prepared to sail. But from this point to the 12th month of *Polyzelus* are less than nine years and a half; confirming the positions laid down above, that the father died in the year of *Charisander*, and that less than ten years had elapsed from his death to the marriage in the last month of *Polyzelus*^l.

- 354 2. Demosthenes^{es} describes himself as *thirty-two* years of age at the period of his dispute with Midias: δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γέγονα. Plutarch^{hh} has the same numbers: δηλὸς ἐστὶ τὴν κατὰ Μειδίου παρασκευασάμενος εἰπεῖν δίκην δύο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη. Ulpianⁱⁱ, at the same time that he specifies the age of the orator, agrees with Dionysius in the date of this cause: ἐφ' ἕτερα μέρη καταβαίνει τῆς παρεκβάσεως.—ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα τό τε λειποτάξιον καὶ ἡ ἐφ' αἵματι γραφή. πέπρακται δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις. οὐκοῦν συνήψε τῇ παρεκβάσει τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἀφεστῶτα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ Στράτωνα παιδὸς ὄντος τοῦ ῥήτορος πέπρακται· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ὄντος ἐτῶν. Callimachus is the fifteenth archon from Timocrates. Ulpian therefore followed Dionysius in supposing that Demosthenes was seventeen in the archonship of Timocrates, and that he prepared the oration against Midias in the year of Callimachus.

Dionysius, Plutarch, and Ulpian, it seems, understood the numbers δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη to refer to the time at which that oration was prepared; but, as it is manifest that some space elapsed^{kk} between the commission of the offence and the preparation of that cause, it is far more probable that this description of his age was applied by the orator to the time of his *χορηγία*, and not to the subsequent period at which the oration was published. Mr. Wolf^{ll}, who adopts the chronology of the Pseudo-Plutarch, reconciles this date of the orator with that chronology by supposing the oration to have been composed four years after the offence of Midias had been committed. He argues in this manner: *Pertinet causa Midiana ad Olymp. 106. 4 [B. C. 35 $\frac{3}{4}$]. Causa assignari debet Olymp. 106. 4 si Demosthenes recte locutus est, quum dixit annum ætatis se agere 33. At Dionysius Halic. orationem refert scriptam esse Ol. 107. 4 [B. C. 34 $\frac{2}{5}$]. Quæ diversitas nihil nos moveret, nisi orator ibi res gestas commemoraret quas demum post Olymp. 106 gestas historia ponit.* He supposes, then, that the facts occurred in Olymp. 106. 4. but that the piece was written four years later, when the

^j Tables 376. 4.

^k Conf. Diod. XV. 36. Xen. Hellen. V. 4, 61—63.

^l We may observe the same expression εἰθὺς in this passage Aphob. I. p. 817 and in Demosth. in Onet. I. p. 868 quoted above. In the year of *Charisander*, εἰθὺς μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον ᾔκει τὴν οἰκίαν—in the year of *Cephisodorus*, εἰθὺς μετὰ τοὺς γάμους ἐδοκίμασθην. A comparison of the two may help us to adjust the interval in both cases. The expedition of *Timotheus* to Corcyra is justly determined by Mr. Thirlwall to the spring. It cannot be placed earlier than the 8th month,

which in the year of *Charisander* began Jan. 19. Now if the death of the father occurred four months before the voyage to Corcyra, the *δοκιμασία* of *Demosthenes* was four months after the marriage of *Aphobus*.

^{es} In Mid. p. 564.

^{hh} Vit. Demosth. c. 12.

ⁱⁱ P. 347, 184. ed. Paris.

^{kk} Compare with the preceding passage of Ulpian the authorities adduced in the Tables B. C. 348, 3.

^{ll} Prolegom. in Leptineam Demosth. p. cviii.

orator might insert the subsequent transactions. This date for the χορηγία of Demosthenes is assigned upon mere conjecture, that it might be adapted to the supposed date of his birth in Ol. 98. 4. Wolf, as I have shewn in the Tables (B. C. 350. 3) had been misled by Corsini, who had supplied the archon *Theophilus* for the date of the expedition to Tamynæ in a corrupt passage of Dionysius. And it now appears from the account of Mr. Thirlwall¹¹¹ that Mr. Boeckh has also adopted the conjecture of Corsini. But it has been shewn in the Tables from the combined evidence of Dionysius and Demosthenes himself that the χορηγία of *Demosthenes* and the offence of *Midias* in reality occurred at the *Dionysia* of the archon *Thessalus* Ol. 107. 2, in February or March B. C. 350; and that at this date *Demosthenes* describes himself as thirty-two: a description entirely agreeing with his own account of his own age sixteen years before, and with the date which has been obtained from Gellius and Libanius^m.

¹¹¹ Phil. Mus. Vol. II. p. 409. "Besides the allusion to an expedition to Olynthus the oration mentions one to Eubœa—in which Phocion defeated the tyrant Plutarchus at Tamynæ, and it occurred at the same time with the occasion of the prosecution of *Midias*.—As to the name of the archon Corsini thought himself at liberty to conjecture *Θεοφίλου* Ol. 108. 1. Wolf and Boeckh also adopted this conjecture. Weiske proposes *Εὐδήμου* Ol. 106. 4.—They overlooked another passage of Dionysius in which he records the date of the oration *περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος* and of the action at Tamynæ.—This was first pointed out by Mr. Clinton, and it overthrows a hypothesis which Boeckh had made very plausible: that Dionysius had deduced his date for Tamynæ from the date which he too hastily adopted for the oration against *Midias*. It is now clear that he founded it on some other ground.

"A great part of Boeckh's arguments are intended to prove that the expedition to Olynthus alluded to in Mid. p. 566. 578 was not in the celebrated war in the year of Callimachus.—He observes that the orator speaks of this expedition as having preceded the campaign in Eubœa during which he suffered the outrage. And even if it could be supposed that he had introduced allusions to later events, he could not have represented these as occurring before the epoch at which he feigned himself speaking. Our want of information about the expedition really mentioned cannot weaken this conclusion. Both the Eubœan and the Olynthian expeditions must have occurred at or before a time of which the orator could say that he was then 32. This argument however only proves that there is no necessity for supposing that the speech was not composed before Ol. 107. 4: it does not affect Mr. Clinton's proposition that

"the facts took place in Ol. 107. 2."

I do not clearly discern how Mr. Boeckh's arguments on this occasion tend to fix the year of the orator's birth.

^m I had considered it probable that the χορηγία of Demosthenes might be referred to the *Lenæa*, in the Tables B. C. 350. 4. and this would have been confirmed by the season of the *Διάσια*, if the opinion of Taylor ad Demosth. Mid. p. 517. Reisk. be just, that this and the *Πάνδια* were the same festival. The *Πάνδια* were in honour of Jupiter: Phot. Lex. *Πάνδια. ἑορτὴ τις ἀπὸ Πανδίας τῆς σελήνης, ἥ ἀπὸ Πανδίωνος—ἄγεται δὲ αὐτῇ τῷ Διὶ, ἐπονυμασθείσα ἴσως οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα δεῖν θύειν τῷ Διὶ.* and followed soon after the *Dionysia*: Demosth. Mid. p. 517. *ποιεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν Διονύσου μετὰ τὰ Πάνδια, κ. τ. λ.* The account of Harpocratio, *Πάνδια, ἑορτὴ τις Ἀθήνησι μετὰ Διονύσια ἀγομένη*, repeated by Suidas, is merely derived from that text of Demosthenes, and adds nothing to our information. The *Διάσια* were celebrated on the 23d Anthesterion, ten days after the *Lenæa*: Schol. Cod. Rav. ad Aristoph. Nub. 407. *Διάσια. ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Μελιχίου Διός. ἄγεται δὲ μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἢ φθίνοντος.* Schol. Lucian. Timon. c. 7. *Διάσια. ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλουμένη, ἣν εἰώθεσαν μετὰ στυγνότητος ἐπιτελεῖν, θύοντες Διὶ τῷ Μελιχίῳ.* Thucyd. I. 126. *Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μελιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα.* This festival coincides with the expedition to Tamynæ in *Anthesterion*, and would contribute to fix the χορηγία of *Demosthenes* to the *Lenæa*. Two arguments however occur for the *Dionysia Magna*. (Conf. Spalding. Præfat. ad Midian. p. xiv.) The presence of strangers is noticed by the orator p. 538. 584. while at the *Lenæa* only citizens were present; and *Διονύσια simpliciter*, according to Ruhnkenius, always mean the *Dionysia Magna*. If these arguments be valid, the *Διάσια* and *Πάνδια* were

Mr. Thirlwallⁿ observes that "Boeckh has brought forward another argument, which "must be considered as a very powerful objection to my chronology." It is given to the following effect: "Demosthenes^o relates that while his cause with his guardians was "pending, and therefore in the year of Timocrates, he received an insult from Midias, "for which he afterwards brought an action against him: *δίκην λαχὼν ὕστερον κακηγορίας*. "In this action Midias suffered judgment to go against him by default. The plaintiff then "proceeded to bring another action, *ἐξούλης*: but he complains that up to the time at which "he is speaking he had been prevented by his adversary's chicanery from bringing this cause "into court, and he brings witnesses to prove that he had been thus put off for *eight years*: "*ἤδη τῇ κρίσει ἐκέλευε διαγεγονότα ἔτη ὀκτώ*. If Dionysius had been right in his calculation, "the second action would have been brought Ol. 105. 4 [i. e. seven years after the offence]. "But after making every allowance for legal delays it seems utterly impossible to account "for the interval which would thus intervene. Mr. Clinton makes the interval two years "shorter [i. e. five years after the offence]. But still there remains enough to throw great "doubt on the date he adopts for Tamynæ."

This argument is not very formidable, and supplies the materials for its own refutation. In the first place, we do not know the date of the action *κακηγορίας*. By the term *ὕστερον* the precise time is not laid down by the orator. Not knowing this, we cannot determine the space between the first action and the second p. But if the first action had been even within the year of *Timocrates*, shall we think it incredible that "legal delays" and "chicanery" should produce an interval of five years, when we have it in evidence that in another part of the proceedings these arts had produced an interval of eight years, and that after eight years had elapsed justice was still delayed?

355 We probably possess nearly all the orations of Demosthenesⁿⁿ. Dionysius specifies fifteen harangues to the people: *δημηγορίαι*: and these have come down to us. The seven orations upon Public Causes, which are all that Dionysius thinks worthy of recording, and upon which he rests the fame of the orator, *πάντες οἱ δημόσιοι λόγοι δι' οὓς ἐπαυεῖται τε καὶ θαυμάζεται*^{oo}—these seven are extant. Two others, those *against Aristogiton*, are not mentioned by Dionysius in his Chronological Review, and were considered by him as not genuine^{pp}. That an

distinct festivals; and that these in fact were distinct festivals is intimated by Theodoret Græc. Affect. cur. 7. p. 885=p. 281 ed. Oxon. Πάνδια μὲν τῷ Δεῖ καὶ Διάσια. Ibid. 8. p. 923=p. 334 ed. Oxon. ἀντὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Πανθίων καὶ Διασίων καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡμῶν ἑορτῶν. We may therefore perhaps conclude that *Demosthenes* was χορηγός at the *Dionysia Magna*.

ⁿ Phil. Mus. Vol. II. p. 410.

^o Demosth. in Mid. p. 540, 541.

^p The whole passage in the orator stands thus: *δίκην δὲ τούτῳ λαχὼν ὕστερον τῆς κακηγορίας εἶλον ἐρήμην· οὐ γὰρ ἀπήντα. λαβὼν δ' ὑπερήμερον καὶ ἔχων οὐδέενος ἡψάμην πώποτε τῶν τούτου· ἀλλὰ λαχὼν ἐξούλης πάλιν οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον εἰσελθεῖν δεδύνημαι*. Not distinctly marking either the time of the first action or the interval between the two.

ⁿⁿ All at least that he left in writing. Sixty-five orations were ascribed to him: Vit. X. or. p.

847. E. Phot. cod. 265. p. 1465. *φέρονται αὐτοῦ λόγοι γνήσιοι ἐξήκοντα πέντε*. It is not explained what this list of 65 contained. The opinions of grammarians differed upon the genuineness of certain pieces. What Callimachus admitted, Didymus or Dionysius might reject; and this catalogue of 65 orations might include some spurious pieces.

^{oo} Dionys. ad Amm. p. 746. He adds, *πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου*. He had just enumerated the other six, to which he applies these terms of panegyric.

^{pp} Photius cod. 265. p. 1468. as quoted by Taylor Præf. ad Aristog. I. attests that Dionysius rejected both these orations; and Libanius, or the author of the argument ad Aristogit. who observes, *Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς οὐ δέχεται τούτους τοὺς λόγους Δημοσθένους εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς ἰδέας τεκμαιρόμενος*. Dionysius, however, de Vi Demosth. p. 1126. in

oration against Aristogiton was composed by Demosthenes is distinctly asserted by Plutarch⁹: τὸν δὲ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος (λόγον) αὐτὸς ἡγωνίσαστο. The grammarians generally quote the first oration as genuine. Pollux^r indeed appears to doubt them, but Harpocratio^s many times cites the first oration without suspicion, and twice with the addition of a doubt. 356 The grammarians edited by Mr. Bekker twelve times quote the oration κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονου^t. Hermogenes^{tt} refers to the first oration; the younger Pliny^v, Aristides^{vv}, the author of the treatise περὶ ὕψους^u, and the scholiast upon Aristophanes^x, quote the oration without suspi-

his present text only names the second: εἰ μὲντοι ἔνιοι ψευδεπίγραφοί εἰσι λόγοι ἀηδεῖς καὶ φορτικαὶ καὶ ἀγροικοὶ κατασκευαί, ὥς ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος β'. Perhaps it was originally written, ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος ἐνδείξει, and ἐνδείξει was corrupted into ἐν δευτέρῳ, which led the way to the present reading.

⁹ Vit. Demosth. c. 15.

^r X. 155.

^s Harpocrat. v. ἀναδείκναι [Demosth. p. 784. 22]. ἀνίδρυτος [p. 786. 10]. Ἀργᾶς [referring to p. 786. 4]. βασιλείος στοά [p. 776. 20]. βουλευσεως [p. 778. 19]. γνώσις [p. 778. 17]. ἔναι [p. 775. 25]. In ἐνδείξις he remarks πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ λόγοι ἐνδείξεως, γνωριμώτατοι δὲ οἱ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος Δημοσθένους. v. κινκλῖς [776. 17. 778. 12]. μετοίκιον [p. 787. 29]. ὁμοῦ [p. 785. 23]. πληρωταί [p. 776. 7]. φαρμακός [p. 794. 4]. He adds εἰ γνήσιος in v. Θεωρίῃς [p. 793. 26]. νεαλῆς [p. 788. 23]. Reiske ad Aristogit. I. Animadv. tom. III. p. 1187. gives this oration to Hyperides: *Orationem hanc non Demosthenis sed Hyperidis esse auctores sunt Harpocratio et Ulpianus ad Olynth. II. item Suidas v. ἀπεψηφίσαστο. (sed ille quidem Harpocratonis compilator cum sit, auctoritate caret.)* Although Suidas frequently transcribes from Harpocratio, yet that is no reason for denying his authority on this occasion, since the passage in question is not derived from that source. Neither is there any cause for asserting that this oration is given to Hyperides by these testimonies. Harpocratio indeed quotes an oration of Hyperides πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα in v. Εὐρυσάκειον. Κεκροπίς. ναύκληρος. Οἰνήϊς. ὄσιον. but the first four of these words do not occur in the extant oration: Suidas v. ἀπεψηφίσαστο also quotes from Hyperides πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα an entire sentence, which contains some curious information: but that sentence is not found in the extant piece. Ulpian ad Olynth. II. p. 14. 23. has the following passage: διαβέσθαι—ἀντὶ τοῦ συνθέσθαι. ὥς Ὑπερίδης, καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς. ἐκάτερα δὲ τούτων κείμενα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαθήκας γράφειν. Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα [an oration quoted by Dionysius p. 613.] “Μετὰ ταύτην τοῖνυν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἑτέραν διαθήκην ἐκόμισαν,” κ. τ. λ. No reference in Ulpian to *Hyperides πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα*. To these reasons it may be added,

that the difference in the titles, the one πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα, the other κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονου, shew the oration of Hyperides and the extant piece to have referred to different causes.

^t The Antiatticista twice: p. 78. ἀγοράσαι: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνήσασθαι.—p. 109. νεαλῆς. [quoted by Harpocr.] The writer περὶ συντάξεως nine times (though not naming Demosthenes): p. 123. ἀποδοκιμάζω. [referring to p. 790. 18.] p. 132. δικάζω. [p. 778. 3.] p. 139. ἐνοχος. [p. 785. 14.] p. 151. κατατάττω. [773. 17.] p. 155. λαμβάνω. [779. 26.] p. 157. μνησθῶ. [784. 16.] p. 162. προσκρούω. [p. 782. 20.] p. 165. προσηλακίζω. [785. 16.] p. 175. τιμῶ. [794. 6.] In Anecd. p. 405. 5. is the article ἀνίδρυτο [*leg. ἀνίδρυτος*] from Harpocratio. The word ἀγοράσαι I have not found in these orations: the other eleven references are to the first oration.

^{tt} He refers, without naming Demosthenes, to p. 774 in these passages: de Formis I. 6. p. 280 288. II. 10. p. 469.

^v Plin. Epist. IX. 26. See Taylor Præfat. ad Dem. Aristogit.

^{vv} Aristides in his Art of Rhetoric refers to the first oration in these passages: tom. II. p. 441 Jebb. to p. 774. 6. p. 449 to p. 784. 2. p. 464 to p. 770. 11. 771. 5. p. 471 to p. 784. 7. p. 470 —σφοδρότητος ὁ λόγος τυγχάνει ὥς ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μειδίον καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονου. In the following he quotes without naming Demosthenes: p. 442 referring to p. 788. 10. p. 449 to p. 793. 21. p. 469 to 786. 4. 784. 11. p. 470 to 778. 11.

^u S. 27.

^x Ad Aristoph. Acharn. 171. conf. Harpocr. v. ἔναι. Vesp. 707. [p. 785. 23.] Nub. 774.

To these may be added Theodoret Græc. Aff. cur. I. p. 699=p. 18 ed. Oxon. διδάσκει μὲν Πλούταρχος—διδάσκει δὲ καὶ ὁ Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος, μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ, καὶ φασὶ [ἀν φησὶ?] τὸν Ὀρφέα τὰς ἀγνωτάτας αὐτοῖς τελετὰς καταδείξαι. Referring to Aristogit. I. p. 772. 26. “ὁ τὰς ἀγνωτάτας ἡμῖν τελετὰς καταδείξας Ὀρφεύς.” And Ammonius v. πότος.—ὥς Δημοσθ. ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίανου [I. Ἀριστογείτονου]. “βρωτοῦ καὶ ποτοῦ μεταλαβεῖν.” The reference is to Aristog. I. p. 789. 2.

cion. Ruhnkenius ^y receives the first oration, dissenting from Taylor, who rejects it: *Sumsit locutionem (Longinus) a Demosthene Aristogit. I. Taylorus cum hanc formulam tum ipsam orationem Demosthene parum dignam censet. Sed aliter sensisse haud paulo meliorem Taylora criticum, Longinum, non solum ex formulæ imitatione intelligitur, sed multo magis ex sect. 27. ubi ut Demosthenis oratio diserte laudatur.* To have done justice however to Taylor, he should not have omitted to add, that, although Longinus admitted the genuineness, Dionysius of Halicarnassus denied it ^z. The oration of *Demosthenes* in defence of himself in the matter of *Harpalus*, entitled *περὶ χρυσίου* ^a, has not been preserved; and among his *δημόσιοι λόγοι* Dionysius ^b reckoned *Διφίλῳ δημογορικὸν αἰτοῦντι δωρέας*, which is also lost. A lost oration, probably in a private cause, *κατὰ Μέδοντος*, is attested by Harpocrates and Pollux ^c. Another cause, *πρὸς Πολύενκτον παραγραφῇ*, is quoted by a grammarian ^d. Other titles are mentioned, but these are either corrupt titles, or orations of doubtful authority ^e.

^y Ad Longin. s. 23.

^z This is one argument against the conjecture recorded by Weiske ad Longin. p. 214. 215. which supposes *Dionysius* or *Longinus*, the author of the treatise *περὶ ὕψους*, to be no other than Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Having thus fairly laid before the reader the testimonies for the oration against *Aristogiton*, I must declare my own opinion to be in concurrence with that of Taylor, that this piece is spurious, and unworthy of the great orator to whom it is ascribed; and that to the four or five lost pieces of Demosthenes must be added the genuine oration *κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος*. After the decline of eloquence, the rhetoricians of every age, from the time of the Ptolemies downwards, often exercised themselves upon the subjects which were consecrated by the genius of Demosthenes. Thus Aristides himself composed an oration *πρὸς Λεπτίνην περὶ ἀτελειῶν*, and thus some rhetorician, like Aristides, in an earlier age, (before the time of Dionysius,) appears to have composed the two orations *κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος*, taking his materials from Demosthenes himself. By some chance, the original perished and the copy was preserved.

^a See the Tables 324, 3. Another oration on this subject, which was in circulation with the title *ἀπολογία τῶν δώρων*, and a third, entitled *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐκδοῦναι Ἄρπαλον*, are rejected by Dionysius as spurious: de Vi Demosth. p. 1127.

^b Dionys. Dinarch. p. 659.

^c Harpocr. v. *δεκατεύειν*. *Δημοσθένους ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μέδοντος περὶ τινος παρθένου λέγοντος οὕτως*: “Ὁ δὲ *δεκατεύσαι ταύτην οὐδὲ μῆσαι*,” Pollux VIII. 53. *Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μέδοντος καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ συνοικούντων γίγνεσθαι τὰς εἰσαγγελίας λέγει.*

^d Apud Bekk. Anecd. p. 90, 28.

^e These orations are doubtful: *πρὸς Κριτίαν*, re-

jected by Dionysius and received by Callimachus: conf. Harpocr. v. *ἐνεπίσκημα*.—*ὑπὲρ Σατύρου τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς πρὸς Χαρίδημον*. Photius Cod. 265. p. 1469. *οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἔχοντες τὸ ἀσφαλὲς Δημοσθένους λέγουσιν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Καλλιμάχος, οὐδ’ ἱκανὸς ὦν κρίνειν, Δεινάρχου νομίζει.* Photius gives it to Demosthenes. To the corrupt titles pointed out by Taylor in his enumeration ap. Reisk. tom. VIII. p. 734. these may be added:

1. *πρὸς Περικλέα*. Apud Bekk. Anecd. p. 145. 2. *Legendum πρὸς Πολυκλέα*. The phrase quoted is extant p. 1216. ed. Reisk. A similar corruption in Priscian. XVII. *Περικλέα* for *Πολυκλέα*, which had misled Taylor and Fabricius, has been amended in ed. Krehl.

2. *πρὸς Ζηρόβιον*. Harpocr. v. *ἰδίαν*. “*Legendum “Ζηρόθεμιν*.” Vales. ad locum. This correction had escaped the notice of Taylor in his review apud Reisk. tom. VIII. p. 734.

3. *κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους*. Admitted by Taylor and Fabricius from Syrian. ad Hermogenem p. 30. *Legendum Ἀριστοκράτους*. The passage referred to—*εἰ μὲν γὰρ μηδεὶς ἦν ὃς ἤμελλεν ὁμοίως τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων*—is extant p. 652. Reisk.

4. *ὁ ὑπὲρ ῥητόρων λόγος*. admitted by Taylor l. c. from Suidas v. *ἄμα*. It may perhaps be urged that *Demosthenes* might deliver such an oration when the orators were demanded by *Alexander*. But Plutarch Demosth. c. 23, relating what *Demosthenes* said upon that occasion, quotes only Aristobulus: and, had an oration of *Demosthenes* himself been extant, it is probable that Plutarch would have mentioned or quoted it. From the silence, then, of Plutarch we may infer that *Demosthenes* left no oration in writing upon that subject. The passage in Suidas is as follows: *ἄμα, δοτικῇ. Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθέως καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔταξε* [conf. Bekk. Anecd. p. 216. 4. Zonaræ lex. p. 164], *καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ ῥητόρων λόγῳ εἰπὼν*.

Dionysius^f seems to reckon six or seven-and-twenty, or at least less than thirty, orations 357 upon private causes. There are thirty-one orations on private causes in the extant works of Demosthenes. Five of these are the *ἐπιτροπικοί λόγοι*, which Dionysius would not compute, as belonging to a peculiar class^g. Out of the remaining twenty-six, the oration *κατὰ Εὐέργου καὶ Μνησιβοῦλου* is doubted by Harpocration^h: that *πρὸς Φαίνιππον περὶ ἀντιδόσεως* was questioned, according to the author of the argumentⁱ: a third, *πρὸς τὴν Λακρίτου παραγραφὴν*, was also doubted, though as the writer of the argument thinks, unjustly^j: and a fourth, *πρὸς Νικόστρατον περὶ ἀνδραπόδων*, is questioned by Harpocration^k. The authorities for the admission of these four pieces are more weighty than the authorities for their rejection^l;

“Ὁ γὰρ θάνατος τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν οἰκτρὸς τοῦτο
“γὰρ ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι πάντων κατέγνωσται.” [conf. Gorg. Palamed. init.] Αἰσχίνης δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, κ. τ. λ. Kuster remarks: *Legendum puto τοῖς ἀφρονούσιν, vel τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν οὐκ οἰκτρὸς*. The negative may be better inserted thus: οὐ γὰρ ὁ θάνατος τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν οἰκτρὸς. and this is now confirmed by the Oxford edition of Suidas p. 225. A. where the editor has restored to the text οὐ γὰρ ὁ θάνατος from three MSS. I suspect, however, corruption in the words ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ ῥητόρων λόγῳ εἰπὼν.—καὶ εἰπὼν is an awkward expression; καὶ, as it here stands, has no reference to what precedes it. Possibly this passage stood originally thus: Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθέως καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔταξε. Καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὑπερίδου λόγῳ τῷ ἐπιτάφιῳ “Ὁ γὰρ ὁ θάνατος—κατέγνωσται.” Αἰσχίνης δὲ τὸ ἅμα ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, κ. τ. λ. The words τὸ ἅμα ἔταξεν, which are rendered necessary by this emendation, are supplied by Bekker. Anecd. p. 216. 4. The *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* of *Hyperides* is well known (see the Tables B. C. 323, 3); and the sentiment expressed in this sentence agrees with the subject of that oration.

5. The corrupt *πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον* in Priscian, XVIII. p. 1197. is expunged in ed. Krehl. and in excerpt. Priscian. ad calcem Scapulae ed. Oxon.

Agatharchides ap. Phot. cod. 250. p. 1337. quotes a sentence of Demosthenes on the destruction of Thebes by Alexander: *τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξώρυνξεν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων, ὥστε μηδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐστίαῖς καταλιπεῖν τὴν τέφραν, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ἡγησαμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν βαρβάρων διένειμε*. Perhaps this sentence occurred in the oration *περὶ χερσίου*.

^f De Vi Demosth. p. 993. τοιοῦτός ἐστι [resembling the style of Lysias] καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀπολλόδαφρον ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος, καὶ ὁ κατ’ Ὀλυμπιοδώρου τῆς βλάβης, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Βοιωτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἥ τε πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἐφέσις, καὶ ἡ πρὸς Μακάρατον διαδικασία, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ ἰδιωτικοὶ λόγοι οὐ πολλῶ πλείους τῶν εἴκοσι ὄντες. The οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, which are computed to be more than twenty, seem to be exclu-

sive of the five here enumerated: and the whole number recognised by Dionysius would be near thirty.

^g *Clausula hæc erat in cod. Bav.* [at the end of Aristogit. II.] κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος B. δημόσιοι. ἐπιτροπικοί. κατὰ Ἀφόβου α’. quo significatur in oratione 2^{da} in Aristogit. desinere publicas causas, in oratione 1^{ma} in Aphobum incipere illas quæ de male gesta tutela agant: quarum classem peculiarem a veteribus esse constitutam hæc clausula arguit. Reiske tom. XI. p. 1242. Besides this, the *ἐπιτροπικοί λόγοι* expressed the style of *Isæus*, rather than that of *Lysias*: Liban. Vit. Demosth. p. 3. Reisk.

^h V. ἐκαλίστρων. ἡτημένην.

ⁱ He remarks, ὁ μὲν λόγος οὐκ ἀναφέρεται παρὰ τινων εἰς τὸν Δημοσθένην.

^j He observes, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τινὲς ἐνόμισαν τὸν λόγον μὴ γνήσιον εἶναι, ἀμυδροῖς ἀπατηθέντες τεκμηρίοις.

^k V. ἀπογραφὴ.

^l The oration *κατὰ Εὐέργου* is quoted without doubt by Athenæus XI. p. 481. f. and by Harpocration in v. Ἀλκίμαχος. ἐξηγητής. ἐπενεγκεῖν δόρυ. Ἑρμῆς. and *πρὸς τὴν πολιδί* Ἑρμ. and Bekk. Anecd. p. 144. 11. 12. That *πρὸς Φαίνιππον* is quoted as genuine by Harpocr. v. ἀπόφασις. ἐσχατιά. ἀπηλομένος. The oration *πρὸς τὴν Λακρίτου παρ.* is cited by Harpocrat. without doubt v. διοπτρεύων. Μένδη. πεντηκοστή. σύλας. and in Anecd. p. 145. 3. The fourth oration will be considered in a future note.

The oration *πρὸς Τιμόθεον* is authenticated by Athenæus XI. p. 486. c. quoting Demosth. p. 1193, and by Plutarch Vit. Demosth. c. 15. Plutarch attesting the cause, and Athenæus identifying the oration. The evidence of Athenæus is not impaired by the words *κάν τῷ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ὕβρεως—λυκιουργεῖς δύο*, respecting which, the opinion of Schweigh. ad loc. seems the best, that those words ought to be expunged. This oration is farther authenticated by Harpocration v. ἀποστησάμενον. ἐνεπίσκημμα. Ἱπποδάμεια. λυκιουργεῖς. Μαιμακτηριῶν. These collective testimonies far outweigh a single

358 and, if Dionysius received some, or all, of these into his list, our extant copies would contain nearly all that he acknowledged.

Out of the collection now extant, thirty-one in number, five were delivered by *Demosthenes* himself in the suit against his guardians, and eight were composed in causes in which *Apollodorus* the son of *Pasio* was concerned. *Pasio* the banker, with whom the father of *Demosthenes* had dealings^m, and whom *Isocrates* attacked in the oration called *Τραπεζίτικὸς*, died in the archonship of *Dyscinetus* B. C. 370.ⁿ when his son *Apollodorus* was twenty-four years of age^o. The mother of *Apollodorus* died in the year of *Nicophemus*, about B. C. 360.^p. After her death^q, *Apollodorus* sued *Phormio* his father's freedman, who had married the widow and had become guardian to the younger son *Pasicles*. *Demosthenes* composed the oration *ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος*, which the friends of *Phormio* used in his defence. That defence was successful, and *Apollodorus* lost his action. The date of this cause was B. C. 350. twenty years after the death of *Pasio*^r. The witnesses by whom *Phormio* was supported in that cause were attacked by *Apollodorus*, and *Demosthenes* composed for *Apollodorus* the two orations *κατὰ Στεφάνου*. To this cause *Æschines* alludes in B. C. 343^s; by whom *Demosthenes* is charged with having betrayed *Phormio* to his adversary.

359 *Apollodorus* sued *Timotheus* son of *Conon* for a debt due to his father *Pasio*. The debt had been contracted in B. C. 374, 373.^t *Demosthenes* on this occasion composed the oration *πρὸς Τιμόθεον ὑπὲρ χρέους*, before B. C. 354, when *Timotheus* died; and consequently some years before the cause *ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος*. In this oration *Phormio* is produced as a witness for

passage in *Harpocr.* v. *κακοτεχνιῶν*. where he adds, *εἰ γνήσιος*. A second oration *κατὰ Στεφάνου ψευδομαρτ.* is attested by *Plutarch* *Vit. Demosth.* c. 15. who mentions *τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στεφάνον*, and implied by *Harpocr.* v. *ἴσα βαίνων. καταχύσματα*. where he adds, *Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Στεφάνου πρώτῳ*. The second oration, though not named as such, is quoted without suspicion by *Harpocrat.* v. *ἐπὶ διέτες ἡβήσαι* [referring to p. 1134. 4. 1136. 16]. *ἐκμαρτυρία* [p. 1130. 1131]. *μάλθη* [p. 1132. 13]. *φαρμακός* [p. 1133. 26]. This second oration is farther authenticated by internal evidence. It contains many additional reasonings: and the argument of the orator for his client is incomplete without it. These two orations, therefore, that against *Timotheus*, and the second against *Stephanus*, are unnecessarily marked as doubtful in the Oxford edition of the Attic Orators.

^m In *Aphob.* I. p. 816.

ⁿ See the Tables 350, 3.

^o *Pro Phormione* p. 951. *ἀνὴρ κατελείφθης τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς*.

^p On the return of *Apollodorus* from his naval service. *Conf.* in *Polycl.* p. 1225.

^q *Pro Phormione* p. 948.

^r See the Tables 350, 3. These twenty years are again expressed p. 956. *ἐτῶν ἴσως εἴκοσι*. After the death of *Pasio* and the marriage of the widow to *Phormio*, the property of *Pasio* was divided between the sons: p. 947. *οἱ ἐπίτροποι—νείμασθαι*

τὰ ὄντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς [the minor *Pasicles*] *ἔγνωσαν*. And this division was eighteen years before the present action: p. 950. *δνοῖν δέοντα εἴκοσιν ἔτη ἐστὶν ἐξ ὅτου ἐνείμω*.

^s *Æschin.* *Fals. Leg.* p. 50, 23. *ἀρὰ γε οὐχ ὥς σὺ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ πιστεύουσι κέχηρσαι λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφοντα μισθοῦ τούτους ἐκφέρειν τοῖς ἀντιδίκους; ἔγραψας λόγον Φορμίῳ τῷ τραπεζίτῃ χρήματα λαβών· τούτον ἐξήνεγκας Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνουντι Φορμίωνα*. *Plutarch* repeats the charge with some variation: *Vit. Demosth.* c. 15. *λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν κατὰ Τιμοθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγον, ᾧ χρησάμενος Ἀπολλοδώρος εἶλε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ὀφλήματος, Δημοσθένης γράψαι τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στέφανον, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἡδόξεσεν· καὶ γὰρ Φορμίον ἡγωνίζετο λόγῳ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλοδώρον, ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐξ ἐνὸς μαχαροπωλίου τὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγχειρίδια παλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδίκους*. *Compar. Demosth. et Cicer.* p. 848. *Reisk.* *χρηματίσασθαι τοῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ Δημοσθένους μὲν ἐπιψόγως λέγεται, λογογραφῶν κρύφα τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρον ἀντιδίκους*. These orations, however, were not supplied to the adverse parties in one and the same cause, as the censure of *Plutarch* would seem to imply, but in distinct and separate actions.

^t Compare *Demosth.* in *Timoth.* as quoted in the Tables B. C. 373, 2. with *Xenoph. Hellen.* VI. 2.

Apollodorus v. The son of *Pasio* was engaged in a suit with *Callippus* respecting a debt claimed by *Callippus* from *Pasio*, and Demosthenes composed for him the oration πρὸς Κάλλιππον. At this period *Phormio* and *Apollodorus* were still friends u; the cause may therefore be placed with that against *Timotheus* among the early pieces of the orator. *Apollodorus* is the claimant, and the vindicator of his own public services, in the orations πρὸς Πολυκλέα and περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς τριηραρχίας, which were subsequent at least to B. C. 361 x. He is the prosecutor in the cause πρὸς Νικόστρατον περὶ ἀνδραπόδων, one of the private causes to which a doubt has been affixed by Harpocratio, but which is quoted as genuine by the same grammarian in four other places y, and referred to by Plutarch z; who observes, comparing *Demosthenes* the orator with the general of the name, ἀλλὰ δὴ—τοὺς Δημοσθένους τοῦ ῥήτορος λόγους ἄξιός ἐστι τοῖς στρατηγοῦ [ἔργοις] παραβάλλειν τὸν κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας τοῖς περὶ Πύλον τροπαίοις ἐκείνου, πρὸς Ἀρεθοῦσιον [male legebatur Ἀμαθοῦσιον] περὶ ἀνδραπόδων τοῖς ξανδραποδισθεῖσιν ὑπ' ἐκείνου Σπαρτιάταις a.

The son of *Pasio* is the pleader in the cause κατὰ Νεάρας. This cause was some years later than the first war with *Philip* B. C. 352—347, which is described in the oration b: and it may be collected that *Apollodorus* was somewhat advanced in years. We may perhaps refer it to B. C. 340. when *Apollodorus* would be fifty-four years of age. *Demosthenes* appears as a witness in this oration c, which, although quoted without suspicion by Hermogenes d, is doubted by Dionysius, Athenæus, Harpocratio, and Photius e.

The orations extant under the name of *Demosthenes* distributed into their three classes 360

v Conf. in *Timoth.* p. 1196. That *Apollodorus* prosecuted *Timotheus* is remarked in B. C. 350. pro *Phormion.* p. 961. οὐ Τιμομάχου κατηγορεῖς;—οὐ Τιμοθέου; but from the context it appears probable that a public prosecution, and not a private action, is there intended. If so, the allusion would not be to the present cause. In the same oration p. 950. 20 the present cause is distinctly alluded to. *Apollodorus* gained his cause; as it appears from Plutarch. See above, note s.

u *Phormio* appeared for *Apollodorus*: see p. 1237. 1238. 1241.

x See the Tables 361, 3.

y In v. ἐμβεβλημένα. Παμβωτάδη. περίστοιχοι. ῥοδωνιά.

z De *Glor. Athen.* p. 351. A. B.

a Wyttenbach *Animadv.* tom. II. p. I. p. 158. observes, *Oratio πρὸς Ἀμαθοῦσιον nulla cognita est.* and Reiske ad Plutarch. tom. VII. p. 384. *Amathusius ille quis fuerit haud teneo, et oratio Demosthenis adversus eum neque hodie exstat neque indicata fuit a Fabricio.* The oration had escaped their notice, because in the copies of Plutarch the title was πρὸς Ἀμαθοῦσιον περὶ ἀνδραπόδων instead of the true title πρὸς Νικόστρατον περὶ τῶν Ἀρεθοῦσιον ἀνδραπόδων. Taylor apud Reisk. Or. Gr. tom. VIII. p. 733. had seen the true meaning of the allusion of Plutarch.

b In *Nær.* p. 1346.

c Ibid. p. 1387.

d De *Formis* I. 1. p. 87. II. 3. p. 391. In the last passage he quotes it to point out an example of bad taste, but appears to have no suspicion that it was not genuine. Hermogenes, however, in collecting his examples, seems to have exercised no diligence in distinguishing what was genuine from what was spurious; since he quotes even the *Epistles* as genuine: De *Form.* I. 7. p. 294 [referring to *Ep.* III. p. 1485]. *ibid.* p. 295 [*Ep.* II. p. 1469]. p. 296 [*Ep.* III. p. 1483]. II. 8. p. 444 [*Ep.* II. initio. *Ep.* III].

e Dionysius rejects it: de *Vi Demosth.* p. 1127. Harpocratio v. γέγρα. δημοποίητος. διεγγήσιν. Ἰππαρχος. Κωλιάς. quotes the oration with the expression of a doubt. In v. ἀποπεφασμένον, Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασι. Βρυτιάδαι. γεραιαί. ὅτι διαμαρτάνει. πωλῶσι. ψιθυριστῆς Ἑρμ. he quotes without suspicion. Athenæus cites it once without expressing doubt, and twice doubtfully. Photius cod. 265. p. 1469. observes, τὸν κατὰ Νεάρας λόγον ὑπιτύτῃς τινες αἰτιώμενοι τῶν Δημοσθενικῶν ἀποκρίνουσι λόγων. Libanius, or the author of the *Argument*: τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ οἶονται Δημοσθένους εἶναι, ὕπιον. ὄντα καὶ πολλὰ τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος δυνάμεως ἐνδέεσθαι. Taylor *Vit. Lysiae* p. 151—154. Reisk. labours to prove that *Lysias*, who is named in this

are exhibited in the following Table. Those, of which the year is expressed, will be found in the Tables under that year^f.

oration p. 1351. 1352, could not be the celebrated orator of the name, and that Athenæus and the author of Vit. X. Or. are wrong upon this point. Reiske ad Nær. p. 1351. 23 sees no force in his arguments: *Non video qui magnus error in vulgari sit sententiâ*. Taylor's strongest argument, that founded on chronology, would be this: Lysias died in B. C. 378 at the age of eighty-one, nearly forty years before this cause. But in answer it may be urged; 1. Lysias is distinctly called the son of Cephalus, p. 1352. and it is not probable, especially when Athenæus affirms the contrary, that there were two rhetoricians of this name, both sons of Cephalus, flourishing at the same time. 2. The facts in which Lysias was concerned happened some years, it seems, before the archonship of *Socratides*: compare p. 1352. 24. 1353. 12. 1354. 11. 1356. 5. But *Socratides* was archon only five years after the death of Ly-

sias, which carries back those facts to the period of his lifetime.

^f Excepting the 5th Philippic and the oration entitled *ἐπιτάφιος*. In this list it has not been thought necessary to notice the piece entitled *ἐρωτικός*, or the *προοίμια δημηγορικὰ*, or the *Epistles* ascribed to Demosthenes. The *Epistles*, although their genuineness may be doubted, are yet quoted by early grammarians; as by Hermogenes (see a preceding note), by Harpocratio v. *ἐρανίζοντες*. *Καλαύρεια*. *φθόγην*. by Aristides tom. I. p. 536. tom. II. p. 450. Jebb. by the *Antiatticista*, who quotes Epist. III. Bekk. Anecd. p. 77, 16. 94, 3. Ep. I. p. 1466. Anecd. p. 110, 5. Ep. I. p. 1464, 18. Anecd. p. 111, 31. The writer of these *Epistles* would therefore have access to authorities now lost, for the facts which he alleges. They are accordingly quoted as testimony in the Tables 323, 3.

ΔΗΜΗΓΟΡΙΑΙ.	ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ.	ἸΔΙΩΤΙΚΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ.
B. C.	B. C.	B. C.
354. De Classibus.		364. In Aphob. I.
353. Pro Megalopol.		———— II.
352. Philippica I. πρώτη τῶν Φ.		Contra Aphob. ψευδομαρτυριῶν.
351. Pro Rhodiis.		In Onetor. I.
		———— II.
		In Callippum.
		post 361. In Polyclem περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτηρη.
		De Coronâ navali.
		ante 354. In Timotheum ὑπὲρ χρέους.
349. { Olynthiaca I. δευτέρα τῶν Φ.	355. { In Androtionem.	
———— II.	In Leptinem.	
———— III.		
347. (ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς ^γ —πέμπτη τῶν Φ.) ^h	353. In Timocratem.	post 356. ¹ In Euerg. et Mnesibul.
346. De Pace. ἕκτη τῶν Φ.	352. In Aristocratem.	post 355. In Zenothemim ^μ .
344. Philipp. II. ἐβδόμη τῶν Φ.		350. . . . { In Bœotum.
343. De Halonneso. ὀγδόη τῶν Φ.		Pro Phormione.
341. { De Chersoneso. ἐνάτη τῶν Φ. ⁱ	348. In Midiam. ^ς	ante 343. { In Stephanum ψευδομαρτ. α'.
———— Philipp. III.	.....	———— β'.
———— IV. ἐνδεκάτη τῶν Φ.		347. In Bœotum de Dote.
339. In Epistolam. τελευταία τῶν Φ.		post 347. In Pantænet. conf. a. 347.
338. [Ἐπιτάφιος.] ^k		post 346. In Eubulid. conf. a. 346.
post 334. [περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλεξ. συνθηκ.]		
	343. De Falsâ Legat.	circiter 343. In Cononem ^ν .
		post 343. In Olympiodor. conf. a. 342.
	circiter 340. [In Neæram.]	
	post 336. [In Theocrinem.]	
	conf. a. 333.	
	post 338. [In Aristogit. I. II.]	post 336. In Phormionis παραγρ. conf.
	conf. a. 331.	a. 332.
	330. De Corona.	post 331. In Dionysiodor. conf. a. 329.
[περὶ συντάξεως.]		Of uncertain date.
		In Apaturium παραγραφικός.
		In Lacriti παραγραφὴν.
		In Nausim. et Xenopith. παραγρ.
		In Spudiam ὑπὲρ προικός.
		In Phænippum περὶ ἀντιδόσεως.
		In Macartat. conf. a. 360.
		In Leocharem περὶ κλήρου.
		In Nicostratum περὶ ἀνδραπόδων.
		In Calliclem περὶ χωρίου.

^γ To this date δημηγοριοὶ μὲν ἑπτὰ δικανικοὶ δὲ πέντε are reckoned by Dionys. ad Amm. p. 727.

^h The fifth Philippic (Dionys. p. 737), ascribed by Dionysius to the year of Themistocles, forms a part of the first in the present copies. Libanius in Argum. ad Philipp. I. considers the piece as it now stands as one oration, namely, Philipp. I. and Ulpian ad Demosth. p. 35. s. 36. censures Dionysius for dividing it.

ⁱ This would be called the eighth by those who did not agree with Dionysius in dividing Philipp. I. Schol. in Hermogen. p. 211. Δημοσθένους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὰ μέγιστα μετριοτέρους ὀνόμασι συν-ἑσκάσε περὶ τοῦ Διοπίθους λέγων, ἡ τῶν Φιλίππικων

[legendum ἡ cum Reiskio ad Demosth. p. 96. 17]. τὸ μὲν ληστεύειν κ. τ. λ. He refers to this oration p. 96. Thus the oration on Halonnesus is called the seventh Philippic by Ulpian ad Dem. p. 127. ed. Par.

^k That Demosthenes pronounced the funeral oration over those who fell at Chæronea is attested by Plutarch Vit. Demosth. c. 21. by the biographer p. 845. F. and by Demosthenes himself de Cor. p. 320. That the oration which is now extant is that which Demosthenes composed may be reasonably doubted. See Photius cod. 265. p. 1469. Harpocratio v. Αἰγείδαι. Κερκονίς. who sub-joins εἰ γνήσιος. Dionysius de Vi Demosth. p.

- 361 In the date of the celebrated cause *περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου* are some difficulties, which could not be stated within the compass of the Tables, but which may be conveniently examined here. The action was instituted by *Æschines ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἔκτη ἱσταμένον*^o; that is, towards the end of the year of *Chærondas* March B. C. 337. The cause was pleaded in the beginning of the year of *Aristophon*, about August B. C. 330, and less than eight years after the institution of the suit. Cicero^p says, *Hanc mulctam Æschines a Ctesiphonte petiit quadriennio ante Philippi Macedonis mortem*. The true interval however was only sixteen months. Plutarch^q has this account: *εἰσήχθη ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφή κατὰ Κτησιφώντος, γραφείσα μὲν ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχοντος μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῶν Χαιρωνικῶν, κριθείσα δ' ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα ἐπ' Ἀριστοφώντος*. In this passage there are two errors: 1. Instead of being before the battle of Chæronea, the suit of Æschines was a few months after it: the battle was fought in the second month of Chærondas, and the suit was instituted in the tenth month of that archon. 2. Instead of ten years between the indictment and the trial of the cause, there were less than eight. For, as the one was in the tenth month of *Chærondas* March B. C. 337, the other was in the second month (or not later) of *Aristophon* August B. C. 330. Dionysius^r thus describes the dates: *ἐπ' Ἀριστοφώντος ἀρχοντος, ὀγδόῳ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην, ἕκτῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν*. Thus the passage now stands, according to the conjecture of Bentley following the steps of Meursius. But even thus the numbers do not agree with the true time of the cause, which ought to be expressed by the ninth and the seventh years. Dionysius adds—*καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἐνέλικα μάχην*. This character of the time is by no means correct: for the battle of Arbela, in the year of another archon, was at the least eight or ten months earlier than this trial. But the emendation of Bentley, *ἕκτῳ* for *ὀγδόῳ*, well corresponds with the mention of *Arbela*, which was certainly in the sixth year after the death of *Philip*.
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Corsini^s reconciles these difficulties by supposing the archon Chærondas to be an *archon pseudeponymus*, like many others in the oration of Demosthenes on the Crown; and by placing the institution of the suit by Æschines two years earlier than B. C. 338. In two passages of Demosthenes, in one of Æschines, and in one of Plutarch, he determines Chærondas to be an *archon pseudeponymus*: he determines that all the transactions preceded the battle of Chæronea, and consequently preceded the true year of Chærondas. He founds this upon a passage of Æschines: *Certe quod Æschinis accusatio Olymp. 110. 2 sub Chæronda quidem, sed pseudeponymo, instituta fuerit, non perspicua solum temporum series, sed illustria quoque scriptorum testimonia demonstrant, quæ modo subijciam*^t—*Æschines ergo de hoc ipso*

1027. and p. 1095. where it is characterized as *ὁ φορτικός καὶ κενὸς καὶ παιδαριώδης ἐπιτάφιος*.

ⁱ That is, after the archonship of Agathocles. conf. p. 1152.

^m This oration was composed after Demosthenes was engaged in public affairs, when he was *ρήτωρ καὶ γνώριμος*. See the concluding paragraph, p. 890. 891.

ⁿ The cause *κατὰ Κόνωνος* was in the third year after an expedition, or march, to Panactus: p. 1257. *ἐξήλθομεν ἔτος τοῦτ' τρίτον εἰς Πανακτὸν φρουρὰς ἡμῖν προγραφείσης*, probably the same expedition as that which is noticed in Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 446. *ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν ὑμῖν ἀποδοθῆναι*

περὶ Δρύμου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Πανάκτῳ χώρας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξερχόμεθα. This occurred after the peace with Philip B. C. 346, and before the cause *παραπρεσβείας* B. C. 343. The oration therefore against *Conon* may be placed at about the year 343, or soon after.

^o Demosth. Coron. p. 243.

^p De Optimo Gen. Orat. c. 7.

^q Demosth. c. 24.

^r Ad Amm. p. 746.

^s Fast. Att. tom. I. p. 75. 76. 359. 360.

^t The other testimonies which he subjoins to that of Æschines are those which have been already examined; namely, Cic. de Opt. Gen. Orat.

litis institutæ tempore cum Demosthene disserens ait, ἀπηνέχθη ἡ κατὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος γραφή ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος πρὶν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῆναι—τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης οὐκ ἐσχολάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν. Quis hic aperte non videat actionem illam ab Æschine institutam esse antequam Chæronense bellum exurgeret? If this was the sense of Æschines, it would undoubtedly decide the question. But Corsini has here brought together as parts of the same sentence and the same argument, suppressing all that comes between them, two clauses which are separated in the original by a long tract of intermediate discussion. The real drift of the argument is pointed out by Taylor^u with great accuracy. Æschines, after stating that the action was instituted in the lifetime of *Philip* x, ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος, proceeds to a new topic. He vindicates himself from the charge of having been negligent of his public duty at the *bema*. He enumerates many instances in which he had opposed the acts of Demosthenes. Having pursued this subject at considerable length, the orator addresses his adversary in the following terms γ: *σαντὸν οὐκ ἀντερωτᾷς, τίς ἂν εἴη δημαγωγὸς τοιοῦτος ὅστις—τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἦν σώζεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀποδοῖτο,—ἀποδρᾷς δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνηκεστοῖς κακοῖς περιβαλὼν ἀξιοὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν πεποιηκὼς μηδὲν πάντων δὲ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γεγυνὼς, ἐπερωτῶν δὲ τοὺς συκοφαντηθέντας ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας—διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν; ἀποκρύπτοιο δὲ τὸ πάντων τελευταῖον, ὅτι τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης οὐκ ἐσχολάζομεν περὶ τὴν σὴν εἶναι τιμωρίαν—ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρη σοι δίκην μὴ δεδωκέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖς—ἐνταῦθ' ἐνέστην καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπήνεγκα.* Who does not perceive, when the whole argument is placed before him, that the decree for crowning Demosthenes, and the impeachment of Ctesiphon, were subsequent to the battle of Chæronea? We have the testimony of Demosthenes^z to the same purpose:—*μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκὼς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονήσαι τι θανατοῦν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἢ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρή- 363 ματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι—ἐν τούτοις ἅπασι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεῦτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμεν.—τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, τί προσήκε τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα; οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς;* The state of parties at Athens was this. Demosthenes retained his influence after the battle of Chæronea. It was the object of the party of which he was the head to obtain from the people an expression of their favourable opinion. With this view, Ctesiphon, one of that party, proposed the decree for crowning Demosthenes, which was in effect a declaration that the people of Athens had not withdrawn their confidence from those who promoted the late war, although it had been unsuccessful^a.

c. 7. Plutarch. Demosth. c. 24. Dionys. Amm. p. 746.

v P. 359. 360.

u In Præfat. ad Æschinis Or. in Ctes. p. 378. Reiske.

x In Ctes. p. 85, 12.

y P. 86, 6.

z De Coron. p. 309, 310.

^a To the testimony of the two orators may be added that of the Pseudo-Plutarch p. 845. F. *μετὰ ταῦτα [after the battle of Chæronea] πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ προσελθὼν καὶ τῶν τευχῶν ἐπιμελητῆς χειροτονηθεὶς.* and of the author of the Argument to the Oration of Demosthenes p. 222. 223. Reisk. These authorities, although insufficient perhaps of themselves to prove the point,

Corsini ^b, to establish his proposition, is obliged to assume that four cases in which *Chærondas* is named are cases of an *archon pseudeponymus*, and not within the true year of *Chærondas* ^c: *Ex tribus decretis illis, quæ archontis Chærondæ nomen præferunt, nullum, ne postremum quidem, Chæronda Athenis eponymo factum fuit.* His view of this matter is not just. Two of these are undoubtedly cases in which the name appears in the title of decrees quoted by Demosthenes ^d. But the other two are cases of a different character. *Chærondas* is named in one by *Æschines* speaking in his own person, and not quoting an official document ^e; and in the other by *Plutarch* in the course of an historical narration. Now, although it is granted that the name of an *archon pseudeponymus* (instead of the true archon of the year) sometimes appeared in the title of a decree or other formal document, yet there is no example of an *archon pseudeponymus* being mentioned instead of the real archon, by writers, when, in the course of historical narrative or otherwise, it was their purpose to mark the date of any particular fact. In these two cases, then, *Chærondas* is the true archon of the year.

We collect then from the two orators and from these dates, that all the circumstances occurred *after* the battle of *Chæroneæ*: *Demosthenes* was *τειχοποῖς*, and still exercising that office in May B. C. 337 ^f: the decree of *Ctesiphon* had been passed in the preceding October ^g. The order of the proceedings was this. Two months after the battle, *Ctesiphon* proposed to reward *Demosthenes* by a decree passed in the *fourth* month of the year *Pyanepsion*; *Æschines* put in his suit in *Elaphebolion*, and in his subsequent speech proved that *Demosthenes* was still in office in *Thargelion*. The confusion of the dates has arisen from the negligence of *Plutarch*, and perhaps from corruption in the numbers of *Cicero* ^h and *Dionysius*.

yet deserve consideration, when they are in conformity with the accounts of the orators themselves. In the Argument, the office of *Demosthenes* and the decree of a Crown are distinctly described as subsequent to the defeat at *Chæroneæ*.

^b Tom. I. p. 76.

^c He necessarily includes the testimony of *Plutarch* in this description: *Meursio ambiguum illud Chærondæ nomen, a Demosthene simulque Plutarcho memoratum, imposuit; cum scriptores illos de Chæronda eponymo intelligendos esse censeret, et cæt.* Tom. I. p. 360.

^d De Coron. p. 243. ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἔκτῃ ἰσταμένον—p. 253. ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιώνος ἔκτῃ ἀπιόντος—.

^e In Ctes. p. 57, 35. ἐπὶ γὰρ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχον-

τος, θαρρηλιώνος μηνὸς δευτέρῃ φθίνοντος, ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἔγραψε ψήφισμα Δημοσθένους ἀγορὰν ποιῆσαι, κ. τ. λ.

^f See *Æschin.* in Ctes. p. 57, 35. Taylor, Præfat. ad *Æschin.* Ctes. p. 374. 375. Reiske, unnecessarily imagines a difficulty in this passage: as if *Æschines* had said that *Demosthenes* commenced the duties of this office in *Thargelion* B. C. 337. But it is only implied that he *still* continued in the performance of them.

^g Πανεψιώνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος [Oct. 15]. *Demosth.* Cor. p. 266. Hence the argument of *Æschines*, that *Demosthenes* was still responsible, since he was still in the exercise of his office eight months after the date of the decree.

^h In the passage of *Cicero*, for *quadriennio* I would read *biennio*.

XXI.

PHILOSOPHERS—HISTORIANS—ORATORS.

ALTHOUGH some names occur in the third column of the Tables, which do not properly belong to any of these three descriptions, yet, to avoid an inconvenient subdivision, they have been arranged under one of the three classes. Thus, *Hippocrates*, for example, will be found among the philosophers, and *Gorgias* among the orators. The PHILOSOPHERS named in the Tables are these.

1. *Thales*, B. C. 560. 546.
2. *Chilon*, 556.
3. *Bias*, 544.
4. *Anaximander*, 547.
5. *Anaximenes*^a, 548. 480.

^a Mr. Ritter as quoted by Kruger F. H. p. 376 ed. Lips. has the following observations upon the early Ionic philosophers: *Anaximenes ætas non facile definiri potest. Cui auctoritati plurimum sit tribuendum si circumspicias, non temere rejecerim quæ ex Apollodoro tradit Laërtius II. 3. καὶ γεγνηται μὲν, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδορος, τῇ ἑξηκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐτελεύτησε δὲ περὶ τὴν Σαρδέων ἀλωσιν. De mortis tempore quod addit, etsi offensionem est, tamen si Sardis 499 ab Ionibus captas dici statuas, certe non existit repugnantia; quanquam fieri potest ut hoc non ab Apollodoro traditum sit. Hic profecto prorsus rejiciendum est quod Ionici philosophi alter ab altero disciplinam accepisse produntur.—A Thaletis natali tempore ad Anaxagoræ mortem minimum 53 Olympiades sive 212 anni fuerunt: quod spatium quatuor philosophi alter alteri disciplinam tradentes explesse sumuntur. Jam si ætatem 30 annorum statuimus, spatium septem, si 33 annorum, amplius sex ætates complectitur. Quid quod, si ætati 40 annos tribuimus, huic spatio quinque ætates et 12 anni insunt.*

It would be inaccurate to consider those 212 years as four generations, which are in reality five, being measured from the birth of *Thales*. Four generations must be measured from his ἀκμή. But 212 years from the birth of *Thales* to the death of *Anaxagoras*, taken as four successions, give an average of 53 years to each. The probability of this will best be shewn by a comparison with similar successions where the facts

are known. From the birth of *Diogenes* of *Sinopæ* B. C. 412 to the death of *Zeno* B. C. 263 are three successions and 149 years, or nearly 50 years to each. From the ἀκμή of *Aristarchus* B. C. 156 to A. D. 18, when *Strabo* was still alive, are 174 years; which will give 204 years at the least from the birth of *Aristarchus* to the death of *Strabo*. And the proportion in that case will be 51 years to each; *Strabo* being the fourth from *Aristarchus*: see F. H. III. p. 554. Again, from the birth of *Isocrates* B. C. 436 to the accession of *Attalus I.* B. C. 241, when *Neanthes* of *Cyzicus* was still living, are 195 years; and yet *Neanthes* was the third from *Isocrates*: F. H. III. p. 25. which gives 65 years each for the three successions. And this period is computed to a date at which *Neanthes* is still living. The difficulty then does not lie in the extent of the whole period, but in the dates assigned to *Anaximenes*, which are confused through corruption in the texts. Between the death of *Thales* and the birth of *Anaxagoras* is a space of about 46 years or nearly. *Thales* survived B. C. 546, *Anaximander* died soon after B. C. 547. The deaths then of these two philosophers occurred about the same time; which will leave the whole of these 46 years to be occupied by *Anaximenes*, who would thus be of mature age 46 years before the birth of his disciple *Anaxagoras*.

Mr. Ritter rejects the account which connects *Anaximenes* with *Anaxagoras*. But the connexion

6. *Pherecydes*, 544.
7. *Xenophanes*^{aa}, 538. 527. 477.
8. *Pythagoras*, 539. 533. 531. 520. 510. 499. 472.
9. *Heraclitus*, 503. 502. 455.
10. *Parmenides*^b, 503. 455.
- 10.* *Diogenes Apolloniates*^{bb}, 468.

is attested by many authorities. That *Anaximander* taught *Anaximenes* is recorded by the testimonies in the Tables B. C. 548, 3. and by Cicero Acad. IV. 37. *Anaximenes Anaximandri auditor*. And Cicero, Strabo, Laërtius, Clemens, quoted at B. C. 548, 3, Simplicius in Aristot. Phys. Ausc. p. 6 b, Augustine C. D. VIII. 2, confirm the account that *Anaximenes* taught *Anaxagoras*. The accounts indeed which deliver the succession of the Ionic School have been questioned by some, who infer from the silence of Plato and Aristotle, and from the difference in the doctrines of the early philosophers, that this succession is the invention of a later age. The silence, however, of Plato and Aristotle is not decisive, because they only mention the early philosophers incidentally, and do not profess to give their history. As to the term *διάδοχος τῆς σχολῆς*, it may be admitted that the writers of a later age have used a language drawn from the practice of their own times; especially since this term is applied to *Anaximander*, who is called *Θαλοῦ διάδοχος*. But although we admit the inaccuracy of their language, we cannot safely deny all credit upon this point to writers who lived less than four centuries after the death of *Thales*, and who wrote while the entire works of the philosophers were still extant. Although then we may allow that schools of philosophy in the literal sense, in which the successive teachers received and transmitted particular opinions, were of a later age, yet we may believe that *Anaximander* was the disciple of *Thales*, *Anaximenes* of *Anaximander*, *Anaxagoras* of *Anaximenes*, as *Phædo Aristippus* and *Plato* were the disciples of *Socrates*, and *Aristotle* of *Plato*, though each afterwards pursued independent views of his own.

With respect to the dates, Laërtius II. 3 cannot be relied upon as genuine. If we interpret *Σαρδέων ἀλώσεως* to mean the capture in 499 (which as the text stands would be alone intelligible), in that case *Anaximenes* would have lived only 29 years. The date in Suidas affixed to the capture of Sardis—ἐν τῇ νῆ ὀλυμπιάδι ἐν τῇ Σαρδέων ἀλώσει—is evidently corrupt. We may gather from both the passages that Apollodorus connected

Anaximenes with the mention of the capture of Sardis by *Cyrus* in 546, but the meaning is obscured by the corrupt state of the text of Laërtius.

The term ἀκμή is of wide extent. *Timotheus* is said ἀκμάζειν at the age of 48 or 55: see the Tables B. C. 398. 4. *Arceilaüs* is affirmed by Apollodorus ἡκμαίνειν when he was under 20: Ibid. 299. 3. We may suppose then that *Anaximenes* was under 20 when this term was applied to him in Ol. 58; and that he lived to the 19th year of *Anaxagoras* Ol. 74 B. C. 482; which would extend his life to 86 years.

^{aa} No explanation is necessary of the reasons why *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, although writers of verse, are placed among the philosophers rather than among the poets.

^b According to Plato *Parmenid.* p. 127. a. *Parmenides* was more than twenty-five years older than *Zeno*, and was about sixty-five when he was heard by *Socrates*: ἀφίκοντό ποτε εἰς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα Ζήνων τε καὶ Παρμενίδης· τὸν μὲν οὖν Παρμενίδην εὖ μάλα ἦδη πρεσβύτην εἶναι, σφόδρα πολὺν, καλὸν δὲ κάγαθόν τὴν ὄψιν, περὶ ἔτη μάλιστα πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα· Ζήνωνά δὲ ἐγγὺς τῶν τετταράκοντα τότε εἶναι, εὐμήκη δὲ καὶ χαρίεντα ἰδεῖν. This was in the early youth of *Socrates*: Plato *ibid.* Σωκράτη δὲ εἶναι τότε σφόδρα νέον. (See the Tables B. C. 455, 3.) Plato for this has incurred the censure of *Athenæus* XI. p. 505. f. Παρμενίδην μὲν γὰρ ἐλθεῖν εἰς λόγους τὸν τοῦ Πλάτωνος Σωκράτην μόλις ἢ ἡλικία συγχωρεῖ· οὐχ ὥς καὶ τοιοῦτους εἰπεῖν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι λόγους. The dialogue which Plato represents *Socrates* to have held with *Parmenides* and *Zeno* is doubtless fictitious: but it was founded on a fact, that *Socrates* when a boy had heard *Parmenides* discourse at Athens. We may place that visit of *Parmenides* in Ol. 81. 3 B. C. 454 the 15th year of *Socrates*. This would suppose *Parmenides* to have been born about B. C. 519, and to have been 18 or 19 in the 69th Olympiad, where he is mentioned by Laërtius. Thus *Aristotle* at the age of 19 is mentioned by *Diodorus*. See the Tables B. C. 365, 3.

^{bb} It is affirmed by Mr. Ritter apud F. H. p. 376 ed. Lips. that *Diogenes* is placed after

11. *Anaxagoras*, 500. 480. 450. 432. 428.
12. *Diagoras Melius*, 466.
13. *Zeno Eleates*, 464. 455. 435.
14. *Archelaus*, 450.
15. *Melissus*, 444. 440.
16. *Protagoras* c, 444. 422.

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Anaxagoras by the consent of all authors: *Diogenem Apolloniatum Anaxagora posteriorem esse omnes auctores consentiunt*. Other critics on the contrary assert that he preceded *Anaxagoras*: *Schaubach fragm. Anaxag. p. 6. Inter utrumque (Anaximenem et Anaxagoram) ponendum esse Diogenem ostendit Schleiermacherus. Ibid. p. 32. Inter Anaximenem et Anaxagoram ponendum esse dixi secutus Schleiermacherum*. Neither of these opinions is just. 1. *Diogenes* is the disciple of *Anaximenes*: *Laërt. IX. 57. ἤκουσε δὲ, φησὶν Ἀντισθένης, Ἀναξίμενους· ἦν δὲ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ Ἀναξαγόραν*. *Augustin. C. D. VIII. 2. Anaxagoras Anaximenis auditor — Diogenes Anaximenis alter auditor. Clemens Al. Protrept. p. 42. C. remarks that he followed his doctrine:—Ἀναξίμενης—ᾧ Διογένης ὑστέρον ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης κατηκολούθησεν. Stobæus Eclog. I. p. 796 Heeren. Ἀναξαγόρας, Ἀναξίμενης, Ἀρχέλαος, Διογένης, ἀερώδη (τὴν ψυχὴν). Called in Plutarch Placit. p. 898. D. οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀναξαγόρου ἀερωεῖδῃ τὴν ψυχὴν*. But we cannot infer from hence that *Diogenes* is below *Anaxagoras*, because in that case *Anaximenes* would also be below him. *Aristotle Met. I. 3. p. 11 ed. Brandis. names certain early philosophers in this order: Thales—Hippo—Anaximenes—Diogenes—Hippasus—Heraclitus—Empedocles—Anaxagoras*. But he merely intends to describe their opinions and not to mark the order of time in which they flourished. *Diogenes* is also named by *Theodore Græc. Affect. Cur. 2. p. 61. Ibid. 4. p. 159. 160. 161. 162. ed. Oxon. without reference to his time but solely to his opinions. Simplicius, who is a valuable authority, gives the following account in Aristot. phys. Ausc. p. 6. Θαλῆς Ἐξαμίου Μιλήσιος—πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐκφῆναι, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων προγεγονότων, ὡς καὶ Θεοφράστῳ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ πολλὰ διενεγκὼν ἐκείνων ὡς ἀποκρίναι πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ. λέγεται δὲ ἐν γραφαῖς μὴδὲν καταλείπειν πλὴν τῆς καλουμένης ναυτικῆς ἀστρολογίας. Ἰππασος δὲ ὁ Μεταποντίνος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ κινούμενον καὶ πεπερασμένον κ. τ. λ.—τῶν δὲ ἐν καὶ κινούμενον καὶ ἀπειρον λεγόντων Ἀναξίμανδρος μὲν Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος, Θαλοῦ γενόμενος διάδοχος καὶ μαθητῆς,—οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἀλλοιούμενον τοῦ στοιχείου τὴν γένεσιν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινόμενον τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινή-*

σεως· διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦτον ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης συνέταξεν. Ἀναξίμενης δὲ Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος, ἑταῖρος γεγονὼς Ἀναξίμανδρου, μίαν μὲν τὴν ὑποκειμένην φύσιν καὶ ἀπειρόν φησιν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἀόριστον δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠρισμένην, ἀέρα λέγων αὐτήν.—καὶ Διογένης δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης, σχεδὸν νεώτατος γεγονὼς τῶν περὶ ταῦτα σχολασάντων, τὰ μὲν πλείστα συμπεφορημένως γέγραφε, τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἀναξαγόραν τὰ δὲ κατὰ Δεύκιππον λέγων. As Aristotle meant nothing more than that *Anaximander* and *Anaxagoras* had arrived at the same conclusions, so κατὰ Ἀναξαγόραν will mean no more than a conformity of doctrine, such as had been before remarked in the case of *Anaximander*. And the qualified term σχεδὸν νεώτατος will not express (as Panzerbieter ad fragm. Diog. p. 5 supposes it to do) that he was *post Anaxagoram*. *Sidonius Apollinaris Carm. XV. 91 calls Diogenes younger than Anaxagoras: Junior huic junctus residet collega*. But his account is outweighed by the other authorities which have been produced.

2. But neither can it be shewn that *Diogenes* preceded *Anaxagoras*. The remains of both are too scanty to enable us to form a judgment. We know that *Diogenes* wrote after B. C. 468, which was the 33d year of *Anaxagoras*: see the Tables 468. 3. But *Anaxagoras* taught at Athens till the age of 50, and after that period visited Athens a second time; see 450. 3. The opinion then of Panzerbieter ad fragm. Diog. p. 19. 20 is the most reasonable, that these two philosophers were contemporary, and that they pursued their inquiries independently of one another at the same period of time.

c It is supposed in the Tables that *Protagoras* might have died about B. C. 404, at the age of near seventy: ἐγγὺς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότα. We may suppose him to be born about B. C. 470, and to be ten years older than *Democritus*; who mentioned him in his writings: *Laërt. IX. 42. Δημόκριτος μέμνηται τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς δόξης τῶν περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ζήνωνα, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν μάλιστα διαβεβημένων καὶ Πρωταγόρα τοῦ Ἀβδηρίτου, ὃς ὁμολογεῖται κατὰ Σωκράτην γεγονέναι. Protagoras is said to have been the disciple of Democritus: Laërt. IX. 50. διήκουσε δὲ Δημοκρίτου. Philostrate. Vit. Sophist. I. 10. Δημοκρίτου ἀκροατῆς οἴκοι ἐγένετο.*

17. *Empedocles*^d, 455. 444. 435.
 18. *Socrates*, 468. 450. 399.
 19. *Democritus*, 460. 435. 405. 370. 357.
 20. *Hippocrates*, 460. 435. 431. 357.
 21. *Prodicus*, 435.
 22. *Meton*, 432.
 23. *Plato*^e, 429. 416. 409. 399. 395. 389. 374. 365. 347.

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But the true account of this matter, which is given by Epicurus, is not inconsistent with those particulars of his age: Athen. VIII. p. 354. c. δ' Ἐπικούρου Πρωταγόραν φησὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐκ φορμοφόρου καὶ ξυλοφόρου πρῶτον μὲν γενέσθαι γραφέα Δημοκρίτου· θανασθέντα δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐπὶ ξύλων τινῶν ἰδίᾳ συνθέσει, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναληφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ διδάσκειν ἐν κόμῃ τινὶ γράμματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὸ σοφιστεῦναι ὀρμήσαι. Laërt. IX. 53. φορμοφόρος ἦν, ὡς καὶ Ἐπικουρὸς πον φησί. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἤρθη πρὸς Δημοκρίτον, ξύλα δεδεκὼς ὀφθεῖς. Suid. Πρωταγ. πρότερον ἦν φορτοβαστάκης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ Δημοκρίτῳ, ἠράσθη λόγων, καὶ φιλοσοφῆσας ἐπὶ ῥητορείᾳ ἐτρέπη. *Democritus*, who was of one of the most eminent families at Abdera in rank and station, might discern the merit and encourage the genius of *Protagoras*, who was of an inferior condition, although himself younger than *Protagoras*. The narrative of Gellius V. 3. though decorated with additions of his own, contains in substance the same account. Respecting the death of *Protagoras* there are difficulties. Laërt. IX. 54. 55. κατηγορήσεν αὐτοῦ Πυθόδαρος Πολυζήλου, εἰς τῶν τετρακοσίων. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' Εὐαθλον φησί.—φησὶ δὲ Φιλόχορος, πλεόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς Σικελίαν τὴν ναῦν καταποντισθῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο αἰνίττεσθαι Εὐριπίδην ἐν τῷ Ἰξίονι. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τελευτήσαι αὐτόν. It is not here asserted that he was condemned during the government of the Four-hundred [B. C. 411], but only that his accuser had been a member of that body. If, however, the meaning of Philochorus be reported accurately, he died before *Euripides*: consequently before the end of B. C. 406. According to Plato *Menon*. p. 91. e. his death would happen at least before the death of *Socrates*: but the negligence of Plato upon these points renders this by no means certain. If Timon apud Sext. Empir. IX. 57 is to be understood literally, he survived *Socrates*: θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διαφυγὼν, καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν πταίσας, ἀπέθανε. μέμνηται δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν σίλλων ταῦτα διεξερχόμενος·

— φυχῆς ἐπεμαίετο, ὅφρα μὴ οὕτως

Σωκρατικὸν πῖνον ψυχρὸν ποτὸν αἶδα δύνῃ.

When we recollect that *Euripides* is represented

by the grammarians as alluding in the *Παλαμήδης* to the death of *Socrates*, we shall not place much reliance upon the account of Laërtius (for we do not possess the distinct meaning of Philochorus) that in the *Ἰξίων* he alluded to the death of *Protagoras*. Perhaps we may most safely determine that *Protagoras* died a little before *Socrates*, and that he was about ten years older than his patron *Democritus*.

^d *Empedocles*, according to some accounts, had conversed with *Pythagoras*: Laërt. VIII. 50. κατὰ τινας, Πυθαγόρου διήκουσεν. Ibid. 54. ἀκοῦσαι δ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρου Τίμαιος διὰ τῆς ἐνάτης ἱστορεί. According to Alcidas apud Laërt. VIII. 56. *Zeno* and *Empedocles*, after having been the disciples of *Parmenides*, ὕστερον ἀποχωρήσαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ζήνωνα κατ' ἰδίαν φιλοσοφῆσαι· τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου διακοῦσαι καὶ Πυθαγόρου. καὶ τοῦ μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα ζηλῶσαι τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, τοῦ δὲ τὴν φυσιολογίαν. These were the opinions of those who followed the later account of the time of *Pythagoras*, which placed his death at B. C. 472. (See the Tables 539. 472.) Accordingly Jamblichus adopts them c. 23. These opinions are not probable. *Empedocles* was younger than *Anaxagoras*: Aristot. Met. I. 3. p. 11 ed. Brandis. Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Κλαζομένιος τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν τούτου. It appears that he died at the age of sixty, about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (see B. C. 444): which would make him about ten years younger than *Anaxagoras*, a few years older than his disciple *Gorgias* (see B. C. 459), and not more than 18 at the supposed date of the death of *Pythagoras* in B. C. 472. But the earlier dates for *Pythagoras* are perhaps the true ones; and according to these his death would be placed at B. C. 507, almost twenty years before the birth of *Empedocles*.

^e It has been shewn in the Tables on the authority of Aristoxenus that *Plato* was in Greece in B. C. 394, five years after the death of *Socrates*. Consequently his voyages must have been prosecuted at intervals, partly before and partly after that date. It appears that he was twice in Italy, once before, and once after his visit to Egypt; by which Cicero Fin. V. 29 and Quintilian Inst. I.

24. *Socratici, Aristippus, Antisthenes, Æschines*, 365.
25. *Eudoxus*, 368.
26. *Diogenes Sinopensis*, 323.
27. *Speusippus*, 347. 339.
28. *Aristoteles* †, 384. 367. 365. 347. 344. 342. 334. 322.
29. *Anaxarchus*, 339.
30. *Xenocrates*, 396. 339. 315.
31. *Crates*, 328.
32. *Theophrastus* ‡, 322. 287.
33. *Stilpo*, 307.

12, 15 are reconciled. It is also probable that he visited Egypt twice: Strabo XVII. p. 806. ἐν τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει—ἐδείκνυντο αἱ τε τῶν ἱερέων οἴκοι, καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου διατριβαί. συνανέβη γὰρ δὴ τῷ Πλάτῳ ὁ Εὐδόξος δεῦρο, καὶ συνδιέτριψαν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι ἐνταῦθα τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη, ὡς εἴρηται τισι. περιττοὺς γὰρ ὄντας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανίων, μυστικούς δὲ καὶ δυσμεταδότους, τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς θεραπαίαις ἐξελιπάρησαν ὥστε τινα τῶν θεωρημάτων ἱστορῆσαι. Thirteen years are so improbable, that the reading of the epitomator; τρία ἔτη, might seem preferable. Strabo, however, who adds, ὡς εἴρηται τισι, does not state this as an amount which he himself believed to be true, but as expressing the exaggerated report of others, perhaps of the Egyptians. We may collect from this passage that *Plato* was twice in Egypt. *Eudoxus*, who died at the age of fifty-three, who flourished B. C. 368, and visited Egypt in the reign of *Nectanebis*, could not have been the companion of the early travels of *Plato*. It is therefore to be supposed that *Plato* was accompanied by *Eudoxus* in a second voyage to Egypt.

† In an old Latin version of a life of *Aristotle* (*Aristot. Buhle*, t. I. p. 55), among many absurdities, these facts are nearly accurate: *Plato finivit vitam suam sub Theophilo. Aristoteles autem natus sub Diotrephe, et vivens annis 63, moritur in tempore Philoclis. Adhæsit autem Aristoteles Platoni tempore Nausigenis; et fuerunt a Theophilo, sub quo moritur Plato, usque ad Philoclem, anni 23* [verius 25], *quibus Aristoteles supervixit Platoni*. According to *Schol. Aristid.* tom. III. p. 695 ed. *Dindorf*. *Aristotle* studied under *Plato* 25 years: λέγεται καὶ εἰκοσι πρὸς τοῖς πέντε ὁμιλῆσαι αὐτῷ ἔτη. But this is an error: for from the year of *Nausigenes* to the death of *Plato* are only 21 years.

‡ *Theophrastus* composed his treatise περὶ λίθων in the archonship of *Praxibulus* B. C. 31½. *Theophrast.* p. 702. ed. *Schneid.* οὐ παλαιὸν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἔτη μάλιστα ἐνεήκοντα εἰς ἄρχοντα *Πραξίβουλον*

Ἀθήνησι. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* XXXIII. 7. *Theophrastus* XC annis ante *Praxibulum Atheniensium magistratum* (quod tempus exit in *Urbis nostræ* CCCCXXXIX annum) tradit inventum minium a *Callia Atheniense*, &c. The year B. C. 405, which was ninety years before the date at which *Theophrastus* wrote, coincides with U. C. Varr. 349; and that number might be restored to *Pliny* instead of the defective CCXLIX which must be imputed to an error in the copies. But the emendation of *Casaubon*, although at the expense of a greater alteration, is more probable. He supposes that *Pliny* intends a reference to the era at which *Theophrastus* wrote, the year of *Praxibulus* (an opinion which is confirmed by the practice of *Pliny* in other passages, as H. N. III. 5. XIII. 16), and therefore substitutes CCCCXXXIX [B. C. 315 = U. C. Varr. 439].

The treatise of *Theophrastus* περὶ αἰτίων φνυτικῶν was published a year or two later; soon after the archonship of *Nicodorus* B. C. 31½. *Caus. Plant.* I. 19, 5. τὸ τελευταῖον ἦδη ἐπ' ἄρχοντος *Νικοδώρου*.

The work entitled περὶ φνυτῶν ἱστορία was published after the year B. C. 307. He mentions in that piece the archonship of *Simonides* B. C. 31½. and the expedition of *Ophellas*, which is referred by *Diodorus* XX. 40—42 to the year of *Charinus* B. C. 30½. *Hist. Plant.* VI. 3, 3. οἱ *Κυρηναῖοι* τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι μάλιστα περὶ τριακόσια (ἔτη) εἰς *Σιμωνίδην* ἄρχοντα Ἀθήνησι. *Id. Hist. Plant.* IV. 3, 2. τὸ Ὀφέλλου στρατόπεδον ἦν ἵκα ἐβάδιζεν εἰς *Καρχηδόνα*, καὶ τούτῳ φασὶ [τῷ *σιλφίῳ*] πλείους ἡμέρας ἀπολειπόντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κεκρῆσθαι. According to *Pliny* H. N. III. 5 he wrote this work, or at least a part of it, in the year of *Nicodorus* B. C. 31½. *Theophrastus—Circeiorum insulæ mensuram posuit stadia octoginta in eo volumine quod scripsit Nicodoro Atheniensium magistratu, qui fuit Urbis nostræ CCCCXL anno.* The passage is extant *Hist. Plant.* V. 8, 3. τῆς νήσου τὸ μέγεθος περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίων.

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34. *Polemo*, 315.
 35. *Crantor*, 315. 278.
 36. *Crates Academicus*, 315. 287. 278.
 37. *Epicurus*, (510.) 341. 329. 323. 310. 306.
 38. *Arcesilaüs* h, 299. 278.

^h The period assigned to the death of *Arcesilaüs*, or B. C. 241, is not inconsistent with remaining accounts. He was in favour with *Eumenes* the brother of *Philetærus*: *Laërt.* IV. 38. ἐχορήγει αὐτῷ πολλὰ Εὐμένης ὁ τοῦ Φιλεταίρου διὸ καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλείων προσεφώνει. *Eumenes* began to reign B. C. 263. *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes* were the companions of *Arcesilaüs*: *Polyb.* X. 25. Φιλοποίμην—παραγενόμενος εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐγένετο ζηλωτὴς Ἐκδήμου καὶ Δημοφάνους [conf. *Plutarch.* *Philopœm.* c. 1], οἱ τὸ μὲν γένος ἦσαν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως, φεύγοντες δὲ τοὺς τυράνους, καὶ συμβιώντες Ἀρκεσίλῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν, ἡλευθέρωσαν μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα,—συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ Σικωνίων τυράννου Νικοκλέους κοινωνήσαντες Ἀράτῳ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς [conf. *Plutarch.* *Arat.* c. 5]. They were probably with *Arcesilaüs* not many years before the liberation of *Sicyon* B. C. 251. Respecting the time at which he founded his school, there is reason to doubt the accounts generally followed. It is said, that *Polemo* died in B. C. 270, that he was succeeded by *Crates*, and *Crates* by *Arcesilaüs*: *Laërt.* IV. 21. Κράτης ἀκροατὴς Πολέμωνος διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ. s. 32. Ἀρκεσίλαος—Κράτητος ἐκλιπόντος κατέσχε τὴν σχολὴν, ἐκχωρήσαντος αὐτῷ Σωκρατίδου τινός. Add *Eusebius* quoted in the *Tables* B. C. 315, 3. This account is followed by *Stanley Lives of the Philosophers* p. 215. 216. “*Crates* dying, *Arcesilaüs* took upon him the government of the “school, which was yielded to him by *Socratides*. “Being possessed of that place, he altered the “manner of teaching.” And by *Brucker Hist. Philosoph.* tom. I. p. 747. *Post Cratetis mortem cum Sosicrates* [leg. *Socratides*] *quidam successisset, ille Arcesilao ingenii et eruditionis laude inclyto locum cessit. Isque docendi munus in academia suscepit novamque philosophandi rationem introduxit.* According to this chronology, *Arcesilaüs* established the Middle Academy after B. C. 270. But 1. He was already in reputation and had taught his new doctrine in the time of *Epicurus*, who died before *Polemo*: *Plutarch.* in *Colot.* p. 1121. F. 1122. Α. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαου τὸν Ἐπίκουρον οὐ μετρίως ἔοικεν ἡ δόξα παραλυνεῖν ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀγαπηθέντος· μηθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἴδιον λέγοντα φησὶν ὑπόληψιν ἐμποιεῖν καὶ δόξαν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαπηταῖς, ἅτε δὴ πολυγράμματος αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ μεμνησώ-

μένος. ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαος τοσοῦτον ἀπέδει τοῦ καινοτομίας τινὰ δόξαν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ὑποποιεῖσθαι τῶν παλαιῶν, ὥστε ἐγκαλεῖν τοὺς τότε σοφιστὰς ὅτι προστρίβεται Σωκράτει καὶ Πλάτῳ καὶ Παρμενίδῃ καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐποχῆς δόγματα καὶ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας. *Arcesilaüs* therefore had taught his new doctrine before the death of *Polemo*. 2. He was the antagonist and rival of *Zeno*: *Numenius* apud *Euseb.* *Præp.* XIV. p. 729. C. ἐπεὶ γὰρ συμφουιτῶντες παρὰ Πολέμωνι [Ἀρκεσίλαος καὶ Ζήνων] ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ἀλλήλοις, συμπαρέλαβον εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχην, ὁ μὲν Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Στίλπωνα, ἅμα καὶ Κράτητα [sc. τὸν κυνικόν],—ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλαος Θεόφραστον Ἰσχει καὶ Κράντορα τὸν Πλατωνικὸν καὶ Διόδωρον, εἴτα Πύρρωνα. *Ibid.* p. 731. C. οἱ δὲ οὖν ἐνθεν ἀφορμηθέντες, ὁ τε Ἀρκεσίλαος καὶ Ζήνων,—τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὅθεν ἐκ Πολέμωνος ὠρμήθησαν ἐπιλανθάνονται κ. τ. λ. His dispute with *Zeno* is mentioned by *Cicero Academ.* I. 12. IV. 24. *Laërt.* VII. 162. But *Zeno* died either B. C. 263 or 259; and it is not probable that *Arcesilaüs* his antagonist began his school only seven or eight years before the death of *Zeno*, when *Zeno* was perhaps ninety years of age. 3. *Arcesilaüs* is mentioned by many testimonies in conjunction with *Crantor*: *Clemens Al. Strom.* I. p. 301. B. Σπεύσιππος Πλάτωνα διαδέχεται, τοῦτον δὲ Ξενοκράτης, ὃν Πολέμων· Πολέμωνος δὲ ἀκουσται Κράτης τε καὶ Κράντωρ, εἰς οὓς ἡ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος κατέληξεν ἀρχαία ἀκαδημία· Κράντωρ δὲ μετέσχευε Ἀρκεσίλαος. Compare *Numenius* apud *Euseb.* l. c. p. 729. C. 731. A. *Laërtius* IV. 24. 28. 29. *Crantor* made him his heir: *Laërt.* IV. 25. λέγεται καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καταλιπεῖν Ἀρκεσίλῳ ταλάντων οὐσαν δυοκαίδεκα. Sometimes *Arcesilaüs* is called the successor of *Polemo*, and *Crates* is not mentioned; as in *Euseb.* *Præp.* XIV. p. 726. C. Πολέμωνά φασι διαδέξασθαι Ἀρκεσίλαον. which argues a want of certainty in the accounts. It appears, then, probable from the preceding considerations, that *Arcesilaüs* established his school at the death of *Crantor*; that from this period he was the rival of *Zeno* and *Epicurus*; that *Polemo* and *Crates*, strictly speaking, had no successors, that the Old Academy expired with them and was superseded by the school of *Arcesilaüs*, which had been already founded in their lifetime.

Stanley, who in one passage already quoted makes *Arcesilaüs* the successor of *Crates*, in an-

39. Zeno Citieusⁱ, 299. 279.

40. Stratoⁱⁱ, 287.

41. Lycon, 300. 287.

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other makes him the successor of Crantor : p. 155. "The Academick sect was instituted by Plato, continued by Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor ; thus far called the Old Academy. Arcesilaüs succeeding Crantor instituted the Middle Academy." This opinion, however inconsistent with the former opinion, is very near the truth, except that he has erred in the order of the names. Crantor did not follow Polemo and Crates. If Arcesilaüs succeeded him, he succeeded in their lifetime. In Galen tom. IV. p. 424. l. 43. is this account : καὶ Κράντης γέγονε καθηγητικός· εἰς ὃν κατέληξεν ἡ ἀρχαία ἀκαδημία. τοῦ δὲ Κράντους ἀκουστής ἦν Ἀρκεσίλαος, καὶ τὴν μέσσην ἀκαδημίαν ἐπινενόηκεν. The editors have substituted Κράτης—Κράτης—an obvious correction. It may be doubted, however, whether the writer had not Crantor in his mind, and whether the names ought not to be restored—Κράντωρ—Κράντορος.

The anecdote in Plutarch. Moral. § p. 55. C. respecting Arcesilaüs and Cleanthes, probably referred to the period after Zeno's death. Plutarch notices Arcesilaüs in some other passages : as Moral. p. 110. A. 126. A. 461. D. 705. E. 63. D. 1037. A. and p. 328. A. where he relates that Arcesilaüs left nothing in writing.

ⁱ Zeno taught at Athens fifty-eight years : Laërt. VII. 28. ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος φησὶν [Idem VII. 6. Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τύριος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ζήνωνος. Strabo XVI. p. 757. ἐκ Τύρου—μικρόν πρὸ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ τὸν πίνακα ἐκθεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν βιβλίων] ἀφηγήσασθαι τῆς σχολῆς αὐτὸν ἔτη δνοῖν δέοντα ἐξήκοντα. According to one account, he was thirty at his coming to Athens : Laërt. VII. 2. ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τριακοντούτης. But the account of his disciple Persæus varies considerably : Laërt. VII. 28. Περσαῖος φησι δύο καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτων τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν· ἐλθεῖν δὲ Ἀθήνας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτων. We are not to imagine that Persæus could be ignorant of the age of Zeno : we must therefore suppose ἑβδομήκοντα to be an error of the copy for ἑνενήκοντα. These two words are interchanged upon other occasions ; as in Laërt. I. 38 (see the Tables B. C. 546, 3), and in Lycurg. Leocrat. p. 157, l (see the Appendix p. 250). Again, Laërt. I. 108. de Mysone : κατέστρεψε βίους ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. H. Steph. remarks, γράφεται ἐβδομήκοντα pro ἐνενήκοντα. According to Laërtius VII. 6 Zeno lived to the 130th Olympiad : Περσαῖος ἤκμαζε κατὰ

τὴν τριακοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα, ἥδη γέροντος ὄντος Ζήνωνος.

Zeno had passed his eightieth year before the death of Epicurus. He describes his own age in his letter to Antigonus, for the authenticity of which we have the authority of Apollonius above-mentioned : Laërt. VII. 9. "Ἐγὼ δὲ συνέχομαι σώματι ἀσθενεῖ διὰ γῆρας. ἔτων γὰρ εἰμὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. διόπερ οὐ δύναμαί σοι συμμίζει. ἀποστέλλω δέ σοι τινὰς τῶν ἐμαντοῦ συσχολαστῶν."—ἀπέστειλε δὲ Περσαῖον καὶ Φιλονίδην τὸν Θηβαῖον ὧν ἀμφοτέρων Ἐπικούρου μνημονεύει ὡς συνόντων Ἀντιγόνῳ. This occurred after B. C. 277, when Antigonus recovered Macedonia, and before B. C. 271, when Epicurus died : consequently Zeno was born between B. C. 357 and 352. We have these dates given for his death : Euseb. Armen. Ol. 128. I anno 1748 [commencing Oct. B. C. 269] Zeno Stoicus obiit. post quem Cleanthes cognoscebatur. Hieronymus places it four years lower : Ol. 129. I anno 1753 [B. C. 263] Zeno Stoicus moritur. post quem Cleanthes. In Laërtius l. c. he lived to Ol. 130 B. C. 259. At the date of Eusebius B. C. 268 Zeno could only be 88 years old at the most. The term of 98 years current would be expressed by B. C. 356—259 ; the term of 92 years by B. C. 355—263. These two later dates then are more consistent with his age than the date of the Armenian copy.

The age of Zeno when he came to Athens, and the duration assigned by Laërtius to his studies, are incompatible with the years of his life. The numbers of Laërtius give 30+20+58=108 years. The account of his follower Persæus is preferable, that he came to Athens at the age of twenty-two. He presided fifty-eight years ; and consequently studied under his Athenian masters either twelve years, if he lived to ninety-two, or eighteen years, if he lived to ninety-eight.

ⁱⁱ Strato is thus described by Polybius fragm. Vatican. p. 388. Στράτων ὅταν ἐγχειρήσει [l. ἐγχειρήσῃ] τὰς τῶν ἄλλων δόξας διαστέλλεσθαι καὶ ψευδοποιεῖν, θαυμάσιός ἐστιν ὅταν δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τι προφέρηται καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπινοημάτων ἐξηγήται, παρὰ πολὺ φαίνεται τοῖς ἐπιστήμοσιν εὐθερίτερος αὐτοῦ καὶ νωρότερος. Seneca Nat. Q. VI. 13. (Aristotelem et Theophrastum.)—Straton ex eadem schola est, qui hanc partem philosophiæ maxime coluit et rerum naturæ inquisitor fuit.

42. *Chrysippus*, 280.

43. *Lacydes*, 299.

Among the HISTORIANS, who flourished within this period, are many whose time is too indefinitely marked to admit their insertion in the Tables. In the following list, an account of these is combined with the names of the historians who appear in the Tables.

1. *Cadmus Milesius*, the first writer of history in prose (Plin. H. N. VII. 56), was contemporary with *Acusilaüs* and flourished not earlier than the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*: Joseph. Apion. I. 2. οἱ τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράφειν παρ' αὐτοῖς, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον τε τὸν Μιλήσιον καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον Ἀκουσίλαον,—βραχὺ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατείας τῷ χρόνῳ προέλαβον. Diod. I. 37. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλάνικον καὶ Κάδμον ἔτι δ' Ἐκαταῖον, καὶ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, παλαιοὶ παντάπασιν ὄντες, εἰς τὰς μυθώδεις ἀποφάσεις ἀπέκλιναν. Strabo I. p. 18. λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον τᾶλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικὰ συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδην καὶ Ἐκαταῖον. The work which bore the name of Cadmus was entitled κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰωνίας ἐν βιβλίοις δ' j but his genuine writings were lost before the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Dionys. de Thueyd. p. 863. 864. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι πάνν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μόνον γνωσκόμενοι τῶν ὀνομάτων, ποίαν τε λέξιν ἐπετίθουσιν οὐκ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν—οὔτε γὰρ διασώζονται τῶν πλείονων αἱ γραφαὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, οὔθ' αἱ διασώζονται παρὰ πᾶσιν ὥς ἐκείνων οὔσαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν πιστεύονται. ἐν αἷς εἰσιν αἱ τε Κάδμον τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀρισταίου τοῦ Προικοννησίου καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις.

2. *Theagenes Rheginus* flourished in the reign of *Cambyses*. Tatian Or. ad Græc. p. 105. περὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ Ὀμήρου^k γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἤκμασε, προηρένησαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, Θεαγένης τε ὁ Ῥηγίνος, κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγονώς. It does not appear that *Theagenes* wrote history, properly so called^l.

j This title is preserved by Suidas v. Κάδμος. But in the whole of what he has delivered under Κάδμος ὁ Μιλήσιος and Κάδμος Πανδίωνος there is a perpetual confusion of the ancient Phœnician hero with Cadmus the historian. Κάδμος ὁ Μιλήσιος [applies to the historian] εὐρετὴς τῶν γραμμάτων [belongs to the Phœnician, as do the verses which follow]. Κάδμος Πανδίωνος, Μιλήσιος, ἱστορικός [designates the historian]. μικρῷ νεώτερος Ὀρφέως [belongs to the Phœnician]. συνέταξε δὲ κτίσιν Μιλήτου—[here he returns to the historian]. ὅτι τὸν Κάδμον φασὶ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὰ γράμματα [here he returns to the Phœnician]. Throughout the whole account of the two persons the blunder is complete. What part of this is to be ascribed to Suidas, and how much to the transcriber, cannot be determined. There were two reasons why *Orpheus* would be mentioned in connexion with the Phœnician *Cadmus*. 1. He was said to have instituted the worship of *Bacchus*: Apollod. I. 3, 2. εὐρε δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τὰ Διονύσου μυστήρια. which the Greeks received from *Cadmus* (compare Herodot. II. 49). 2. The invention of letters was by some ascribed to *Orpheus*. conf. Wolf. Proleg. in Hom. p. li. I think it very pos-

sible that Suidas might represent *Cadmus* as younger than *Orpheus*, although in reality three generations older. But yet we may restore the true chronology by an easy correction and transposition, if we suppose the passage, in which Suidas abbreviated the account of some grammarian, to have stood thus:

Κάδμος Πανδίωνος Μιλήσιος, ἱστορικός, ὃς πρῶτος κατὰ τινὰς συγγραφὴν ἔγραψε καταλογάδην. Συνέταξε δὲ Κτίσιν Μιλήτου—ἐν βιβλίοις δ'.

Ὅτι τὸν Κάδμον φασὶ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὰ γράμματα, ἅπερ πρῶτοι Φοίνικες ἐφεῦρον. Μικρῷ νεώτερος Ὀρφεύς.

k This work upon Homer is noticed by Schol. Aristoph. Av. 823. Schol. Pac. 927. Schol. Homer. II. XX. 66—70. *Theagenes* seems to be intended by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. 177 by the description of Ῥηγίνου τοῦ πολυμνήμονος.

l *Theagenes* ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰγίνης is quoted by Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 176. Θεαγένης ὁ ἱστορικός ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰγίνης φησὶν “Ὀλιγάνθρωπούσης τῆς νήσου τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν σπηλαίοις οἰκεῖν ἀκατασκεύους “ὄντας” κ. τ. λ. given more at large in Schol. Pindar. Nem. III. 21. But this was a later *Theagenes*, and lived after the times of *Aristophanes*:

3. *Eugeon Samius*. Dionysius de Thueyd. p. 818 enumerates two classes of early Greek historians; the first of the more ancient, the second of those who flourished a little before the Peloponnesian war. He places *Eugeon* at the head of the first list: ἀρχαῖοι μὲν οὖν συγγραφεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν Εὐγέων τε ὁ Σάμιος καὶ Δηῖοχος ὁ Προικονήσιος καὶ Εὐδήμος ὁ Πάριος καὶ Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγαλεὺς καὶ Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃ τε Ἀργεῖος Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων, καὶ ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος Ἀμελησαγόρας.

4. *Polyzelus*, an historian, according to Suidas v. Ἰβυκος, prior in time to the poet *Ibycus*: Ἰβυκος Φυτλῶν οἱ δὲ Πολυζήλου τοῦ Μεσσηνίου τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου.

5. *Deiochus Proconnesius*. In the first list of Dionysius. This writer is quoted by Schol. Apollon. I. 139. 961. 966. 976. 987. 989. 1037. 1062. 1063. 1065.^m From Schol. Apollon. 370 II. 98. we learn the title of his work: Δηῖοχος [Διῖοχος Cod. Paris. II. 106] ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Κυζίκου.

6. *Eudemus Parius*. Clem. Strom. VI. p. 629. A. τὰ Ἡσιόδου μετέλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον Εὐμηλὸς τε [forte l. Εὐδήμος] καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι.

7. *Democles*. Strabo I. p. 58. μιμνήσκεται δὲ [Demetrius Scepsius] πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπὸ Δημοκλέους λεγομένων, σεισμούς τινας μεγάλους—ἱστοροῦντος.

8. *Acusilaüs*. In the first list of Dionysius. Classed by Josephus with *Cadmus*. See No. 1. Suidas: Ἀκουσίλαος—ἱστορικὸς πρεσβύτατος. ἔγραψε δὲ Γενεαλογίας ἐκ δέλτων χαλκῶν, ἃς λόγος εὐρεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὀρύξαντά τινα τόπον τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ. Suidas in three passages (v. Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος. ἱστορήσαι. συγγράφω) repeats, τὰ Ἀκουσιλάου νοθεύεται. [male Ἀγησιλάου in Suida legitur.] He is quoted by Plato, by Apollodorus, Strabo, Josephus, Tatian, Clemens, Africanus, Harpocratio. At what period, therefore, spurious histories began to be circulated cannot be pronouncedⁿ.

Catalog. MSS. Clark. p. 72. 23. κατεκλήρωσε δὲ (Ἀριστοφάνης) καὶ τὴν Αἰγίαν, ὥς Θεογένης ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰγίνης. This later *Theagenes* was perhaps the author of a work entitled *Μακεδονικά*, which is quoted by Steph. Byz. in the following passages: Θεογένης Μακεδονικὸς, v. Ἐλευθερίσκος. Κύδνα. Δητῆ. Μίεζα. Μισσητός. Ὀλόβαγγρα. Παλλήμη. Παρθενόπολις. Φύσκος. Θεαγ. ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, v. Ἀλτός. Βάλλα. Θεαγ. ἐν Μακεδονικῇ, v. Σκύδρα. Θεαγ. ἐ' Μακεδονικῶν, v. Ὀρέσται. The same work, though not named, is quoted v. Ἀκεσαμεναί. Τίρσαι. Another work, Θεογένης ἐν Καρκοῖς, is quoted v. Κασταλία.

^m In all these passages, except the first, the name was edited Δηῖοχος. But in Schol. Cod. Paris. (Lipsiæ 1813.) in I. 966. 976. 987. 1062. 1065. the name is Διῖοχος. and in I. 139. distinctly Δηῖοχος. In II. 106. where the former copies had Δηῖοχος, the Paris MS. has again Διῖοχος. We may therefore conclude that Δηῖοχος was the true orthography, as it is given in Schol. I. 139. In the copies of Steph. Byz. v. Λάμψακος this writer is called Δηῖοχος ὁ Κυζικηνός. The name Δηῖοχος may perhaps be restored to Porphyry apud Euseb. Præp. X. 3. p. 464. B. καὶ τί γὰρ Ἐφόρου ἴδιον; ἐκ τῶν Δαϊμάχου καὶ Καλλισθένου καὶ Ἀναξιμένους αὐταῖς

λέξεσιν ἔστιν ὅτε τρισχιλίους ὅλους μετατιθέντος στίχους; Marx ad Ephori fragmenta p. 71. rejects this account, quod Daimachus (Indicorum scriptor), Anaximenes, Callisthenes, qui regnante Alexandro et ultra floruerunt, neutiquam exscribi potuerunt ab Ephoro tunc aut decrepito aut mortuo, finitis certe et editis jam historiarum libris. With respect to Callisthenes and Anaximenes this is not quite exact. Callisthenes died B. C. 328; Anaximenes was already known in B. C. 365. Both were contemporary with Ephorus; and we have no authority for pronouncing that their Grecian Histories (conf. ann. 362, 3. 357, 3) had not preceded his. Daimachus flourished later, and was ambassador in India in the reign of Seleucus: Strabo II. p. 70. and consequently could not have been transcribed by Ephorus. But this difficulty may be removed by restoring to the text of Porphyry ἐκ τῶν Δηῖοχου. Deiochus and Ephorus are quoted together for the same fact (ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δηῖοχος καὶ Ἐφορος) by Schol. Apollon. I. 976.

ⁿ The fragments of *Acusilaüs* have been collected by Sturz. He quotes the following passages. Clem. Strom. I. p. 299. D. 321. A. Tatian. p. 86. Schol. Apollon. II. 1123. IV. 57. 828. 1147. 992.

9. *Amelesagoras Chalcedonius*. Earlier than Gorgias and Hecataeus: Clem. Strom. VI. p. 629. A. Μελησαγόρου ἔκλεψε Γοργίας ὁ Λεοργένιος, καὶ Εὐδήμος ὁ Νάξιος, οἱ ἱστορικοί· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Προκουρήσιος Βίων, ὃς καὶ τὰ Κάδμου τοῦ παλαιοῦ μετέγραψε κεφαλαιούμενοςⁿⁿ Ἀμφιλόχος τε καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς καὶ Λεάνδριος καὶ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἑκαταῖος—^o.

10. *Hecataeus*. See the Tables B. C. 520. 501. His works were divided into three classes, ἱστορίαι. γενεαλογίαι. Geographical pieces p.

371 11. *Dionysius Milesius*, B. C. 520. Suidas: Διονύσιος Μιλήσιος, ἱστορικός. Τὰ μετὰ Δαρεῖον ἐν βιβλίοις εἴ. Περιήγησιν οἰκουμένης. Περσικά, Ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ. Τρωϊκῶν βιβλία γ'. Μυθικά. Κύκλον ἱστορικὸν ἐν βιβλίοις ζ'. As he wrote τὰ μετὰ Δαρεῖον, he must have continued to flourish after B. C. 485.^q

12. *Charon Lampsacenus*, B. C. 504. 464. Suidas enumerates ten titles of works by Charon. But the only works of Charon which are distinctly quoted by name are these two: Περσικά. Ὅροι Λαμφακηνῶν^r.

13. *Hippius Rheginus*. Suidas: Ἴππυς Ῥηγίνος, ἱστορικός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν, καὶ πρῶτος ἔγραψε τὰς Σικελικὰς πράξεις, ὥς ὕστερον Μῆνης ἐπετέμετο. Κτίσιν Ἰταλίας. Σικελικῶν βιβλία εἴ. Χρονικά ἐν βιβλίοις εἴ. Ἀργολικῶν [sic emendat Vossius] γ'. Steph. Byz. v. Ἀρκάς. Ἴππυς ὁ Ῥηγίνος λέγεται πρῶτος καλέσαι προσελήνους τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. Schol. Apollon. IV. 262. καὶ Ἴππυς δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀρχαιοτάτους γεγονέναι λέγει^s.

Harpocrat. Ὅμηρίδαι. Strabo X. p. 472. D. Etymol. Κοῖος. Tzetz. Lycophron. 177. Syncell. p. 64. B. C. African. apud Euseb. Præp. X. 10. p. 488. D. Apollodor. II. 1, 1.—3.—2, 2.—5, 7. III. 8, 1.—11, 1.—4, 4.—12, 6.—15, 2. Schol. Odys. ξ'. 533. ρ'. 207. λ'. 519. Iliad. υ'. 307. Plato Sympos. p. 178. B. [Heyne ad Apollod. p. 975 had overlooked this passage, when he remarked that Apollodorus was the earliest writer by whom Acusilaus was quoted.] Schol. Hesiod. Theogon. 379. Schol. Nicand. Theriac. 11. Joseph. Ant. I. 3, 9. To these may be added the following: Schol. Victor. ad Iliad. XXIII. 296. Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν τρίτῳ Γενεαλογικῶν κύριον ἦκουσε τὸ Ἐχέπωλος, οὕτως· “Κλεωνύμου δ' Ἀγχίσσης, τοῦ δὲ Ἐχέπωλος.”

ⁿⁿ If this *Bion* was the *Bion* of Laertius IV. 58, who was contemporary with *Pherecydes* B. C. 544, he must have been contemporary with *Cadmus* himself.

^o *Amelesagoras* is quoted by Schol. Euripid. Alcest. 2. Ἀπολλόδορος φησὶ κεραννοθῆναι τὸν Ἀσκληπίον, ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἰππόλυτον ἀναστήσαι, Ἀμελησαγόρας δὲ, ὅτι Γλαῦκον. Perhaps however this might be the *Athenian* Amelesagoras: Ἀμελησαγόρας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγεγραφώς Antig. Caryst. c. 12. who might have flourished after *Clidemus* (see p. 373, c); while *Amelesagoras* in Dionysius and Clemens preceded *Bion* of *Proconnesus*.

^p The fragments of *Hecataeus*, which are numerous, have been collected by Creuzer *Historico-rom Antiquissimorum Fragmenta*, p. 38—86.

^q It has been shewn in F. H. I. p. 347. 348 g.

that *Dionysius* the *κυκλογράφος* flourished at a later period. His work is described by Diodorus III. 65. Διονυσίῳ τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιίας. οὗτος γὰρ τὰ τε περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα συνέταξε, παρατιθεὶς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν. If Suidas describes this work by κύκλον ἱστορικόν, he has by an error given to the *Milesian* Dionysius what belonged to another.

^r The other works of *Charon*, mentioned by Suidas, are these: Αἰθιοπικά. Ἑλληνικά, ἐν βιβλίοις δ'. Περὶ Λαμφάκου β'. Λιβυκά. Πρυτάνεις ἢ ἄρχοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔστι δὲ χρονικά. Κτίσεις πόλεων, ἐν βιβλίοις β'. Κρητικά ἐν βιβλίοις γ'. Περίπλους ὁ ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν. From the Ἑλληνικά, in the opinion of Creuzer p. 107, was taken the account given of *Themistocles* apud Plutarch. Themistocl. c. 27. *Charon* is quoted without the name of the work in the following ten passages: 1. Phot. Lex. Κύβητος. 2. Plutarch. Mor. p. 255. A—E. a long narrative, abridged by Polyæn. VIII. 37. 3. Schol. Apollon. II. 2. 4. Ibid. II. 477. repeated by Etymol. v. Ἀμαδρῦδες. 5. Tzetz. Lycophron. 480. 6. Strab. XIII. p. 583. 7. Plutarch. Mor. p. 859. B. 8. Ibid. p. 861. C. D. 9. Pausan. X. 38, 6. 10. Plutarch. Themistocl. c. 27.

^s Athenæus I. p. 31. b. Ἴππίας [legit Schweigh. Ἴππυς] ὁ Ῥηγίνος τὴν εἰλεὸν καλουμένην ἄμπελον Βιβλίαν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι ἣν Πόλλιν τὸν Ἀργεῖον, ὃς

14. *Hellanicus*, B. C. 496. 431. 406. According to Lucian. *Macrob.* c. 22. he lived to eighty-five: 'Ελλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιος ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε^t.

15. *Damastes*. Dionys. de Thucyd. p. 818. ὀλίγω πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας, 'Ελλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Δαμάστης ὁ Σιγαιεύς καὶ Ξενομήδης ὁ Χίος καὶ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί. Suidas: Δαμάστης, Σιγαιεύς—γεγονὸς πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, σύγχρονος Ἡροδότου, τῶν πλουσιωτάτων, ἱστορικός—γέγονε δὲ 'Ελ-372 λανίκου μαθητῆς^u.

16. *Xenomedes Chius*. Schol. Aristoph. *Lysistrat.* 448. ἔστιν ὅτε τὴν Ἀθηνῶν Ταυροπόλου καλοῦσιν ὡς Ξενομήδης ἱστορεῖ^{uu}.

17. *Pherecydes*, B. C. 480. Φερεκῦδης Λέριος the *historian* (the same person as Φερεκῦδης Ἀθηναῖος) and Φερεκῦδης Σύριος the *philosopher* are frequently confounded: as in Lucian. *Macrob.* c. 22. Clem. Strom. V. p. 567. C. Euseb. Chron. ad Ol. 59. 4. The work of the Athenian or Lorian *Pherecydes*, so often quoted by the Scholiasts and by Apollodorus, was a mythological history in ten or twelve books^x.

18. *Xanthus*, B. C. 463. His fragments are collected by Creuzer *Hist. Ant. Fragm.* p. 144—226.

19. *Herodotus*, B. C. 484. 478. 456. 443. 431. 409.

20. *Antiochus*, B. C. 423. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 34. Ἀντίοχος ὁ Συρακούσιος, συγγραφεὺς πάνν ἀρχαῖος—εἰπὼν ὧδε· “Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων “τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα. τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν Ἰταλία καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἰ-νωτροί.” But *Antiochus*, although πάνν ἀρχαῖος, and although he wrote like the early historians in the Ionic dialect, yet lived to the times of *Thucydides* and the Peloponnesian war. See the Tables B. C. 423, 3.7

ἐβασίλευσε Συρακουσίῳ, πρῶτον εἰς Συρακούσας κομί-
σαι ἐξ Ἰταλίας. Probably taken from the Sicilian
history. Plutarch. *Mor.* p. 422. E. Ἰππυς δὲ ὁ
Ῥηγῖνος, οὐ μέμνηται Φανίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος, ἱστορεῖ δόξαν
εἶναι ταύτην Πέτρωνος καὶ λόγον, ὡς ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοή-
κοντα καὶ τρεῖς κόσμους ὄντας, κ. τ. λ. The *Χρονικά*
are quoted by Zenobius *Adag.* III. 42. p. 64.
“δῶρον δ' ὅ τι δῶ τις ἐπαίνει.” αὕτη κόμμα ἐστὶ χρη-
σμοῦ τοῦ δοθέντος Μουσκέλλω τῷ Ῥυπέϊ, καθ' ὃν δὴ
χρόνον Κρότωνα οὐκ ἐβούλετο οἰκίζειν Σύβαρις, ὡς φη-
σιν Ἰππεὺς [*leg.* Ἰππυς] ἐν τῷ περὶ χρόνων.

^t Suidas: 'Ελλάνικος, Μυτιληναῖος, ἱστορικός—δι-
έτριψε δὲ 'Ελλάνικος καὶ σὺν Ἡροδότῳ παρὰ Ἀμύντα
τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Εὐριπίδου
καὶ Σοφοκλέους· καὶ Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ Μιλήσιῳ ἐπέβαλε γεγο-
νότι κατὰ τὰ Περσικά καὶ μικρῶ πρὸς. ἐξέτεινε δὲ καὶ
μέχρι τῶν Περδικίου χρόνων, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Περ-
περήνῃ τῇ κατ' ἀντικρὺ Λέσβου. συνεγράψατο δὲ πλεί-
στα πεζῶς τε καὶ ποιητικῶς. There is nothing to
which much objection can be made, except the
mention of *Amyntas*. There was no king *Amyn-
tas* in Macedonia during the lives of *Hellanicus*
and *Herodotus*. See the Table at p. 220. If we
might alter texts without authority, I should pro-
pose to read—Παρὰ Περδικίῳ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ
—ἐξέτεινε δὲ μέχρι τῶν Ἀρχελαίου χρόνων. *Herodo-
tus* still lived in the 5th year of *Archelaüs* B. C.

409; *Hellanicus* in the 8th year B. C. 406. The
connexion or acquaintance of *Hellanicus* with *He-
rodotus* is confirmed by an anecdote in Schol.
Sophocl. Philoctet. 201.

^u *Damastes* is quoted by Strabo XIII. p. 583.
on the geography of the Troad; and of Cyprus:
XIV. p. 684. Plutarch *Camill.* c. 19 quotes him
as undertaking to fix the day on which Troy was
taken. Dionys. Ant. I. p. 181. refers to him as
attesting that *Aeneas* came to Italy. Δαμάστης ἐν
τῷ περὶ ἐθνῶν is quoted by Steph. Byz. v. ὑπερβό-
ριοι.—Agathem. I. I. Ἀναξίμανδρος—πρῶτος ἐτύλ-
μησε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράψαι. μεθ' ὃν Ἐκα-
ταῖος—εἶτα Δαμάστης ὁ Σιγαιεύς [*sic legendum*] τὰ
πλείστα ἐκ τῶν Ἐκαταίου μεταγράψας περίπλου
ἔγραψεν.

^{uu} *Xenomedes* is also quoted Schol. Hom. II.
π'. 328. Etymol. Magn. p. 445. 8. Conf. Dindorf.
ad Schol. Aristoph. I. c. tom. IV. 3. p. 356.

^x *Pherecydes*, however, introduced events sub-
sequent to the mythological period: as the pedi-
gree of *Miltiades*: Marcellin. Vit. Thucyd. p. i.
the Scythian expedition of *Darius*: Clem. Strom.
V. p. 567. C. the Ionic Migration led by the sons
of *Codrus*: Strabo XIV. p. 632.

^y *Antiochus* is quoted again by Dionysius p. 35.
58. 88. 186. By Clemens Protrept. p. 29. B. 6

21. *Stesimbrotus Thasius*. Athen. XIII. p. 589. e. Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος ἱστορεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτῷ χρόνους γενόμενος, καὶ ἑωρακὼς αὐτὸν [*Periclem*], ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυλίδου καὶ Περικλέους. Plutarch. Pericl. c. 8. ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτος φησὶν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος [*Pericles*] ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγρονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς—*Stesimbrotus*, therefore, wrote after B. C. 440. Plutarch. Pericl. c. 13. Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος δεινὸν ἀσέβημα καὶ μυθῶδες ἐξευγχεῖν ἐτόλμησεν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ νιόυ κατὰ τοῦ Περικλέους. οὕτως ἔοικε πάντῃ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ δυσθήρατον ἱστορίᾳ τάλληθες, ὅταν—ἡ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων ἡλικιώτις ἱστορία, τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ δυσμενείαις τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύουσα, λυμαίνεται καὶ διαστρέφῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Id. c. 36. φησὶν ὁ Στησίμβροτος ὅλως ἀνήκεστον ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ νεανίσκῳ [*Xanthippo*] πρὸς τὸν πατέρα παραμεῖναι τὴν διαφοράν. ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὁ Ξάνθιππος ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ νοσήσας. This brings down the narrative of *Stesimbrotus* below B. C. 430.^z

22. *Thucydides*, B. C. (496.) 471. 456. 431. 424. 423. 411. 403.

23. *Herodicus*. Aristot. Rhet. II. 23, 29. Ἡρόδικος Θρασύμαχον “Αἰεὶ θρασύμαχος εἶ.” καὶ Πῶλον “Αἰεὶ σὺ πῶλος εἶ.” The Scholiast remarks: Ἡρόδικος, Ἀθηναῖος, ἱστορικός. 373 The age of *Herodicus* may be collected from the time of the rhetoricians *Thrasymachus*^a and *Polus*, with whom he was contemporary.

24. *Cratippus*. Dionys. de Thucyd. p. 847. ἔοικεν [*Thucydides*] ἀτελῇ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταλιπεῖν, ὥς καὶ Κράτιππος, ὁ συνακμάσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συναγαγὼν, γέγραπεν· οὐ μόνον ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐταῖς (τὰς δημηγορίας) ἐμποδῶν γεγενῆσθαι λέγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀχληρὰς εἶναι, κ. τ. λ. *Cratippus* survived *Thucydides*: conf. Marcellin. Vit. Thueyd. p. xxvii.^b

25. *Clitodemus* vel *Clidemus*. His Ἀθῆς was published after the archonship of *Nausinicus* B. C. 37 $\frac{8}{7}$. Phot. Lex. v. Ναυκραρία. ὁ Κλειδήμος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φησὶν, ὅτι Κλεισθένους δέκα φυλὰς ποιήσαντος ἀντὶ τῶν τεσσάρων, συνέβη καὶ εἰς πεντήκοντα μέρη διαταγῆναι. αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐκάλουν ναυκράρια, ὥσπερ νῦν εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν μέρη διαιρεθέντα καλοῦσι συμμορίας. The συμμορία were instituted in the year of *Nausinicus*: Harpocrat. v. συμμορία. He is quoted by *Pausanias* X. 15, 3 for the Athenian expedition to Sicily in B. C. 415.^c

τάφος Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν. His *Italian History* is quoted by *Hesychius* v. Χώνην. and by *Strabo* V. p. 242. VI. p. 252. 254 [repeated by *Steph. Byz.* v. Βρέττος. ubi conf. *Berkelium*]. 257. 262. 264. 265. 278. His *Sicilian History*, by *Pausanias* X. 11, 3.

^z Plutarch quotes *Stesimbrotus* for the flight of *Themistocles*; *Themistoc.* c. 24. where he censures him as inaccurate:—and for the history of *Cimon*: *Cimon.* c. 4. 16. Tatian or. ad Græc. p. 106. notices *Stesimbrotus* as one of those who had treated of *Homer*. To this work *Plato* alludes *Ion.* p. 530. d.

^a The time of *Thrasymachus* is marked by *Dionysius Lys.* p. 464.—ἀρετὴν εὐρίσκω παρὰ Λυσίαν πάνν θαυμαστήν, ἥς Θεόφραστος μὲν φησὶν ἄρξαι Θρασύμαχον ἐγὼ δ’ ἡγοῦμαι Λυσίαν· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις οὕτος ἐκείνου προέχειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· λέγω δ’ ὡς ἐν ἀκμῇ κοινῇ βίον γενομένων ἀμφόιν.

^b The leading facts of the history of *Cratippus* are intimated by *Plutarch Glor. Athen.* p. 345. D. ἀνελε τὰ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀλκιβιάδου νεανειύματα, καὶ τὰ πρὸς Δέσβιον Θρασύλλον, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Θηραμένους τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κατάλυσιν, καὶ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀρχίνον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἐβδομήκοντα—καὶ Κόνωνα πάλιν ἐμβιβάζοντα τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ ΚΡΑΤΙΠΠΟΣ ἀνήρηται.

^c *Pausanias* I. c. calls *Clidemus* ὁπόσοι τὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐπιχώρια ἔγραψαν, τὸν ἀρχαιότατον. As *Hellenicus*, at least, had composed an Ἀθῆς before *Clitodemus*, it is not obvious in what sense he could be called the earliest writer upon the affairs of Attica, unless we understand *Clitodemus* to be the earliest native Athenian who had composed an Ἀθῆς. That he was an Athenian is reasonably collected by *Siebelis Phanodemi*, *Demonis*, &c. *Fragmenta* p. xiii from *Plutarch Glor. Athen.* p. 345. E.

26. *Xenophon*, B. C. 424. 411. 401. 394. 374. 365. 362. 359.

27. *Ctesias*, B. C. 401. 398. 384.^d

28. *Anaximander*. Suidas: 'Αναξίμανδρος 'Αναξίμάνδρου, Μιλήσιος, ὁ νεώτερος, ἱστορικός. γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τοὺς 'Αρταξέρξου χρόνους τοῦ Μνήμονος κληθέντος. Laërt. II. 2. γέγονε δὲ καὶ—Αναξίμανδρος ἱστορικός, καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος, τῇ 'Ιάδι γεγραφώς. These, among other authors, held that letters were brought to Greece by *Cadmus*: (Bekker. Anecd. Græc. p. 783, 9.)—οἱ Μιλησιακοὶ συγγραφεῖς, 'Αναξίμανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἐκαταῖος, ὡς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ παρατίθεται^e.

29. *Philistus*, B. C. 406. 363. 356.

30. *Ephorus*^f, B. C. 340. 333.

^d Besides the *Περσικά* and *Ἰνδικά* mentioned in the Tables, another work of *Ctesias* is quoted: *Κτησίας ἐν περίπλῳ Ἀσίας*, Harp. v. Σκιάποδες. whence *Κτησίας ἐν πρώτῳ περίπλῳ*, Steph. Byz. v. Σίγυνος. *Κτησίας τρίτῃ περιγήσει*, perhaps the same work, Steph. v. Κοσύτη.

^e This *Anaximander* appears to be quoted by Athenæus XI. p. 498. c. conf. Schweigh. ad locum—and to be mentioned with *Stesimbrotus* by *Xenophon Sympos.* 3, 6. conf. Weisk. ad locum.

^f *Ephorus* is thus mentioned by Strabo XIII. p. 622. ἀνὴρ δ' ἄξιος μνήμης ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως [Cyme] ἀναντιλέκτως μὲν ἔστιν Ἐφορος, τῶν Ἰσοκράτους γνωρίμων τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὁ τὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράψας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν εὐρημάτων. This work *περὶ εὐρημάτων* is quoted by Athenæus IV. p. 182. c. VIII. p. 352. c. XIV. p. 637. b. *Ephorus* and *Theopompus* are thus described by Photius Cod. 176. p. 393. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τε [sc. *Theopompon*] καὶ Ἐφορον Ἰσοκράτους γενέσθαι μαθητάς—καὶ τὰς ἱστορικὰς δὲ ὑποθέσεις τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῖς προβαλεῖν, τὰς μὲν ἄνω τῶν χρόνων Ἐφόρῳ, Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τὰς μετὰ Θουκυδίδην Ἑλληνικὰς, πρὸς τὴν ἐκατέρου φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἁρμοσάμενον. But, although *Ephorus* engaged in the history of the early times, yet it appears that he treated the recent transactions copiously in his history. In the tenth book he had brought down his history to the times of *Miltiades* cir. B. C. 490. conf. Steph. Byz. v. Πάρος. In his 18th book he had reached *Dercyllidas* B. C. 399. See the Tables B. C. 399, 2. In his 25th he had arrived at the battle of Mantinea. See the Tables B. C. 362, 2. So that he employed seven or eight books in describing 37 years B. C. 399—362, and his last four or five books would contain the history of 22 years. See the Tables 340, 3. It appears probable from Plutarch de Garrul. p. 514. C. that *Ephorus* was the popular historian in Plutarch's age for the times of Leuctra and Mantinea: τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τις κατὰ τύχην ἀνεργωκὼς δύο τῶν Ἐφόρου βιβλίων ἢ τρία,

πάντας ἀνθρώπους κατέτριβε καὶ πᾶν ἀνάστατον ἐποίει συμπόσιον, αἰὲ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην καὶ τὰ συνεχῇ διηγούμενος. The style, however, of *Ephorus* was faulty: Dio tom. I. p. 479. Ἐφορος πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ὑπτιον καὶ ἀνεμόνον τῆς ἀπαγγελίας σοὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον. and Plutarch ridicules the speeches which *Ephorus* *Theopompus* and *Anaximenes* introduced into their histories: Polit. Præc. p. 803. B. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφόρου καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ἀναξιμένους ῥητοριῶν καὶ περιόδων, ἃς περαίνουσιν ἐξοπλίσαντες τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ παρατάξαντες, ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας. A line also quoted by Galen tom. I. p. 33 ed. Kuhn=p. 5 ed. Bas.

Polybius Vaticanus p. 391 observes upon *Ephorus*: ἐκείνος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τῶν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἔργων ἐπὶ πόσον ὑπόνοιαν ἐσχηκέναι μοι δοκεῖ, τῶν δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἀγώνων ἄπειρος εἶναι τελέως. τοιγαροῦν ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς [πρὸς] Κύπρον [sic Maius] ναυμαχίας καὶ τὰς περὶ Κνίδον ἀτενίσῃ τις, αἷς ἐχρήσαντο οἱ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ πρὸς Ἐλαγόραν τὸν Σαλαμῖνον, καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, θαυμάζων τὸν συγγραφέα κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ πολὺ τῶν χρησίων ἀπενέγκασθαι πρὸς τὰς ὁμοίας περιστάσεις· ὅταν δὲ τὴν περὶ Λεύκτρα μάχην ἐξηγήται Θηβαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ πόλει τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἕνεκα [l. ἡνίκα] μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον Ἐπαμινώνδας, ἐν τούτοις ἔαν ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήσας τις θεωρεῖ [l. θεωρῇ] τὰς ἐκτάξεις καὶ μετατάξεις τὰς κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς κινδύνους γελοῖος φαίνεται [male φαίνει] καὶ παντελῶς ἄπειρος καὶ ἀόρατος τῶν τοιούτων ὢν· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς Λεύκτροις κίνδυνος ἁπλοῦς γεγενῶς καὶ καθ' ἓν τι μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως οὐ λίαν ἐκφανῇ ποιεῖ ταύτην τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀπειρίαν [f. τὴν ἀπ.], ὁ δὲ περὶ τὴν Μαντινείαν τὴν μὲν ἐμφασιν ἔχει ποικίλην καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐστὶ δ' ἀνυπόστατος καὶ τελέως ἀδιανόητος τῷ συγγραφεῖ. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται δῆλον ἂν τις τοὺς τόπους ὑποθέμενος ἀληθινῶς ἐπιμετρῇ τὰς κινήσεις τὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δηλουμένας. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ Θεοπόμπῳ καὶ μάλιστα Τιμαίῳ. In the fourth line we should read either πρὸς Κύπρον, or περὶ Κύπρον.

374 31. *Theopompus* ε, B. C. 411. 394. 360. 343. 305.

32. *Cephisodorus*. Anonymus ad Aristot. Eth. Nicom. III. 8. Ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τῆς μάχης

ε *Theopompus* was still living in B. C. 305, and, according to his own account, was born about B. C. 378. Phot. Cod. 176. p. 392. Φυγεῖν λέγεται τῆς πατρίδος ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλόντος· ἀνασωθῆναι δὲ τῇ πατρίδι τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς· τὴν δὲ κάθοδον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνου βασιλείᾳ δι' ἐπιστολῶν τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Χίους καταπραξαμένον· ἐτῶν δὲ εἶναι τότε τὸν Θεόπομπον πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. The rescript of *Alexander* to the Chians could not have been earlier than B. C. 333, which gives B. C. 378 for the birth of *Theopompus*. Suidas has a different account: Θεόπομπος Χίος—γεγονὸς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς ἀναρχίας Ἀθηναίων, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ὅτε καὶ Ἐφωρος. Ἰσοκράτους ἀκουστής ἅμα Ἐφόρῳ. Kuster translates *γεγονὸς vixit*. But, as *Theopompus* was still alive 99 years after that period, the word might at least be rendered *natus est*, to make the account of Suidas even possible. The version, however, of Kuster gives the true sense of Suidas: as appears from another passage: Ἐφωρος, Κυμαῖος, [μαλὲ Ἐφίππος] υἱὸς Δημοφίλου· Ἰσοκράτους ἀκουστής τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἱστορικός· ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς τρίτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς Φιλίππου βασιλείας εἶναι τοῦ Μακεδόνος. It is therefore the error of the lexicographer, who supposes these historians to have flourished in the 93d Olympiad. Marx ad Ephori Fragmenta p. 18—20 places the birth of both the historians in that Olympiad:—*Liceat nobis illud ἦν et γεγονὸς accipere pro "natus."* *Historiarum libros finisse Ol. 109. 4. Diodorus prodidit. Quid ergo si Ephorum a persolvendo opere morte occupatum dicamus æt. 64? Impediunt Plutarchus p. 1043. D. Clemens p. 337. A.* [See the Tables B. C. 333, 3.] On the text of Photius he merely observes, *In Photii verbis vitium inesse suspicor*; and concludes, (p. 23.) *illud negari vir potest, ad Alexandri imperium proxime accessisse Ephori ætatem, ut eadem fruere-tur vitæ diuturnitate qua Isocrates magister et Theopompus æqualis: quorum alter nonaginta novem saltem annorum senex vita concessit, alter idem vitæ stadium si non explevit proxime certe attigit.* This interpretation of ἦν in Suidas cannot be admitted. In the next place, it is highly improbable that *Theopompus*, who was living in B. C. 305, should have been born in B. C. 404. Had he attained the age of 100 years, it would hardly have been unnoticed by Lucian Phlegon and others who have recorded the ages of eminent men. On the contrary, the numbers of Photius

are probable; and no reason is given for suspecting corruption in his text. *Theopompus* would be born about B. C. 378, would be of the same age as his companion *Theodectes*, who studied with him under *Isocrates*, and would be 73 in B. C. 305 the first year of king *Ptolemy*. See the Tables B. C. 305, 3.

Theopompus wrote Ἑλληνικά in 12 books and Φιλίππικὰ in 58. These numbers are verified by Diodorus, and we may set aside those of Suidas as erroneous or corrupt. Schweighæuser ad Athen. tom. VIII. p. 534. supposes that the whole work of *Theopompus*, called collectively his *History*, included the *Hellenics*; and that the *Philippics* were only a part of the whole *corpus historicum*: Athen. VI. p. 259. f. Θεόπομπος γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαίδεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλίππικῶν Quod codex noster *Epitome* habet, ἐν τῇ θ', id ex ἐν τῇ ιθ' corruptum.—*Nec vero dissimulandum id quod hoc loco Casaubonus observavit: "At libro IV. ubi de Philippo et ejus aulâ "narrantur simillima ex eodem Theopompo, laudatur liber undequingagesimus." At ibi τῶν ἱστορίων libri citantur, hic vero τῶν Φιλίππικῶν. Et quanquam subinde universa Theopompi historia sub titulo τῶν Φιλίππικῶν citetur, tamen τὰ Φιλίππικὰ proprie non nisi pars fuere universi operis, quod inde cæperat ubi desiderat Thucydides. Itaque videndum ne interdu idem aliquis liber Rerum Philippicarum potuerit sub diverso numero citari, prout is qui eum citaverit vel a totius operis exordio vel ab ipsarum Rerum Philippicarum principio initium numerandi fecisset.*

There seems no reason for this opinion. The *Hellenics* consisted of 12 books, the *Philippics* of 58. consequently by this mode of reckoning the 1st book of the *Philippics* would be the 13th of the *History*: the 17th of the *Philippics* would be the 29th of the *History*: the 19th would be the 31st. But, in the case mentioned, the 49th of the *History* is quoted for things contained in the 19th of the *Philippics*. This hypothesis therefore would leave 49—19 or 30 books for the Ἑλληνικά, which is contrary to all testimony. Again, upon Mr. Schweighæuser's plan, either this *corpus historicum* comprehended the Ἑλληνικά exclusive of the 58 books of the *Philippics*, or that Φιλίππικὴ ἱστορία was in reality only 46 books, and the *Hellenics* were included in the 58. Either of these propositions is inadmissible. 1. The *History* of *Theopompus* in the former case would extend to 70 books. But no number higher than 58 is found

ταύτης Κηφισσόδωρος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῶν περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ Ἐφορος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ. (conf. Marx. Ephori Fragment. p. 256.) 375

quoted by ancient authors. Stephanus v. Μεσσαπέαι quotes Θεόπομπος πεντηκοστῷ ἐβδόμῳ. Moreover all the citations imply that the *History* terminated in lib. 58 and not in lib. 70. Thus, *Theopompus* related the death of *Archidamus* in Italy in the 52d book: Athen. XII. p. 536. C. ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ δευτέρᾳ φησὶν ὡς "Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Λακῶν ἀποστὰς τῆς πατρὸς διαίτης—ἐσπούδασεν αἰεὶ δι' ἀκрасίαν ἔξω διατρίβειν καὶ Ταραντίνων πρεσβευσάμενων περὶ συμμαχίας ἔσπευσεν συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθός—καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανὼν οὐδὲ ταφῆς κατηξιώθη." and the battle of Chæronea in the 53d. Idem X. p. 435. b. Φίλιππος φιλοπότης ἦν, ὅς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ἑκτῇ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν—ἐν δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ περὶ τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ γενομένων εἰπὼν, κ. τ. λ. Idem IV. p. 166. e. Περὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πεντηκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν γράφει οὕτως "Ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ταραντίνων" κ. τ. λ. The Tarentines are evidently mentioned on occasion of the expedition of *Archidamus*. When he had arrived at these transactions, in B. C. 338, he could not be far from the close of his *history of Philip*: but the scheme of Schweighæuser would suppose that 17 books were yet to come. 2. In the second case, the *Philippics* could not be quoted beyond the 46th book. But Diodorus expressly names 58 books, and Steph. Byz. distinctly quotes the 49th v. Μίσκερα. πόλις Σικανίας. Θεόπομπος τεσσαρακοστῷ ἐνάτῳ Φιλίππικῶν. Polybius VIII. 11. also quotes the 49th book: μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις ἐπιτιμήσειε Θεόπομπῳ, ὅς γ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς περὶ Φιλίππου συντάξεως δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα παρορμηθῆναι φήσας κ. τ. λ.—μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ προομίῳ καὶ παρ' ὅλην δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀκρατέστατον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν.—εἰ δέ τις ἀναγνῶναι βουληθεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ μ' αὐτῷ βιβλίον, παντάπασιν ἂν θαυμάσαι τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ συγγραφέως. Schweighæuser himself justly remarks upon this passage, *Theopompus Chiusi Philippiκῶν sive τῶν περὶ Φιλίππον ἱστοριῶν libros edidit LVIII*. Lastly, the Sicilian digression occupied libb. 41, 42, 43, of the *Philippics*. (See the Tables 343, 3.) But, if 58 included the whole *corpus historicum*, this 41st book of the *Philippics* would be no other than the 53d book of the *History*, which, as we have already seen, contained the narrative of the battle of Chæronea. Whenever, then, *Theopompus ἐν ἱστορίαις* is quoted, the *Philippics* in 58 books appear to be meant; when his *Grecian History* is quoted, it is called by the title Ἑλληνικά. Nor are these two works truly described, when they

are said to form one *corpus historicum*. Dionysius de Historicis p. 782 attests that they were distinct: Θεόπομπος—ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως τῶν ἱστοριῶν καλαὶ γὰρ ἀμφότεραι· ἡ μὲν τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου περιέχουσα, ἡ δὲ τὰ Φιλίππῳ πεπραγμένα. And they did not proceed in an unbroken series. The one closed at B. C. 394, the other commenced at B. C. 360; and a space of 34 years intervened, which belonged to neither.

Fifty-three of the fifty-eight books of the *Philippics* were extant in the ninth century and were read by Photius, who preserves an abstract of the 12th book of this *Philippic History*: Cod. 176. p. 390. ἀνεγνώσθησαν Θεόπομπου λόγοι ἱστορικοί· ὃ δὲ καὶ γ' εἰσὶν οἱ σωζόμενοι αὐτοῦ τῶν ἱστορικῶν λόγοι· διαπεπτωκέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινὲς ἔφησαν τὴν τε ἑκτὴν καὶ ἐβδόμην καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ τὴν τριακοστὴν. ἀλλὰ ταύτας μὲν οὐδ' ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν, Μηνοφάνης δὲ τις τὰ περὶ Θεόπομπου διεξῶν (ἀρχαῖος δὲ καὶ οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος ὁ ἀνὴρ) καὶ τὴν δωδεκάτην συνδιαπεπτωκέναι λέγει· καίτοι αὐτὴν ἡμεῖς ταῖς ἄλλαις συνανέγνωμεν. The *Hellenics* might perish earlier, being less celebrated; and do not appear to have been seen by Photius. Heyne, however, Præfat. ad Diod. p. LXXXII note asserts that the 12th book of *Theopompus*, of which Photius has preserved an abstract, was the 12th book of the *Grecian History*: *Ea quæ illo libro comprehensa fuere ad Ol. 98. 3. spectant; nec ullo modo in Philippicis locum habuisse videntur. Mihi satis liquet Photium librum XII. et ultimum historiarum Græcarum manibus tractasse; nam in hos poterant a Theopompo per digressionem illa omnia quæ de Acori et Evagora ex eo libro laudantur interponi vel operi adjici in narratione pugnae ad Cyprum. Digressionibus autem Theopompum mirifice indulsisse satis constat*. This opinion is by no means just. The 12th and last book of the *Hellenics* closed at the battle of Cnidus B. C. 394: Diod. XIII. 42. XIV. 84. The battle of Cnidus itself appears not to have been included in the history; for he closed his narrative at the year of the preceding archon *Diophantus*. See the Tables 394, 3. But this 12th book contains the Peace of *Antalcidas* B. C. 386, the Cyprian war B. C. 385—376, and the death of *Evagoras* B. C. 374. It was therefore a digression, and belonged to neither of the historical subjects. But, if *Theopompus* was given to digress, which is admitted, why should this particular digression be possible in one work, and not

Dionysius frequently names *Cephisodorus* among the scholars of Isocrates; conf. Dionys. 376 Isæo p. 626. Isocr. p. 577. ad Amm. p. 722. ad Pomp. p. 757. Whence Ruhnkenius Hist. Crit. or. Græc. p. 159. with much probability conjectures that this *Cephisodorus* was the writer of the history, because many of the school of *Isocrates* applied themselves to historical composition.

33. *Dinon*. Plin. H. N. X. 49. *Dino*, *Clitarchi celebrati auctoris pater*. Whence we know his age, for *Clitarchus* was a companion of *Alexander*: Diod. II. 7.^h

34. *Simonides*. Contemporary with *Speusippus*: Laërt. IV. 5. πρὸς τοῦτον [*Speusippum*] γράφει καὶ Σιμωνίδης τὰς ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς κατατάττει τὰς πράξεις Δίωνος τε καὶ Βίωνος.

35. *Leo*. Suidas: Λέων, Λέοντος, Βυζάντιος, φιλόσοφος Περιπατητικὸς καὶ σοφιστὴς, μαθητὴς Πλάτωνος, ἧ, ὥς τινες, Ἀριστοτέλους. ἔγραψε τὰ κατὰ Φίλιππον καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον βιβλίοις ζ'. Τευθραντικόν. Περὶ Βησάλων· Τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον· Περὶ στάσεων· Τὰ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον.ⁱ

36. *Callisthenes*, B. C. 387. 357. *Callisthenes* died about the year B. C. 328. on his death, see Seneca Nat. Q. VI. 23.^k

possible in the other? This book described the affairs of Egypt and Cyprus, and the transactions of the Persian government with these two countries; and this might well be inserted in that *Philippic History*, which so much abounded in digression that little more than a fourth of the whole belonged to the main subject: Photius p. 393. πλείστα μὲν οὖν παρεκβάσει παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς αὐτοῦ λόγους Θεόπομπος παρατείνει. διὸ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμησας ἐξελὼν ταύτας, καὶ τὰς Φιλίππου συνταξάμενος πράξεις, αἱ σκοπὸς εἰσι Θεόπομπος, εἰς 15 βιβλίου μόνας, μηδὲν παρ' ἐαυτοῦ προσθεῖς ἢ ἀφελὼν πλὴν (ὡς εἴρηται) τῶν παρεκτροπῶν, τὰς πάσας ἀπῆρτισε. There is no reason, then, for supposing that Photius was mistaken, when he imagined the book which he had in his hands to be the XIIth of the *Philippic History*.

Heyne *ibid.* p. LXXXIII proceeds to observe: *Utrumque opus historicum ad 60,000 versus processisse e prisco scribendi more Photius testatur*. This is not quite the account of Photius. *Theopompus* apud Photium p. 392 remarks upon his own histories, that he had written πλείους ἢ ἐμυριάδας ἐπὼν, ἐν οἷς τὰς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεις μέχρι νῦν ἀπαγγελλομένας ἔστι λαβεῖν. The 70 books, therefore, of his two Histories contained 150,000 lines or verses: an average of about 2140 lines to each: a less proportion than that contained in the *Antiquities* of Josephus, whose 20 books extend to 60,000 lines: Ant. XX. 11. fin. βιβλίοις μὲν εἴκοσιν ἐξ δὲ μυριάσι στίχων. or 3000 a-piece.

^h The Περσικά of *Dinon* are quoted by many writers: Athen. II. p. 67. a. Δείνων ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ πραγματείᾳ. XIII. p. 560. e. Δίων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς.

XI. p. 503. f. Δίων ἐν τρίτῳ Περσικῶν. Laërt. I. 8. Δείνων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν. Athen. XIII. p. 609. a. Δίων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Περσικῶν τῆς πρώτης συντάξεως: where he is speaking of the sister of *Xerxes*. It is difficult therefore to conjecture where he made the former part to end, if, as Schweigh. (ad locum) supposes, *altera parte vetustior historia, altera recentior exponebatur*. Plutarch quotes *Dinon* with evident satisfaction for the affairs of the younger *Cyrus* and of *Artaxerxes*: Artaxerx. c. 9. 10. 13. 19. 22. He refers to *Dinon* for the reign of *Ochus*: Isid. Osirid. p. 363. C. and as treating of *Themistocles*: Themistocl. c. 27. This writer is quoted concerning *Semiramis* by *Ælian* V. H. VII. 1. Cicero Div. I. 23 and Nepos Conon. c. 5 follow *Dinon* for Persian affairs.

ⁱ Suidas relates the particulars of *Leo's* embassy to Athens, derived from Philostrat. Vit. Sophist. I. 2. p. 485. Athenæus XII. p. 550. f. ascribes the saying to *Python* at Byzantium, and makes *Leo* only the narrator. Plutarch Mor. p. 804. A. relates the story of *Leo* and at Athens, but varies in the particulars. *Leo* is noticed again by Plutarch Mor. p. 88. F. 633. C.

^k Plutarch Alex. c. 55. relates the death of *Callisthenes*, ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Μαλλοῖς Ὀξυδράκαις ἐτρώθη, according to one account, for there were various. Arrian Exped. IV. p. 272. has preserved the varying accounts of the death of *Callisthenes*. Cicero ad Qu. Frat. II. 13 de Orat. II. 14 speaks of this historian with no great respect. Longinus s. 3. censures the bad taste of *Callisthenes*. Polybius XII. 17—22 treats at large of his unskilfulness in his accounts of military affairs.

37. *Anaximenes*, B. C. 365. 362. Suidas: 'Αναξιμένης 'Αριστοκλέους, Λαμψακηνός, ῥήτωρ, μαθητὴς Διογένης τοῦ Κυνός καὶ Ζωίλου—διδάσκαλος δὲ 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα. εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις. Strabo XIII. p. 589. ἐκ Λαμψάκου δὲ—'Αναξιμένης ὁ ῥήτωρ. Dionys. Isæo p. 626. 'Αναξιμένην τὸν Λαμψακηνὸν ἐν ἀπάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἰδέαις τῶν λόγων τετράγωνόν τινα εἶναι βουλούμενον· καὶ γὰρ ἱστορίας γέγραφε—καὶ τέχνας ἐξενήνοχεν, ἥπται δὲ καὶ συμβουλευτικῶν 377 καὶ δικανικῶν ἀγόνων. Pausan. VI. 18, 2—3. 'Αναξιμένους οἶδα εἰκόνα ἀνευρῶν, ὃς τὰ ἐν 'Ελλήσιν ἀρχαῖα καὶ ὅσα Φίλιππος ὁ 'Αμύντου καὶ ὕστερον 'Αλέξανδρος εἰργάσατο συνέγραψεν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα. These testimonies shew that *Anaximenes* the orator and *Anaximenes* the historian were the same person¹; and that, when Diodorus mentions among the eminent men who flourished in B. C. 365 *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus* (see the Tables), he speaks of the same person whose historical work he afterwards describes.

38. *Palæphatus*. Suidas: Παλαίφατος, 'Αβυδηνός, ἱστορικός. Κυπριακά. Δηλιακά. 'Αττικά. 'Αραβικά. γέγονε δὲ ἐπὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα.

39. *Marsyas Pellæus*, B. C. 308.

40. *Demophilus*, B. C. 357. Son of *Ephorus*. Suid. v. 'Εφιππος. Athen. VI. p. 232. e. 'Εφορος, ἡ Δημόφιλος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν, περὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ λέγων, φησὶν "Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ," κ. τ. λ. Schol. Victor. ad Iliad. XIII. 301, quoting the 30th book of *Ephorus*, concludes, ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ τῇ Δημοφίλου.

41. *Hieronymus Cardianus*, B. C. 301.

(42. *Diyllus*, B. C. 357. 339. 298. *Diyllus* is placed here, on account of the mention of his historical work in the Tables^m.

(43. *Athanis*, B. C. 363. Of his time nothing is known. 'Αθανίς ἐν πρώτῳ Σικελικῶν is quoted as speaking of the elder *Dionysius* by Athenæus III. p. 98. d.

(44. *Psaon Plataensis*, B. C. 298. *Dionysius de Comp. Verb.* p. 30. enumerates him among the historians who were negligent of style: Φύλαρχον λέγω καὶ Δοῦριν καὶ Πολύβιον καὶ Σάωνα [*emendat Jonsius* Ψάωνα] καὶ τὸν Καλαντιανὸν Δημήτριον, 'Ιερώνυμόν τε καὶ 'Αντίλοχον, καὶ 'Ηρακλείδην καὶ 'Ηγησίαν Μάγνητα.—*Psaon*, who is introduced here from the notice of his history at B. C. 298, properly belongs to the period of the Ptolemies.

45. *Philochorus*, B. C. 306.

To these may be added (although the time in which they lived is not known) *Hermeias* of *Methymnæ* (conf. a. 375. 3); *Dionysiodorus* and *Anaxis*: *Diod.* XV. 95. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Νικοφύμου [B. C. 36½] τῶν συγγραφέων Διονυσιόδωρος καὶ 'Αναξίς οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τῆς τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν ἱστορίας εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατεστρόφασιν τὰς συντάξεις. There remains a long list of historians who accompanied *Alexander*, or who wrote his history, *Aristobulus*, *Clitarchus*, *Onesicritus*, *Nearchus*, *Ephippus*, *Cyrsilus*, *Medius*, and their contemporaries. But these belong to the next period, the age of the Ptolemies.

The ORATORS named in the Tables are these.

1. *Gorgias*ⁿ, B. C. 459. 442. 427.

¹ Ruhnkenius Hist. Crit. or. Græc. p. 162 Wesseling ad *Diod.* XV. 76 and Wyttenbach Animadv. ad *Plutarchum* tom. I. p. 1077 agree that they were the same. Casaubon ad *Laërt.* II. 3 had imagined them to be distinct persons.

^m *Diyllus*, although the exact time in which he

flourished is unknown, yet belonged to the Ptolemæan age. He is mentioned by *Plutarch Mor.* p. 345. E. in conjunction with *Clitodemus Philochorus* and *Phylarchus*.

ⁿ Ruhnkenius Dissert. Histor. de Antiphonte, c. 1. follows *Pliny* for the time of *Gorgias*: *Flo-*

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2. *Antipho*, 479. 412. 411.
3. *Andocides*, 467. 432. 415. 404. 403. 402. 400. 391.
4. *Lysias*, 458. 443. 411. 404. 403. 394. 388. 384. 378.
5. *Archinus*, 403. 402.
6. *Cephalus*, 402. 379. 372.
7. *Aristophon Azeniensis*^o, 403. 372. 362. 355. 354, 2. [330.]
8. *Isocrates*, 436. 380. 374. 366. 365. 356. 355. 353. 346. 342. 340. 338.
9. *Leodamas*, 372.
10. *Callistratus* P, 373. 372. 371. 361. 356.

*ruit Gorgias circiter Olymp. 70. [B. C. 500.] ut testatur idoneus auctor Plinius H. N. XXXIII. 4. quem sequi malim quam Porphyrium apud Suid. v. Gorgias, Gorgiam ad Olymp. 80. referentem. [B. C. 460.] Porphyrii sententiam Suidas repudiat. Recte. Nam Periclis preceptor fuit Gorgias, &c. The testimony of Pliny is to the following effect: Auream statuam Gorgias Leontinus Delphis in templo sibi posuit LXX circiter Olympiade: tantus erat docendæ oratoriæ artis quæstus. But, if Gorgias had already acquired wealth and eminence by his art in the 70th Olympiad, this would place his birth at about B. C. 535 or 540. consequently he would be about 55 years older than *Antipho*, 108 or 110 at the period of his embassy in B. C. 427, and 155 years earlier than the time of *Jason of Thessaly*. Pliny's date, then, is incompatible with other facts. But the date of *Porphyry*, understood of his *ἀκμῇ*, as explained in the Tables B. C. 459, is entirely consistent with all that is recorded of *Gorgias*. I should reform the text of Pliny by the numbers of *Porphyry*; and read in that passage *statuam in templo sibi posuit LXXX circiter Olympiade*. Although this date would still be erroneous for the dedication of the statue at Delphi: since it is probable from the narrative of *Hermippus ἐν τῷ περὶ Γοργίου* apud *Athen. XI. p. 505. d* that this dedication must be referred to a much later period.*

Isocrates de Permut. p. 458. ed. Oxon. has transmitted some particulars of *Gorgias*: ὁ πλείστα κτησάμενος ὧν ἡμεῖς μνημονεύομεν, Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος, οὗτος διατρίψας μὲν περὶ Θετταλίαν, πλείστον δὲ χρόνον βίους καὶ περὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν τοῦτον γενόμενος, πόλιν δ' οὐδεμίαν καταπαγίως οἰκήσας οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ δαπανηθεὶς οὐδ' εἰσφορὰν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀναγκασθεὶς, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις οὔτε γυναῖκα γήμας οὔτε παῖδας ποιησάμενος—χιλίους μόνους στατήρας κατέλιπεν. A specimen of *Gorgias* is preserved by *Schol. ad Hermogen. p. 412.* which may find a place here: Διονύσιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ χαρακτήρων περὶ Γοργίου τάδε φησὶν ὅτι τῆς ιδέας αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων τοιοῦτος ὁ

χαρακτήρ. ἐγκωμιάζει δὲ τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἀριστεύσαντας Ἀθηναίων. “Τί γὰρ ἀπὴν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῦτοις ὧν δεῖ ἀνδράσι προσεῖναι; τί δὲ καὶ προσῆν ὧν οὐ δεῖ προσεῖναι; εἰπεῖν [ἢ εἰ εἰπεῖν] δυναίμην ἂ βούλομαι βουλοίμην δὲ ἂ δεῖ λαθὼν μὲν τὴν θείαν νέμεισιν φυγὼν δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φθόνον. Οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο ἔνθεον μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τὸ θνητόν· πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ παρὸν ἐπιεικὲς τοῦ αὐθάδους δικαίου προκρίνοντες, πολλὰ δὲ νόμου ἀκριβείας λόγων ὀρθότητα· τοῦτο νομίζοντες θεϊότατον καὶ κοινότατον νόμον, τὸ δέον ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ λέγειν καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν· καὶ δισσὰ ἀσκήσαντες μάλιστα, ὧν δὴ γνώμην τὴν μὲν βουλεύοντες τὴν δὲ ἀποτελοῦντες· θεράποντες μὲν τῶν ἀδίκως δυστυχοῦντων κολασταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκως εὐτυχοῦντων· αὐθάδεις πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀόρτιτοι [forte ἀήτητοι] πρὸς τὸ πρέπον· τῷ φρονίμῳ τῆς γνώμης παύοντες τὸ ἄφρον· ὑβρισταὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑβριστὰς, κόσμιοι ἐς τοὺς κοσμίους, ἀφοβοὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀφόβους, δεινοὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων τρόπαια ἐστήσαντο τῶν πολεμίων, Διὸς μὲν ἀγάλματα τούτων δὲ ἀναθήματα· οὐκ ἄπειροι οὔτε ἐμφύτου Ἀρεὸς οὔτε νομίμων ἐρώτων οὔτε ἐνοπλίον ἔριδος οὔτε φιλοκάλου εἰρήνης· σεμνοὶ μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ δικαίῳ ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας τῇ θεραπείᾳ· δίκαιοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς τῷ ἴσῳ εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀσωμάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων.”

^o The death of *Aristophon* is noticed by *Demosthenes* in his oration on the Crown. (See the Tables B. C. 330.) He appears to speak of the *Azenian*; (see the observation at B. C. 362.)—and not of his own contemporary the *Colyttian*.

^p *Reiske Indic. Hist. in Demosth. v. Callistratus* is inclined to doubt the exile of *Callistratus*, and supposes *Callistratus* the orator son of *Calliocrates* to be the same whom *Pausanias VII. 16, 3* mentions by the name of *Callistratus* son of *Empedus*: *Pausanias quoque in Sicilia eum obisse perhibet e vulnere tum accepto quum præfectus ala equitum fortiter dimicaret; quod videtur anno nescio quo Olympiadis 108 evenisse. A strange mistake!*

11. *Thrasybulus Colyttensis* ^q, 372.
12. *Melanopus*, 371.
13. *Androtion*, 385. 355.
14. *Isæus*, 364. 360. 358.
15. *Lycurgus*, 343, 2. 337. 335. 331. 330. 323. (307.)
16. *Eubulus*, 355, 2. 349. 348. 343. 340. 330.
17. *Æschines* ^r, 389. 362. 345. 343. 330. 314.
18. *Aristophan Colyttensis*, 341. 340.
19. *Demosthenes*, 382. 376. 365. 364. 360. 355—339. 335. 333—329. 324—322. (280.)
20. *Cydias*, 352.
21. *Hegesippus* ^s, 343. 340.
22. *Hyperides*, 335. 323. 322.
23. *Polyeuctus*, 343, 2. 335.
24. *Demades*, 335. 326. 318.
25. *Mærocles*, 335. 333.
26. *Hegemon*, 317.
27. *Pythocles*, 317.
28. *Dinarchus*, 361. 336. 324. 321. 318. 307. 292.
29. *Demetrius Phalereus*, 325. 317. 309, 1. 307, 2.
30. *Demochares* ^t, 322. 302. 280.
31. *Stratocles*, 307. 302.

Callistratus son of *Empedus* perished (probably before the orator was born) in the expedition under *Nicias* in B. C. 413. as appears from the words of Pausanias himself: *τούτω τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἱππαρχήσαντι ἐν Σικελίᾳ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στόλου μετεσχέκεσαν ἀπώλοντο πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἀσινάρῳ. τότε τῷ Καλλιστράτῳ παρέσχε τόλμα διεκπέσαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄγοντι τοὺς ἱππείας. ὥς δὲ τὸ πολὺ ἀπέσωσεν αὐτῶν ἐς Κατάνην ἀνέστρεφεν ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν αὖθις ὁδὸν ἐς Συρακούσας, κ. τ. λ.* Valerius ad Ammian. XXX. 4 rightly understands Pausanias. The Pseudo-Plutarch p. 844. B, although he confounds the two *Callistrati*, yet attests the exile of the orator in Thrace: *ὁ μὲν ἔφυγεν εἰς Θράκην*, confirming the account given in the Tables B. C. 361.

^q Ruhnkenius supposes the *Colyttian* *Thrasybulus* to be meant in Aristot. Rhet. II. 23, 25. The *Colyttian* is to be understood in Demosth. Coron. p. 301. For 1. the *Stirian* was not distinguished as a mere orator, but rather, like *Iphicrates* or *Timotheus*, as a statesman and general; whence Taylor Vit. Lys. p. 141. Reisk. aptly draws the distinction between *Thrasybulus* and *Archinus*: *ὁ μὲν ἄρ μύθοισιν, ὁ δ' ἔγχεῖ πολλὸν ἐνίκᾳ*. 2. The *Stirian* fell in B. C. 389, before the birth of *Demosthenes*; but it is the object of the orator in that

passage to describe those who had administered the republic at a later period, a little before his own public life. *Thrasybulus* the *Colyttian* commanded a fleet in B. C. 388: Xenoph. Hel. V. 1, 26.

^r *Æschines* at *Rhodes* is mentioned by Pliny Epist. II. 3, 10. ubi conf. Gesner. ad locum.

^s Described by the name of *Crobylus* by *Æschines* Timarch. p. 9. 10. In Ctes. p. 70.

^t The exile of *Demochares* is determined by Plutarch to about the year B. C. 302. See the Tables. His services after his return from exile are thus recorded in the decree apud Vit. X. or. p. 851. *καὶ ὥς κατήλθεν ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, συστείλαντι τὴν διοίκησιν πρώτῳ καὶ φεισάμενῳ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ πρεσβεύσαντι πρὸς Λυσίμαχον καὶ λαβόντι τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα ἑκατόν· καὶ γράψαντι πρεσβείαν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καθ' ἣν ἐκπλεύσαντες πενήκοντα ἐκόμισαν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον πρεσβεύσαντι καὶ λαβόντι εἴκοσι τάλαντα ἀργυρίου—καὶ φηγόντι μὲν ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας μετешχηκῶτι δὲ οὐδεμιᾷς ὀλιγαρχίας οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἤρχῳ καταλελυκῶτος τοῦ δήμου.* Meursius, supposing *Diocles* to be the *Diocles* of Prolegom. Aristoph. otherwise *Philocles*, places the return of *Demochares* from exile at B. C. 322. from whom

We may add *Philinus* quoted in the Tables 337, 4. That *Philinus* was later than B. C. 343 appears from Clemens Al. Strom. VI. p. 626. B. Δημοσθένους εἰπόντος [sc. Fals. Leg.

Corsini dissents, observing tom. II. p. 97 that *Demochares certe quatuor annorum bello interesse atque ab iis qui populi potestatem oppresserant in exilium pelli simulque archonte Philocle a populo revocari non potuit*. This observation is very just: the Lamian war, which began after the death of *Alexander* and was finished in sixteen months, could not be the τετραετής πόλεμος described in the decree. And to this objection may be added another: the Bœotians were in alliance with Athens in the four years war, but in the Lamian war they were adverse: Diod. XVIII. 11. ἄλλοτρίους συνέβαιεν εἶναι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Corsini therefore (ibid.) rightly fixes the exile of *Demochares* to the archonship of Nicocles; and the year of Diocles and the return of *Demochares* from exile were at some date subsequent to B. C. 302. Corsini p. 98 imagines that he continued in exile till B. C. 287, because he returned by a decree of the people, and because the power of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* had not ceased till that year: *Si Demochares populo revocante reversus est, ille post sublatum Demetrii imperium rediisse debuit: ideoque Diocles, quo archonte Demochares ab exilio revocatus est, Ol. 123. 2 vel 3 archontum fastis adjungi debet*. This argument is not conclusive. The influence of *Demetrius* might exist in effect, although it would not be expressed in a legal formula: especially when the decree which recorded the transaction was passed many years after the power of *Demetrius* was forgotten. It appears that *Demetrius*, after he had delivered the Athenians from the tyrant *Lachares*, about B. C. 299, treated them with lenity. See Plutarch *Demetr.* c. 34. although he placed a garrison in the Piræus Munychia and the Museum: Plutarch *ibid.* He celebrated here the Pythian games in B. C. 294, when his enemies were in possession of Delphi: Plutarch. *Demetr.* c. 40. Some time afterwards, it is remarked as an instance of his pride, that Ἀθηναίων περὶ οὓς ἐσπονδάκει μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτη δύο πρεσβείαν κατέσχευεν. *Ibid.* c. 42. His severity could not be great, if they had no heavier matters of complaint. *Demetrius*, then, left the Athenians to the management of their own affairs according to their own legal forms: and the restoration of exiles, although done with his concurrence, would bear the form of a *psephisma*. It is more probable that *Demochares* was one of the ἄλλοι φυγάδες who returned with *Dinarchus*, with the permission indeed of *Demetrius* (κάθοδος ἐδόθη ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δημητρίου Dionys. *Dinarch.* p.

651), but doubtless under the form of a decree of the people. If this be so, Diocles might be placed immediately after the archon *Philippus* B. C. 291. It can create no difficulty that Diocles is called archon during a period in which the annual magistrates were named *ἑπεῖς σωτήρων*. that is, within B. C. 306—287. because that title was abolished at the fall of *Demetrius*, and the ancient name of archon was resumed: See the *Introduction* p. xiii. note t. And the Athenians, when they resumed the name of archon for the future, would also restore that ancient and constitutional title to the magistrates of those twenty years. They would not permit that these should be quoted in succeeding times by the title of *ἑπεῖς σωτήρων*. They would not leave upon their *Fasti* that mark of their humiliation. Hence Diodorus and Dionysius always mention those magistrates by the name of archons. Hence the name of archon appears in the inscription which records the death of *Menander* (see the Tables 291, 4); and, if Diocles had been one of those magistrates, he would be named with the title of archon in a decree of the year of *Pytharatus*.

Ruhnkenius *Hist. Crit. or. Gr.* p. 181. 182. Reisk. observes upon an anecdote in Seneca de *Ira* III. 23. on *Demochares* and *Philip*, *Non dubitari potest hunc ipsum Democharem intelligendum esse, qui ex linguæ libertate non modo cognomen Parrhesiastæ sed etiam exilium invenit. Verum quod Demochares ad Philippum legatus esse profectus dicitur, id temporis rationes satis refellunt. Nimirum Senecæ accidit ut per memoriæ lapsum Philippum diceret pro Antipatro. Omnem dubitationem tollit decretum Atheniensium in quo—diserta legationis ad Antipatrum fit mentio*. This embassy however to *Antipater* is not without difficulties. 1. The decree proposes to recite the services which *Demochares* performed after his return from exile; and among these there could be no place for an embassy to *Antipater*, who had been dead so many years before. 2. The embassy to *Antipater*, here mentioned in conjunction with *Lysimachus* and *Ptolemy*, would have occurred during the oligarchy; but that was a period in which it is affirmed in the decree that he declined all offices. 3. It appears both from Seneca as corrected by Ruhnkenius, and from Polybius XII. 13, that any communication of *Demochares* with *Antipater* would be marked by a tone of hostility and defiance; and this is not consistent with the gift of twenty talents which he is said to have obtained. I there-

p. 341] “ ὅση μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σπουδὴ περὶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ παραγγελία γέγονε
 “ σχεδὸν οἶμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἥσθησθαι.” Φιλῖνός τε ὁμοίως· “ ὅση μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, σπουδὴ
 “ καὶ παράταξις γεγένηται περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τουτονὶ οὐδ’ ἓνα ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν ἡγοῦμαι.”

fore suspect that this was an embassy, not to *Antipater*, but to *Antigonus*; whose favour he is said to have possessed: Laërt. VII. 14. Δημοχάρους τοῦ Λάχητος ἀσπαζομένου (τὸν Ζήνωνα) καὶ φάσκοντος λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ὧν ἂν χρεῖαν ἔχῃ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ὥς ἐκείνου πάντα παρέξοντος, ἀκούσας οὐκέτ’ αὐτῷ συνδιέτριψε. and for ἈΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΝ in the decree we may perhaps substitute ἈΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΝ.—καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον πρεσβεύσαντι καὶ λαβόντι κ. τ. λ. Ruhnkenius p. 182 is inclined to discredit the account of

Diogenes Laërtius: *In tota Democharis vita nihil magis eminet quam democratiae studium tyrannidisque odium. Itaque a vero abhorrere videtur quod Diog. Laërt. tradit, Democharem gratiam qua apud Antigonom Gonatam floreret Zenoni philosopho venditasse.* I see nothing incredible in the anecdote. He, who sought and obtained favours for his countrymen from *Lysimachus*, might boast of his influence with *Antigonus*.

EXTENT AND POPULATION OF ANCIENT GREECE.

THOSE who have speculated upon the subject of population have laid down the maxim, that war is one of the positive checks upon population. Under the positive checks are enumerated "the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine ^a." But this maxim is not quite consistent with facts which are at the same time acknowledged. Rome increased in numbers during the continual wars of the first ages of the republic. "The constant drains from wars had introduced the habit of giving nearly full scope to the power of population ^b." In modern Europe, those nations which had the largest share in the late revolutionary wars have increased in their population. The increased numbers of England are well known. There has been an increase in Germany; but above all in France; the country in which there was the greatest consumption of human life, and the largest demand for military service. The population of France in 1792 was 26,363,074. In 1813 it had swelled to 28,786,911. An habitual state of war among free nations creates a demand for men, and calls into existence a number of children, who, but for that demand, would never have been born. How, then, can that be said to be a check upon population, which is found to impel it, and which causes a greater number of persons to be born than would otherwise have been called into life? There are instances of wars which have destroyed the population of a country, when a military people overwhelms a corrupt enervated and declining state, whose population is stationary. But here other causes cooperate. The preventive check is already in operation in the shape of vice, and prepares the way for the scourge of war. The check is here given, not by war simply, but by war combined with other circumstances. It may farther be demonstrated that other visitations, which are reckoned among the positive checks, have in fact an ultimate tendency to cause the species to multiply more rapidly. The Tables for the population of Prussia and Lithuania, which Malthus ^c has given from Sussmilch, shew the effects of epidemics and plagues. In 1709, 1710, a plague destroyed in two years a third of the people, or 247,733 persons. But the proportion of births to deaths, which was 163 to 100 in the years preceding the plague, became in the year that followed it 320 to 100. And the total number of births, which was in the year before the plague 26,896, rose in the year after it to 32,522, notwithstanding the diminution of the adult population. Doubtless, but for the waste occasioned by the plague, many thousands of these would never have been born. The author of the *Essay on Population* admits that "after the desolations of war, pestilence, and famine, subsistence will soon increase beyond the wants of the reduced numbers; and that the invariable consequence will be, that population, which was before nearly stationary, will begin to increase, and will continue its progress till the former population is recovered." He acknowledges that "the effects of the plague in London in 1666 were not perceptible 15 or 20 years afterwards;" that "it may be doubted whether Turkey and Egypt are upon an average much less populous

^a Malthus, *Essay on Population* vol. I. p. 22.

^b Malthus vol. I. p. 343.

^c Vol. II. p. 170.

“for the plagues which periodically lay them waste ;” that, “if the number of the people “be considerably less now than formerly, it is rather to be attributed to tyranny and oppression, than to the losses which they sustain from the plague^d.” He affirms that “if the 382 “devastations made by the small pox had been many thousand degrees greater than the “plague, he should doubt whether the average population of the earth had been diminished “by them^e.” These propositions are undeniable ; but then they are incompatible with the principles which Mr. Malthus has laid down at the outset of his Inquiry. These admissions refute and overthrow all that reasoning which represents war, pestilence, and famine as expedients devised by Providence to counteract the tendency of his own law of increase^f.

The doctrine of Malthus exhibits a perverted view of the operations of Nature. The principle of increase, instead of producing the necessity for those visitations, is in reality adapted to repair the waste ; instead of being the cause, it supplies the remedy. For if the total number of births in Turkey during a series of years were to be computed, it would be found to be greater on account of the vacancies created by the plagues, than it would have been, had the annual births merely replaced the deaths which happened in the course of nature. A rapid succession of deaths is followed by a rapid succession of births ; and the aggregate effect of all the plagues which are recorded in history has undoubtedly been to call into existence an infinite multitude of human beings, who would never have been born at all, if it had not been for the increase of births produced by those visitations. If it be a just image to compare the checks upon population (whatever they are) to “a weight placed “upon a spring that has a perpetual tendency to rise^g,” these inflictions of war or pestilence are not the weight upon the spring ; on the contrary, they remove the weight with which the spring was loaded. A single example will place this in the clearest point of view. In Abyssinia, and the countries which border upon it, the computation is, that 1 in 17 or 18 dies annually, instead of 1 in 34, 36, or 40, the proportion in European states^h. But, as the population in these countries is at least stationary, (for the inquiry has always been why it does not increase,) it is manifest that the deaths are replaced by an equal number of births. It is found in England that the annual births are to the whole population as 1 to 35. In Norway the births are 1 to 34ⁱ. In the Pays de Vaud, 1 to 36^k. But in Abyssinia and the bordering countries the average births are as 1 to 17 or 18 ; that is to say, the reproduction of human beings (if I may so speak) proceeds more rapidly in the proportion of two to one in those countries, than it does in countries which are rich, flourishing, and civilized. For the sake of a comparative view, we may assume the possible number of annual births to be equal to the whole number of females between the ages of 20 and 40. This proportion in England is about 289 in 2000, which would suppose the possible number of annual births to be as 1 to 7, compared with the whole population. Let us take a lower estimate, and

^d Vol. II. p. 197. 198.

^e Vol. III. p. 136.

^f This appears to be the meaning of the observation in Malthus vol. III. p. 136. “The “smallpox is certainly one of the channels which “nature has opened, for the last thousand years, “to keep down the population to the level of the “means of subsistence ; but, had this been closed,

“others would have become wider, or new ones “would have been formed.”

^g See the note of Malthus vol. I. p. 33. and an illustration in vol. III. p. 400.

^h See Malthus vol. I. p. 222. 223. vol. III. p. 44.

ⁱ Malthus vol. I. p. 457.

^k Malthus vol. I. p. 470.

assume the average number of annual births to be capable of rising to 1 in 10, as compared with the whole inhabitants. The problem, then, which requires solution, is this; why, when the possible number of births is 1 to 10, the actual number amounts to 1 in 17 or 18 in barbarous countries, and is restrained to 1 in 35 in the civilized countries of modern Europe. In Turkey or Abyssinia, or the Negro nations of Africa, to keep the population stationary, nearly full scope is given to the principle of increase, while in England the average births are not equal to a fifth of the whole number of females between the ages of 20 and 40. The effect of war, plague, and similar devastations has been merely to cause a more rapid suc-
 383 sion, not to check the population. The actual population in barbarous countries is at a low amount, not from the presence of war or pestilence, but from the absence or imperfect state of civilization, agriculture, and commerce. Let not, however, these observations be misunderstood. It is not here denied that war and pestilence are evils; it is only denied that they are evils of such a sort as to diminish the numbers of mankind.

Malthus divides the checks upon population into three; *moral restraint*, *vice*, and *misery*. But these three are reducible to two. 1. Causes that arise out of the conduct of man. 2. Causes that arise out of the condition to which his nature is subjected. The first of these, which may be called *moral*, include moral restraint and vice: the second, which may be termed *physical*, are contained in what Malthus has expressed by misery. The first influence population by preventing the birth; the second, by removing out of life the existing numbers. But, as the causes belonging to the second class, those which destroy the existing numbers, are accompanied by the invariable condition of accelerating the rate of increase, these, when their whole effects are taken into view, cannot be truly accounted checks on population. The checks, then, lie wholly in the moral, and not in the physical causes. In human societies there are three forms, in which the restraint upon the principle of increase is exhibited: 1. When an actually low amount of population is kept stationary; which is the state of barbarous countries. 2. When a population declines; which is the state of corrupt, degenerate, and oppressed communities. 3. When an actually dense population remains stationary, or but very slowly advances; which is the condition of rich, civilized, and industrious nations. And in all these three forms of society the checks to population may be traced to the moral causes. In the last mentioned form the increase is restrained by the prudential check; in the two former, by tyranny and bad government, by vicious habits, or by the want of activity, industry, and skill.

War, in its effects upon population, is of a mixed nature. Its influence is partly physical and partly moral. As it regards the consumption of human life, it is to be classed with famine or pestilence as a physical agent. It may be considered among the moral causes, as it impresses a particular character upon a people. And the adherents of that maxim, which numbers war among the positive checks, may perhaps assert, that in this latter sense at least, as a moral cause operating upon society, a state of war keeps down population by superinducing habits which are unfavourable to a dense population in a country. This is so far from being true, that on the contrary war generates habits which create a dense population. It produces energy and force of mind. To borrow an expression from Malthus, the people *adapt themselves to a state of war*: they acquire habits of vigilance and activity. The resources of a country are cultivated to the utmost. This state of the people is favourable to

a dense population. In fact we know that England and France have multiplied during the war: France has become one of the most populous nations of the continent, and England has attained a density of population greater than that which exists in any known country at the present time¹. War, then, among civilized states, can in no sense be said necessarily to act as a check upon population. It produces a rapid succession of births; it may generate habits which stimulate the active powers of men. But an actually dense population is melted down by habits of an opposite sort; by the effeminacy and luxury which are the characters of a declining people. When a nation verges to decay, and has arrived at that 384 enervated condition which may be called its *παρακμή*^m, luxury and indolence gradually pervade all classes, depravity of morals operates as a preventive check, and the population of the country declines with its moral vigour. The actual population, then, depends upon the moral condition of the people much more than upon their situation with respect to war or peace. An intelligent industrious and active nation, with a competent share of freedom, will be populous, notwithstanding the disadvantages of a state of war; and that very state of war itself, by keeping alive the energies of the nation, may be the cause of their maintaining a dense population; while a corrupt and degenerate people, which will be incapable of a free constitution, will be melted down to a low population, notwithstanding the advantages of a state of peace; and that very state of peace itself, by relaxing the moral habits of the people, and inducing luxury and corruption, may be the remote cause of their decline of numbers.

The populousness of Ancient Greece during its period of war and independence strikingly confirms the preceding observations. The actual density of its population will be estimated by comparing the indications that remain of the numbers of the inhabitants with the extent of the territory in which they were contained. "The extreme diminutiveness of Greece," says a modern writerⁿ, "may make some readers suspect that the admiration of the world "has been fixed upon a series of insignificant actions, scarcely worthy of finding a place "among the histories of empires. But others will only feel an increased respect for a people, "whose transcendent genius and virtue could give an importance to events transacted upon "so inconsiderable a spot of earth." This remark is very just. It is added from D'Anville, that Greece Proper scarcely contained more space than the kingdom of Naples, and that Sicily is considered as large as Peloponnesus^o. But we shall best be enabled to form an

¹ The supposed populousness of China has given rise to much speculation, and many theories have been invented to account for a state of things in some degree imaginary. It is now ascertained, that China by the largest estimate does not contain more than 140 persons to the square mile; a proportion less than that of France; where the proportion in 1838 was 162 to the English square mile.

^m Polyb. VI. 51. παντὸς καὶ σώματος καὶ πολιτείας καὶ πράξεώς ἐστὶ τις αὔξησις κατὰ φύσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἄκμῃ, κάπειτα φθίσις.

ⁿ Hobhouse's Travels in Greece p. 483.

^o D'Anville Géographie Ancienne tom. I. p. 229. En voyant dans l'histoire quelle a été la

puissance de quelques états particuliers dont la Grèce comprenait un assez grand nombre, à juger de cette puissance par les guerres qui ont armé ces états les uns contre les autres, ou qu'ils ont soutenues contre des forces étrangères très-considérables, on se formerait l'idée d'un grand pays, si l'on n'en étoit point détrompé par la connoissance positive du local. Cette connoissance ne nous fait voir dans ce que contenait la Grèce proprement y dite, y compris le Péloponnèse, guère plus d'espace de terre que n'en occupe le royaume de Naples dans le continent de l'Italie, et indépendamment de la Sicile. On n'imaginera pas que cette île seule peut balancer le Péloponnèse, en le détachant de la Grèce propre,

accurate judgment by actual computation of the area of Ancient Greece. The following calculation of the extent of this country in square English miles is made upon a division of the surface of Arrowsmith's Map of Greece and the adjacent countries^p. According to that 385 map, Thessaly contains about 5674 square English miles, the central provinces, including Eubœa, contain 7698, and Peloponnesus 7779: which may be thus distributed, although precise accuracy in stating the extent of the several provinces cannot be obtained, because the boundaries of these provinces cannot be every where defined.

quoiqu'il fasse compter six provinces séparément les unes des autres.

^p This map has been already mentioned at p. 281. note ^b. In reducing the square geographical mile to the English square mile, I have taken 364,818 feet as the admeasurement of a degree of latitude: an amount nearly agreeing with that of the French mathematicians, who fix the mean degree at 364,814 English feet. Mr. Rickman, however, observes (*Population Abstracts* for 1821 p. xxxiii) "Four English square miles are equal to three geographical. This proportion may be deemed exact: for, supposing a degree of latitude (between 51° and 52°) to measure 60,864 fathoms, (on the authority of General Mudge,) the area of an English square mile to the geographical square mile is as 300 to 398.6." The admeasurement of General Mudge for lat. 51° 52', $60,864 \times 6 = 365,184$ feet, gives 370 feet more than that of the French mathematicians. But in lat. 37°—40° (which is the latitude of Greece) the computation which I have followed is probably more near the truth. In so small an area as that of Greece, the difference between the two would not be much. *Pelo-*

ponnesus and *Thessaly*, with the central provinces, *Acarmania*, *Ætolia*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, *Attica*, and *Megaris*, (exclusive of *Eubœa*,) contain by Arrowsmith's map 14,887 square geographical miles: and upon the principles of Mr. Rickman, who reckons four English square miles to three geographical, these are equal to 19,849 English square miles; my computation gives 19,741. a difference of only 108 square miles.

In the estimate here given of the extent of Ancient Greece, nothing has been allowed for inequality of surface. The increase arising from this cause would be something; but even in a mountainous region it would not be very considerable. Dr. Beeke remarks upon this subject, with respect to South Britain, "that the increase of surface arising from its irregularity in the eastern part of England does not amount to much more than a 1000dth part. In the hilly counties it scarcely exceeds a 400dth part. In Wales, Westmoreland, and other very mountainous districts, it is much more considerable; but will not collectively amount to more, at most, than between 120,000 and 150,000 acres." Observations on the Income Tax p. 17.

	Square miles.	Square miles.
<i>Thessaly</i> , including <i>Magnesia</i> and the country to <i>Thermopylæ</i> .....	.....	5674
<i>Acarmania</i>	1571	
<i>Ætolia</i>	1165	
<i>Phocis</i> , including <i>Doris</i> and <i>Locris</i>	1570	
<i>Bœotia</i>	1119 q	
<i>Attica</i>	720 qq	
<i>Megaris</i>	143	
		6288
<i>Eubœa</i>		1410

PELOPONNESUS^r.

<i>Achaia</i> , including <i>Sicyonia</i> and <i>Phlius</i>	783	
<i>Elis</i> , including <i>Triphylia</i>	930	
<i>Arcadia</i>	1701	
<i>Argolis</i> , including <i>Corinthia</i> , <i>Epidauris</i> , <i>Trœzenis</i> , <i>Hermionis</i> , and <i>Cynuria</i>	1307	
<i>Laconia</i>	1896	3058
<i>Messenia</i>	1162	
		7779

ISLANDS.

<i>Corcyra</i>	211	
<i>Leucadia</i>	116	
<i>Cephalenia</i>	383	
<i>Ithaca</i>	22	
<i>Zacynthus</i>	153	
<i>Cythera</i>	126	
<i>Ægina</i>	41	
<i>Salamis</i>	28	
		1080
		22,231

^q This includes the Lake *Copais*, which may have an area of 41 square miles, leaving to *Bœotia* 1078.

^{qq} In the Penny Cyclopædia vol. III. p. 62. b art. *ATTICA* are these remarks upon my calculation of the area of Attica: "With respect to Mr. Clinton's arguments deduced from the area of Attica, which he estimates at 748 square miles including *Salamis*, we may observe that the area, as determined from all maps hitherto published, is necessarily incorrect; the coast line having only been accurately ascertained by Captain Copeland in 1830, and the interior boundary line being still very inadequately laid down." On this latter point he had already

remarked p. 59 b.: "Though we now know the coast line of Attica with accuracy, we are still without that exact knowledge of the inland boundaries which would enable us to avoid considerable error in estimating the surface."

The effect which our ignorance of the interior boundary would produce upon our estimate of the area is probably much overrated. For in the first place, as the general direction of the frontier is known, an error of assigning too much to Attica in one part of the line would be balanced by the opposite error of giving too much to *Bœotia* in another part; and the average result would not much affect the area of the province. Secondly, the inland frontier forms a small part of the boun-

386 It is highly probable that these provinces and islands contained collectively, during the period from the Persian wars to the death of Alexander, more than 3,500,000 inhabitants; a rate of population not much below that which was found in Great Britain in 1821^s. This population of course would not be uniformly distributed. In South Britain, though the average was 210 persons to the square mile, the proportions varied in different counties. In Kent the rate of population was 282, in Lancashire 599, while in Lincolnshire it was 105 and in Westmoreland 69.^{ss} Thus in Greece the population would be more dense in *Attica* and less so in *Bœotia*; the proportion would be greater in *Thessaly* than in *Peloponnesus*, in *Elis* than in *Arcadia*. The population too would fluctuate with the prosperity or adverse fortune of each particular district, and yet the aggregate amount might remain nearly the same.

The *citizens* in the Greek republics we may assume to mean all the males above the age of twenty years; although in many republics, perhaps in most, the citizen was not admitted to the privilege of a vote, and had not access to the offices of the state, till the age of thirty^t.

dary of Attica in comparison with the winding circuit of the coast; and it is admitted that the coast is accurately known, at least since the late survey.

With respect to the area of Attica, this author, who had the advantage of Captain Copeland's accurate survey to guide him, affirms p. 59 b. that "the area may be roughly stated at about 700 English square miles, not including Salamis, which perhaps contains about 40 square miles." Attica therefore with Salamis according to this calculation has 740 square miles; according to mine, 748:—an approximation much nearer than I could have expected, and greatly in favour of the accuracy of Arrowsmith's Map.

^r In assigning the proportions to the provinces of Peloponnesus, we cannot every where accurately fix the limits of *Arcadia* on the N. the E. and the W. and in these quarters the adjacent provinces might have more, and *Arcadia* might have less, than is here expressed. We can determine with some exactness the northern boundary of *Messenia* and *Laconia*; but within this space the relative proportions, which belonged to each of these two, cannot be adjusted with precision. *Messenia* (which was the most fertile province of Peloponnesus, μοῖρα τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἡ ἀρίστη Pausan. IV. 15, 3. conf. Strab. VIII. p. 366) is said by Plutarch Agesil. c. 34 to be χώραν οὔτε πλήθει τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐλάσσονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς. But after the year B. C. 369 some tracts in the north of *Laconia* were acquired by the *Arcadians*; and the *Messenians* upon their reestablishment seem to have extended their limits eastwards. Plutarch's account would describe these proportions as they stood after B. C. 369. Polybius II. 38 attests that *Arcadia* and *Laconia*

each far exceeded *Achaia* in extent: τό τε γὰρ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἔθνος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Λακῶνων, πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ χώρας οὐδὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπερέχει. And this agrees with the proportions here assigned.

^s The rate of population stood thus in Great Britain in 1821.

	Inhabitants.	Area in sq. miles.	to each sq. mile.
England	11,486,700.	50,535.	227 $\frac{1}{2}$.
Wales	731,800.	7425.	98 $\frac{1}{2}$ nearly.
	12,218,500.	57,960.	210 $\frac{1}{2}$.
Scotland	2,135,300.	28,980.	74 nearly.
	14,353,800.	86,940.	165 $\frac{1}{10}$.

Scotland is computed to be half as large as South Britain (see *Population Abstracts* p. xxxiii): The area of the other two is given by Mr. Rickman from actual admeasurement upon the map. The area of Greece, at 165 persons to the square mile, would give 3,668,115 inhabitants.

^{ss} These were the proportions in 1821. But at the census of 1831 the numbers were much increased; namely,

	Inhabitants.	to each sq. mile.
England	13,089,338	259
Wales	805,236	108
	13,894,574	239 $\frac{1}{2}$

And the proportion in Kent was 311, in Lancashire 729, in Lincolnshire 115, in Westmoreland 72.

^t Among the Achæans 30 was the age: Polyb. XXIX. 9. συγκλήτου συναχθείσης—ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε μὴ μόνον συμπορεύεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ

The military age at Athens for foreign service was from twenty to sixty. At Lacedæmon it appears that military service was required during a period of 40 years^u. In the smaller republics the military age probably began sooner, or lasted longer; and we may estimate 387 military service abroad to have extended from the age of 18 to 60^v.

The proportions of these several ages to the whole population were these in Great Britain in 1821.

τριάκοντα ἔτων. And at Lacedæmon: Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 25. οἱ μὲν γε νεώτεροι τριάκοντα ἔτων τὸ παράπαν οὐ κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγοράν. And this was the age generally adopted: Vales. ad Polyb. XXIV. 9. Dionysius Halic. Ant. IV [p. 647] *eam fere omnium gentium legem fuisse ait*: τριακοστὸν ἔτος—ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ οἱ νόμοι καλοῦσι τῆς ἡλικίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς ἄρχειν τε καὶ πράττειν βουλομένους τὰ κοινά. Dionysius is confirmed by Thucydides V. 43, who remarks of Alcibiades ἡλικία μὲν ὧν ἔτι τότε νέος, ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει. intimating that the practice of Athens was peculiar, and that Alcibiades in any other state would be thought too young for public affairs. But at that time he was at least 28 years of age. See the Tables B. C. 423. 420.

^u Their military service abroad terminated at 40 years ἀφ' ἡβης. Xenoph. Hel. V. 4, 13. Ἀγησίλαος [B. C. 378] λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ἀφ' ἡβης εἶη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τηλικούτοις, οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀνάγκη εἶη τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἕξω στρατεύεσθαι. (Xen. Hel. VI. 4, 17. φρουρὰν ἔφαινον—μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης.) Dodwell Ann. Xen. p. 269, remarking that Agesilaüs was then 63, supposes the 40 years ἀφ' ἡβης to mean 57 years of age: *sexennio aetatem illam egressus esset quam leges excusabant*. Mitford vol. VI. p. 155 differs from Dodwell in his estimate of the age of Agesilaüs; whom he supposes “under 35 at his accession, “and between 52 and 55 when his age excused “him from foreign service.” But Mitford omits to notice, that Dodwell’s argument for the age of Agesilaüs is founded upon Xenophon himself; who testifies that he was about 80—ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη—when he passed into Egypt in B. C. 361. See above, p. 213. In his 63d year therefore in B. C. 378. Dodwell however is unsatisfactory in treating of the term ἀφ' ἡβης. Plutarch Lycurg. c. 17. εἰρένας καλοῦσι τοὺς ἔτος ἦδη δεύτερον ἐκ παίδων γεγονότας, μελλείρενας δὲ τῶν παίδων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ εἶρην, εἰκόσιν ἔτη γεγονὼς ἄρχει τε τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. The Spartans, then, were called παῖδες till 18 and εἰρένας at 20, and the computation ἀφ' ἡβης might take its beginning from the age of 18. As the institutions of the two states were wholly dif-

ferent, this term would have a very different meaning at Lacedæmon from that which it bore at Athens. Cragius p. 2653 imagines that military service began at 30: *Ætatis militaris videtur fuisse is annus qui et virilis ætatis, quo ex ephēbis egrediebantur; videlicet annus trigesimus*. But this is wholly unfounded. The age at which *ex ephēbis egrediebantur* was 20 years. The ἡβητικὴ ἡλικία at Sparta comprehended *two years*, from the age of 18 to 20. The 40 years ἀφ' ἡβης were either *inclusive* of that ἡβητικὴ ἡλικία and were reckoned from its beginning, or *exclusive* of that period, and were computed from its termination. In the former case, *τεσσαράκοντα ἀφ' ἡβης* would be $18 + 40 = 58$; in the latter, this expression would describe $20 + 40 = 60$. I incline to the latter interpretation. The words of Xenophon Rep. Lac. c. 11 speaking of their military institutions, ἔφηκε δὲ (Δυκοῦργος) καὶ κομῶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ μείζους ἂν—καὶ γοργότερους φαίνεσθαι. and of Plutarch Lycurg. c. 22 κομῶντες εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας, are consistent with this interpretation, if we understand the terms ἀφ' ἡβης, οἱ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐφήβων ἡλικίας, to mean those who had passed through that period, and had reached the age of twenty. Their service in that case extended to the age of 60, the period of life at which the members of the *γερουσία* were elected; Plutarch Lycurg. c. 26. ἔταξε καθιστάναι τὸν ἄριστον ἀρετῇ κριθέντα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων. It would seem that the citizens were eligible into this council after they had passed the age of military service, and that this terminated at 60 years of age.

^v Xenoph. Hel. VI. 1, 4. τὰ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προεληλυθότας ἦδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔχει τοὺς δ' οὕτω ἀκμάζοντας. Agesilaüs in the little town of Eutæa in Arcadia found τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικία οἰχομένους. Xen. Hel. VI. 5, 12. οἱ ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικία might be all between 18 and 60. But for home service they might perhaps be called forth at an earlier age; as the Delphians appear to have served at 16. See above p. 351. note ^t.

The males above the age of 20 were 4897	} in 20,160 persons.
——— above the age of 30 3432 $\frac{1}{2}$	
——— from 20 to 30 1464 $\frac{1}{2}$	
——— from 20 to 60 were 4140	
——— from 18 to 60 about 4644 ^w	

Upon these proportions of the military age, and of the citizens, to the whole, we may form an estimate of the population of Ancient Greece. We are now to examine some of the testimonies which may be collected. A survey of all the provinces and republics which composed the Greek nation would exceed the space of this Essay. It is therefore proposed to limit the present inquiry to *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and the states of *Peloponnesus*.

ATTICA. The total population of ATTICA in B. C. 317^x may be taken at 527,660.^y And of these 388 the *citizens*, or those who had votes in the Public Assembly, amounted to 21,000. About 127 years before, they had been 19,000, until *Pericles* reduced their numbers^z. Similar numbers are mentioned by Plato^a. Twenty thousand were computed as the number in the

^w The proportion of those of both sexes under 15 years of age to the whole population was found in Great Britain in 1821 to be 7777 in 20,000. The males from 15 to 20 were 1010 in 20,160 persons. We may therefore take the males from 18 to 20 at about half of this latter number, or 504 in 20,160, which will give 4140 + 504 = 4644 in 20,160 for the males from 18 to 60.

^x *Petitus Leg. Att.* p. 256, misled by Scaliger, places the census of *Demetrius* at Ol. 110. 1 B. C. 340. *Palmerius* not. ad *Petit.* l. c. has shewn the error of this date, and supposes it to have been caused by the confusion of *Theophrastus* archon B. C. 340 with *Theophrastus* archon B. C. 313. *Errandi causa hæc fuisse videtur* : Ol. 110 [1] *Theophrastus erat archon. At Theophrastus fuit archon Ol. 116. 4. quo archonte Theophrasto illo secundo florebat Demetrius Phalereus : Ctesicles cum censum actum legisset archonte Theophrasto sine debito examine eum retulit ad annum Ol. 110. 1.* But no archon *Theophrastus* is mentioned by *Ctesicles*, and the error of fixing the census to his year is to be ascribed, not to *Ctesicles*, but to *Scaliger* ; who placed it there because he supposed *Ctesicles* to place it in Ol. 110. See the Tables B. C. 317. *Scaliger* himself in another place (*Animadv. ad Euseb.* p. 129) has corrected the defective numbers which had misled him in the *Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγραφ.* *Proculdubio error est apud Athenæum* 110 Ol. pro 118. *cujus ineuntis annus fuit ultimus administrationis Demetrii Phalerei.* *Palmerius*, then, fixed upon B. C. 313, because he imagined *Ctesicles* to have had in view an archon *Theophrastus* ; *Scaliger* upon B. C. 308 or 307, because that was the last year of the government

of *Demetrius Phalereus* ; *M. de Ste Croix* *Mém. Acad.* tom. XLVIII. p. 167 places this census in Ol. 117. 4 [B. C. 309] for no other reason than because *Demetrius* in that year was archon *eponymus*. None of these reasons are of any weight : and the opinion of *Wesseling* is far more probable, that this census would be taken by *Demetrius* at the beginning of his administration : *Ad Diod.* XVIII. 74. *Rei series vix patitur ut ultra finem Olymp. 115 recens ille populi proferatur. Accessit ad remp. Atticam Demetrius Ol. 115. 3* [rather Ol. 115. 4] ; *opus statim fuit tali censu ut Cassandri constitutio valeret.* I have followed this opinion, and have placed that census in the year of *Demogenes*.

^y See the Tables. *M. de Ste Croix*, to obtain the total free population, multiplies by 4 $\frac{1}{5}$. *Mém. de l'Acad.* tom. XLVIII. p. 165. *Les 21,000 citoyens* [at the census of *Demetrius*] *nous donneront 94,500 personnes de tout âge et les 10,000 métèques 45,000.* I had followed this method of computing the total numbers in the first edition of the Tables B. C. 317. which would have made the total population of Attica 539,500. But, as the census of Great Britain in 1821 gave 4897 in 20,160 as the proportion of male adults (see the Tables B. C. 422, 2), that which was the result of actual enumeration was to be preferred to any computation founded on conjecture. I have therefore reformed the numbers in the Tables B. C. 317 by this standard.

^z See the Tables B. C. 444.

^a *Plato Critia* p. 112. d. τὸ δυνατόν πολεμεῖν —περὶ δύο μάλιστα ὄντες μυριάδας.

earliest times^b. This number, 20,000, is attested by other evidences, which are recorded in the Tables B. C. 422, and is still further established by the amount of military force which the Athenians employed on various occasions, and which will occur for notice hereafter^c. Between the Persian wars and the time of *Alexander*, the Athenians, besides the demands of war, supplied many colonies. As to Amphipolis in B. C. 465, when 10,000 settlers αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων^d were sent: to Thurium in B. C. 443; to Amphipolis again in B. C. 437; to the Chersonese about the same time. These colonies were planned by *Pericles* to provide for the poorer citizens, or to relieve the state of its superfluous numbers^e. That to Thurium would provide a resource for many of those who had been disfranchised in the preceding 389 year^f. After the death of *Pericles* the same policy was pursued. Lesbos in B. C. 427 received a colony of 2700 Athenians^g; Melos 500 in B. C. 415^h, and Samos 2000 in B. C. 352ⁱ. These expedients to relieve the population probably contributed in their ultimate effects to augment the number of those who were left behind, by acting as a stimulus, and increasing the number of the births; for the citizens, who were 19,000 in B. C. 444, were, after all their losses of territory and diminution of strength and consequence, 21,000 in B. C. 317^k.

^b Schol. Pindar. Ol. IX. 68. Φιλόχορος φησι Κέρκροπα—ἐπιγνῶναι δισμυρίου αὐτοὺς ὄντας. We must suppose that the authors of this legend adapted to the time of *Cecrops* the number which they found currently computed in their own times.

^c If there are any who suppose that 20,000 or 21,000 could ever mean the total numbers, men, women, and children, let them call to mind that in a total population of 20,000 the men of the state, or all the male Athenians above the age of twenty, could not be more than 5000. Let them then remember, that at an ostracism 6000 citizens at the least were required to vote (Plutarch Aristid. c. 7); that upon some other occasions 6000 citizens (ἐξακισχίλιοι Andocid. p. 12, 2) were to be present; that, in the argument stated by Thucydides in the Tables B. C. 422, 5000 were affirmed to be present when the rest were absent; that *Antipater* in B. C. 322 left 9000 citizens who were κύριοι τῆς πόλεως (see the Tables), and therefore voters; and they will then perceive the utter impossibility of such a supposition.

^d See the Tables.

^e Plutarch Pericl. c. 9. πολλοὶ πρῶτον ὑπὸ (Περικλέους) φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ κληρουχίας καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι. Ibid. c. 11. Περικλῆς χιλίους μὲν ἔστειλεν εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξον πεντακοσίους, εἰς δ' Ἀνδρόν ἡμίσεις τούτων, εἰς δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικήσοντας· ἄλλους δ' εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκισομένης Συβάρως, ἣν Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυπράγμονος ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν, κ. τ. λ. Ibid. c. 20. Περικλῆς ἐψηφίσατο πλεῖν εἰς Σινώπην Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντὰς ἑξακοσίους καὶ συγκατοικεῖν Σινωπεύσιν. Ibid. c. 23. διαβὰς εἰς Εὐβοίαν—Ἔσταιαίς

πάντας ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίους κατ' ὅκισε. Ibid. c. 34. κληρουχίας ἀνέγραφεν Ἀιγινήτας γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἅπαντας διένειμε τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν. The colony to Ægina is mentioned by Thucydides II. 27. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ [B. C. 431] ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας—καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκίτορας.

^f See the Tables B. C. 444, 2.

^g Thucydides III. 50. Μυτιληναίων τείχη καθεῖλον καὶ ναὺς παρέλαβεν. ὕστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς, πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων, τρισχιλίου, τριακοσίου μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροῦς ἐξείλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν· οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν, αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. Lesbos contained five cities: Herodot. I. 151. πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται. which are named by Thucydides III. 18. VIII. 23. and according to Arrowsmith's map this island has an area of 566 square English miles. If we were to suppose that the territory of *Methymnē* was a fifth of the whole island, there would remain about 453 square miles = 289,920 English acres, for the 3000 lots; which, if the lots were all equal, would give about 96 acres for each.

^h Thucyd. V. 116.

ⁱ See the Tables.

^k In the same manner the plague which visited Athens in B. C. 430 left no traces of itself 15 years afterwards; Thucydides VI. 26. ἄρτι ἀνελήφει ἡ πόλις ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ ξυνεχοῦς πολέμου ἐς ἡλικίας πληθὺς ἐπιγεγενημένης. He is speaking of the year B. C. 415.

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The μέτοικοι at the census of *Demetrius* were 10,000. By μέτοικοι are not to be understood those who paid the μετοίκιον, for it appears from *Isæus* ¹ that in certain cases the women paid a μετοίκιον, and among the μέτοικοι were many *ισοτελείς* who were exempted from the tax ^m. These, the most important class of the μέτοικοι, would not be computed at all in the census, if those only who paid the μετοίκιον had been numbered. In estimating the numbers at B. C. 317, I have measured the citizens and the μέτοικοι by one standard, the number of males above the age of twenty. It has been thought that “the numbers of the *metæci* are “probably exaggerated in that calculation ^{mm}.” But my estimate is confirmed by the proportion of μέτοικοι to citizens in B. C. 431. *Thucydides* ⁿ thus states the forces of Athens at that epoch: *ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι, ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ’*
 390 *ἐπαλξίν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον—ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων, καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλῖται ἦσαν.—ἱππέας δ’ ἀπέβαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν ἱπποτοξόταις ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τρήρεις τὰς πλοῖμους τριακοσίας.*

Among these forces are

ὀπλῖται	13,000
ἱππεῖς	1,200
	<hr/> 14,200
οἱ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις	16,000
	<hr/> 30,200

The 14,200 were citizens between the ages of 20 and 60. οἱ νεώτατοι would be the *ephebi*, from 18 to 20, οἱ πρεσβύτατοι the citizens above the age of 60. In Great Britain, when the males from 20 to 60 amounted to 4140, the men above 60 were 757, and the youths from 18 to 20 were about 504.^o If we apply these proportions, we shall find that when the men between 20 and 60 were 14,200, the men above 60 would be 2596, and the *ephebi* would be 1728. But these two numbers being deducted from the 16,000 will leave 11,676 for the μέτοικοι who were ὀπλῖται. And that these were not all is plainly expressed by *Thucydides*. Now it cannot be said that 10,000 μέτοικοι for all the males above the age of 20 in B. C. 317 is an exaggerated calculation, when it appears that in 431 the ὀπλῖται alone were 11,676, and that these were not the whole number. And in reality the μέτοικοι in 317 would be

¹ Apud Harpocr. v. μετοίκιον, repeated by Photius and Suidas.

^m Harpocr. v. ἰσοτέλεια. τιμή τις διδομένη τοῖς ἀξίοις φανείσι τῶν μετοίκων, καθ’ ἣν καὶ ἡ τοῦ μετοικίου ἀφείσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο. Pollux VIII. 156. ἰσοτελής—τοῦ μετοικίου ἀφειμένος. The three classes of free inhabitants, πολιτῶν, ἰσοτελῶν, ξένων, are enumerated by Demosthenes Leptin. p. 466. Consult on the μέτοικοι Wolf. Prolegom. ad Leptin. p. LXVIII. who has collected all these testimonies.

^{mm} See the Penny Cyclopædia art. ATTICA vol. III. p. 62. b.

The services of the μέτοικοι in war were important: Ammonius v. ἰσοτελής. πολλάκις συνεστράτεον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Thucyd. I. 143. μὴ ὄντων μὲν

ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων, δεινὸν ἂν ἦν. Demosth. p. 50. ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε. (referred to by Harpocratio v. μετοίκιον.) Xenoph. Vectigal. c. 2, 3. ἡ πόλις γ’ ἂν ὠφεληθείη εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ’ ἀλλήλων στρατεύουιντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοντο αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ νῦν, Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι· πολλοὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τῶν μετοίκων. They did not however serve in the cavalry: Xenoph. Mag. Eq. c. IX. 6. νομίζω δὲ, καὶ μετοίκων φιλοτιμείσθαι ἂν τινες εἰς ἱππικὴν καθισταμένους· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσων ἂν καλῶν ὄντων μεταδιδῶσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολῖται φιλοτίμως ἐνίους ἐθέλοντας τὸ προσταχθὲν διαπράττεσθαι.

ⁿ II. 13.

^o See above, p. 387.

rather more numerous than I have expressed them; and the 10,000 will represent those only who were of the military age;—the males capable of bearing arms, or between the ages of 20 and 60.

Among the μέτοικοι in 431 were probably included many of those 5000 who had been excluded—ἀπηλάθησαν^p—from the list of citizens at the Scrutiny in B. C. 444, which would raise the proportion of μέτοικοι at that period. It was perhaps the policy of *Pericles* to encourage the μέτοικοι, a class of inhabitants who brought an accession of wealth and industry to the state, and of whose power he could not be jealous. We further learn from that passage of *Thucydides* that the number of citizens was increased again since the year B. C. 444, when they had been reduced to 14,240. For, if to 14,200 we add the men above the age of 60, or 2596 persons, we have 16,796 for the number of citizens, or of those who had votes in the public assembly: a considerable increase in 13 years, even if we suppose all to be included in this computation; especially when the colony to *Thurium* had drawn off a considerable number of inhabitants. But the 1600 τοξόται, mentioned by *Thucydides*, might perhaps include some citizens^q, although the greater part would be composed of those barbarians, in the pay of the republic, whose ordinary number was 1000.^r

The slaves of Attica at the census of *Demetrius* were 400,000. *Hume*, in his *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations*^s, supposes error or corruption in these numbers. Having produced arguments to shew that, when the number of citizens is said to be 21,000, and of strangers 10,000, men of full age are to be understood, and that, these being but the³⁹¹ fourth of the inhabitants, the free Athenians were by this account 84,000, and the strangers 40,000, he assumes that, when the slaves are mentioned, the males only of full age are intended; that 400,000 males of full age would mean 1,600,000 for the slaves, and 1,720,000 for the total population of Attica. He pronounces that for 400,000 we ought to read 40,000, which would give 160,000 slaves and 284,000 for the whole of the inhabitants^t. But in that enumeration we are not to take the slaves as males of full age. In computing the citizens and μέτοικοι the object was to ascertain their political and military strength. The citizens

^p In the edd. of *Plutarch* ἐπράθησαν. rendered by *Rollin* and others “sold as slaves.” But the true reading ἀπηλάθησαν is confirmed not only by *Dionysius* quoted in the *Tables* B. C. 444, 2. but by *Lysias* apud *Dionys.* loc. cit. who has ἀπελάνομενος p. 528. ἀπελούμεν p. 529. and *Vit. X. or.* p. 836. A. ἀπελαθεῖς τῆς πολιτείας. Compare *Suidas* v. ἀπεψηφίσατο.—ἐλέγοντο ἀπεψηφισμένοι ἐπειδὴ ψήφου περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαχθείσης οὐκ ἐτι μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας. The “selling for slaves”—πεπράσθαι αὐτούς—was only after a second trial and a second conviction: *Dionys.* *Isæo* p. 617. These 5000 disfranchised citizens in B. C. 444 partly supplied the colony to *Thurium* in the following year, and partly contributed to augment the number of the μέτοικοι.

^q That citizens served as archers appears from *Lysias* apud *Dionys.* p. 529. νῦν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας ἀπελούμεν; οὐκ, ἂν ἔμοιγε πειθώμεθα οὐδὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν περιαιρησόμεθα ὀπίτας πολλοὺς καὶ

ἱππέας καὶ τοξότας.

^r This body is described by *Schol. Aristoph. Acharn.* 54. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τοξόται δημόσιοι ὑπηρέται φύλακες τοῦ ἄσπετος, τὸν ἀριθμὸν χίλιοι.

^s *Essays* vol. I. p. 443.

^t “In my opinion, there is no point of criticism more certain than that *Athenæus* and *Ctesicles* are mistaken, and that the number of slaves is at least augmented by a whole cipher, and ought not to be regarded as more than 40,000.” [He probably means that for τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας we ought to read τετρακισμυριάς.] “Now the free Athenians were 84,000, the strangers 40,000, and the slaves, calculating by the smaller number, and allowing that they married and propagated at the same rate with freemen, were 160,000, and the whole of the inhabitants 284,000. A number surely large enough. The other number, 1,720,000, makes Athens larger than London and Paris united.”

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had a share in the government; the μέτοικοι served in war. But slaves were property, and had no civil rights; and in enumerating these it would be necessary to compute all the individuals who composed that property. The 400,000 therefore express all the slaves, of either sex and of every age^u; and in this number the men of full age would be less than 100,000.

The larger number, 400,000, understood in this sense, of the total number, is confirmed by various circumstances. 1. The following fragment of Hyperides is preserved by Suidas v: Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα· “ὅπως πρῶτον μὲν μυριάδας πλείους ἢ δεκαπέντε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν· ἔπειτα τοὺς ὀφείλοντας τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ τοὺς ἀπεψηφισμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀποίκους.” The mines were worked by slaves^w; and it is plain that Hyperides is here enumerating those who did not possess, or who were deprived of civil rights. He describes, then, the slaves who worked in the mines, and were employed in country labour; and these he attests to be more than 150,000. But, if the whole number was only 160,000, according to Hume’s estimate, there would remain only 10,000 of all ages and of both sexes; that is to say, only 2500 males of full age, for domestic service and for trade and manufactures in Athens itself and the three ports, and for service on board the triremes.

2. The Athenian slaves served as rowers on board the ships^x. They were employed in manufactures^y, and represented the labouring classes of Modern Europe. But, as the free population of Attica was about 127,000, the slave population taken at 400,000 would be to the free as 10,000 to 3175, or rather more than three to one; not much more than the proportion which the labouring classes bear to the other classes in Great Britain^{xx}.

^u Upon other occasions, when slaves collectively are mentioned, the whole slave population is evidently intended. Thus Plato Leg. VI. p. 776. σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων Εἰλωτεία πλείστην ἀπορίαν παράσχει· ἂν καὶ ἔριν τοῖς μὲν ὡς εὖ, τοῖς δ’ ὡς οὐκ εὖ γεγονυῖα ἔστιν. ἐλάττω δὲ ἢ τε Ἡρακλεωτῶν δουλεία τῆς τῶν Μαρνανδυνῶν καταδουλώσεως ἔριν ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ Θετταλῶν τ’ αὖ πενεστικὸν ἔθνος. εἰς ἃ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα βλέψαντας ἡμᾶς τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ κτήσεως οἰκετῶν; The total population of the Helots and the *Penestæ* (πενεστικὸν ἔθνος) is meant. He afterwards prescribes, p. 777. τὴν δὲ οἰκέτον πρόσρησιν χρὴ σχεδὸν ἐπίταξιν πᾶσαν γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προσπαίζοντας μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς οἰκέταις μητ’ οὖν θηλείαις μήτε ἄρρεσιν.

^v v. ἀπεψηφίσατο.

^w Athenæus VI. p. 272. e. αἱ πολλὰ αὐταὶ Ἀττικαὶ καὶ μυριάδες τῶν οἰκετῶν δεδεμέναι εἰργάζοντο τὰ μέταλλα. Ποσειδώνιος γοῦν καὶ ἀποστάντας φησὶν αὐτοὺς καταφονεῦσαι μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων φύλακας, καταλαβέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Σουνίᾳ ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Nicias employed 1000 slaves in the mines: Xenoph. Vectig. c. IV. 14. (quoted by Athenæus l. c.) Νικίας δὲ Νικηράτου ἐκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρίοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ἐκεῖνος Σωσία τῷ Θρακί ἐξέμισθωσεν ἐφ’ ᾧ ὀβολὸν μὲν ἀτελῇ

ἐκάστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδιδόναι τὸν δ’ ἀριθμὸν ἴσως αἰεὶ παρέχειν.

^x Isocrates de Pace p. 169. a. τότε μὲν εἰ τριῖρες πληροῖεν τοὺς μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους ναύτας εἰσεβίβαζον.

^y They were sometimes hired out by the proprietor to others to do agricultural or farming work: Demosth. p. 1253. ὁπότε οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἢ ὀπώραν πρίαντο ἢ θέρος μισθοῦντο ἐκθερίσαι ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν ἔργων ἀναιροῦντο, Ἀρεθούσιος ἦν ὁ ὠνούμενος καὶ μισθούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Lysias and Polemarchus had 120 slaves employed in manufactures: In Eratosth. p. 120, 43. 121, 40. Demosthenes had 52: In Aphob. I. p. 816. ὁ πατήρ κατέλιπε δύο ἐργαστήρια, μαχαιοποιούς μὲν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς,—κλινοποιούς δ’ εἴκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. An account of the employment of slaves in manufactures, and of their earnings, is given by Æschines Timarch. p. 14, 1. οἰκέτας δημιουργοὺς τῆς σκυτοτομικῆς τέχνης ἐννέα ἢ δέκα, ὧν ἕκαστος τούτῳ δὲ ὀβολοὺς ἀποφορὰν ἔφερε τῆς ἡμέρας, ὁ δ’ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τριώβολον· ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις γυναικα ἀμόργινα ἐπισταμένην ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἔργα λεπτὰ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρουσιν, καὶ ἄνδρα ποικιλτήν.

^{xx} Mr. Colquhoun in 1815, taking 16,165,808 for the collective population of Great Britain and

3. The Athenians in the age of Demosthenes^y imported annually 800,000 *medimni* of corn for the subsistence of Attica. This large importation, amounting to 876,302 bushels^{yy} annually, in addition to the produce of the soil of Attica, which contained about 478,720 English acres^z, implies a greater population than the estimate of Hume allows. In an ingenious computation in the *Museum Criticum*^a, it is shewn that the free male adults would consume a *chaenix* each, and it is estimated that the women, children, and slaves would consume $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *chaenix* each on an average *per diem*. But, as the free male inhabitants above the age of 15 years would be 5907 in 20,160^b, they would consequently be 37,411 in 127,680 persons. And in the total population of 527,660 there would be 37,411 who would consume a *chaenix* each *per diem*, and 490,249 who would consume the reduced proportion. The total daily consumption in Attica would therefore be 364,244 *chaenices*, or $7588\frac{1}{2}$ *medimni*; and the total annual consumption would amount to 2,769,802 *medimni*^c. But, if 800,000 were imported, there would remain 1,969,802 *medimni*=2,157,680 bushels to be raised in Attica. This quantity, equal to 269,710 quarters, estimated at only 3 quarters per acre, would be produced upon 89,904 acres, or less than a fifth of the surface of Attica. Had the total population been only 284,000, of whom 37,411 consumed a *chaenix* daily, and the rest $\frac{2}{3}$ of the *chaenix*, the total annual consumption would have been only 1,534,460 *medimni*, and the quantity raised in Attica only 734,460=804,511 bushels; and these might have been raised upon 33,521 acres. But it is not probable that the Athenians would have imported more than half their annual consumption, while less than a thirteenth part of their own soil was employed in the cultivation of corn^d.

Ireland, (exclusive of the army and navy,) computes the lower classes, including labourers, menial servants, paupers, &c. at 11,900,898 persons; and the other classes at 4,264,910. that is, at about 29,752 to 10,412, or nearly three to one.

^y Demosth. Leptin. p. 466. See above p. 282. note ⁿ. Pericles had remarked 75 years before, apud Thucyd. II. 38. *ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα*.

^{yy} The *medimnus* contained 48 *chaenices* (Polux IV. 168 Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 643 Harpocr. v. *μέδιμνος* Etymol. v. *ἐκρεύς* Phot. v. *μέδιμνος*); and was equal to 4 pecks 6 pints 3.501 cubic inches. This Attic *medimnus* of 48 *chaenices* is not to be confounded with the Sicilian *medimnus*, which is named by Polybius II. 15 and described by Cicero in Verr. III. 45. 46, and which contained according to Cicero 6 Roman *modii*; that is to say, 6 pecks 1 pint 12.48 cubic inches, or more than a bushel and a half.

^z Attica with Salamis contained 748 square English miles. See p. 385. But $748 \times 640 = 478,720$ acres. This area of 748 square miles occupied by 527,660 persons will give 710 to each square mile; a proportion which the author already quoted (Penny Cyclopædia vol. III. p. 62 art. ATTICA) thinks "a large population for such a territory, being above 700 to a square mile,

"even if we take into the account that Attica "contained a populous city." But, as Middlesex in 1821 had 4707 persons to the square mile, and now contains a larger number, and as Lancashire in 1831 contained 729 to the square mile, we shall not think it incredible that Attica, with a great commercial metropolis, should have contained 710.

^a No. VI. or vol. II. p. 215.

^b See above, p. 387.

^c Free male adults . 37,411 = 37,411 *chaenices*
 Women, children, } 490,249 = 326,833 *chaenices*
 and slaves }
 527,660 = 364,244.

The *chaenix* being the 48th part of the *medimnus*, this quantity will amount to $7588\frac{1}{2}$ *medimni*, and $7588\frac{1}{2} \times 365 = 2,769,802$ *medimni* for the annual quantity.

^d Hume vol. I. p. 561. observes upon this subject, "The Athenians brought yearly from Pontus "400,000 *medimni*, or bushels of corn, as appeared from the custom-house books. And this "was the greater part of their importation of corn. "This is a strong proof that there is some great "mistake in the passage of Athenæus. For Attica "itself was so barren of corn, that it produced "not enough even to maintain the peasants: Liv. "43. 6. And 400,000 *medimni* would scarcely

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393 4. According to Thucydides^c, the whole circuit of Athens, including Piræus, Munychia, and the long walls, was 178 stadia. If we compute the stadium with major Rennell at no more than 718 to a degree, or 508 English feet to the stadium^f, the extent would still be

“feed 100,000 men for a twelvemonth.” In this passage there are some inaccuracies. 1. This was not the *greater part* of their importation of corn. Demosthenes affirms that it was only half the quantity. 2. The *medimnus* was not equal to a bushel, but exceeded it: a *medimnus* being equal to 4 pecks, 6 pints, $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubic inches, 400,000 *medimni* would be equal to 438,151 bushels. 3. The times of which Livy speaks were times of decay, and are not to be taken as the standard of what was the state of things in the period of independence. But the passage does not affirm so much as Hume has ascribed to it. It stands thus: *Multarum simul Græciæ Asiæque civitatum legati Romam convenerunt. Primi Athenienses introducti* [B. C. 170]. *Ii “se quod navium habuerint militumque P. Licinio consuli et C. Lucretio prætori misisse” exposuerunt; “quibus eos non usos frumenti sibi centum millia imperasse; quod, “quanquam sterilem terram arent, ipsosque etiam “agrestes peregrino frumento alerent, tamen, ne “deessent officio, confecisse.”* This statement therefore is not the deliberate opinion of the historian, but the representation of ambassadors magnifying their own difficulties in order to magnify their merits. That the soil of Attica was barren in comparison with many other parts of Greece is abundantly attested; as by Thucyd. I. 2 and others. But probably the proportion of barren soil to fertile was not much greater in Attica, when its superior advantages of climate are considered, than in South Britain. England and Wales, which contain 37,094,400 acres, have about one third of this quantity in tillage, and considerably more than a fifth annually produces corn. We may admit, then, that nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the soil might annually produce corn in Attica. The average produce, at 24 bushels to the acre, is a low estimate. This is the produce of wheat in ordinary soils in England. But the produce of barley would be much greater; and barley was the growth of Attica: Theophrast. Hist. Plant. VIII. 8. p. 274. Ἀθήνησι δ' οὖν αἱ κριθαὶ τὰ πλείεστα ποιοῦσιν ἄλφιτα κριθοφόρος γὰρ ἀρίστη. A single proprietor obtains in Demosthenes 1000 *medimni* of barley from his estate: In Phænipp. p. 1045. σὺ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐσχατίας νῦν πωλὼν τὰς κριθὰς ὀκτακαίδεκάδραχμους καὶ τὸν οἶνον δωδεκάδραχμον πλουτεῖς εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴν ποιῆς σίτου μὲν μεδίμνους πλείον ἢ χυλίουσιν οἶνον δὲ μετρήτας ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίουσιν. The farm which produced this was 40 stadia in circuit:

Ibid. p. 1040. πλείον ἢ σταδίων οὖσαν τετταράκοντα κύκλῳ. According to Dicæarchus p. 1 the road leading to Athens was γεωργουμένη πᾶσα.

The 800,000 *medimni* represent the annual importation in the age of *Demosthenes*. But in the age of *Pericles*, when the Athenians had large transmarine possessions, and especially Eubœa, they probably imported more. Eubœa might supply corn when Attica was ravaged during the Peloponnesian war. When Decelea was fortified, τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης ἐστέρηντο, καὶ ἀνδραπόδων πλείον ἢ δύο μυριάδες ἡτομολήκεσαν.—ἥ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρακομιδὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας, πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ κατὰ γῆς διὰ τῆς Δεκελείας θάσσον οὔσα, περὶ Σούνιον κατὰ θάλασσαν πολυτελής ἐγίγνετο. Thucyd. VII. 27. 28. But Eubœa was independent of Athens in the time of *Demosthenes*. The great importance of Eubœa is marked by Thucyd. VIII. 95. Εὐβοία αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλημένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς πάντα ἦν. Ibid. 96. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ὡς ἦλθε τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν γεγενημένα [which they lost in B. C. 411], ἐκπληξίς μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὶν παρέστη.—ὅπου γὰρ—τοσαύτη ἡ ξυμφορὰ ἐπεγεγένετο, ἐν ᾗ ναὺς τε καὶ, τὸ μέγιστον, Εὐβοίαν ἀπολωλέκεσαν, ἐξ ἧς πλείω ἢ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὠφελοῦντο, πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως ἠθύμουν;

^e II. 13.

^f Herodotus reckons a stadium 600 feet: II. 149. IV. 41. making about 604 feet, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches English. Mr. D'Anville computes the Olympic stadium at $94\frac{1}{2}$ toises=604 feet, 3 inches English measure. But major Rennell, Geography of Herodotus p. 13—33. in a laborious and skilful examination of the different standards that present themselves, states the following results: p. 31.

Herodotus . .	732 to a degree.
Pausanias . .	707
Xenophon . .	750
Eratosthenes	700
Strabo	700
Polybius . . .	696
Pliny	727
Arrian	729

Mean of all $717\frac{1}{2}$ or 718.

He adds, “This mean stade in English feet “would be equal to 505 $\frac{1}{2}$. The proportion on “the stade of Strabo, of 700 to a degree, would be “524 feet; and on that of Xenophon of 750, “489 feet. Our mean stade of 718 agrees to “that of Xenophon as 505 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 489.” These numbers are inconsistent: for

more than 17 English miles. The circuit was larger than that of Paris, and nearly equal to that of Rome in the time of *Augustus*; and yet the whole of the space contained was crowded with inhabitants when *Pericles* in B. C. 431 called the people from the country within the walls: ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μὲν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγῇ, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἔρημα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα, πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κλειστὸν ἦν· τὸ τε Πιελασγικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν—ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραρχήμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκῆθη.—κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός που ἐδύνατο. οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' ὕστερον δὴ τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη ᾤκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλὰ. As Paris in 1820 contained 742,000 inhabitants, and Rome in the time of *Augustus* about 1,200,000, we may fairly assume that the numbers assembled within the walls of Athens on that occasion were not less than 500,000.^h A proof that the number of slaves might have been as large as the text of *Athenæus* represents them to be.

What the ordinary population of Athens itself was, it is not easy to determine. The Athenians were fond of a country life; and between the Persian war and the Peloponnesian had decorated the country with housesⁱ. Attica, with Salamis, contained 174 borough towns^k. Many of these were inconsiderable^l; but *Eleusis* was probably populous. *Acharnæ*, the largest, had in B. C. 431 3000 ὀπλίται^m, implying a free population of at least 12,000, not computing slaves; who might be twice that number. *Piræus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalerum* must have contained in the prosperous days of Athens a great populationⁿ. The circuit of

$$524 \times 700 = 366,800$$

$$489 \times 750 = 366,750$$

$$505\frac{1}{2} \times 718 = 362,949$$

If major Rennell intends 366,800 feet to be the measure of a degree, then his mean stadium at 718 will be equal to 510 feet 10 inches. Taking however 364,818 feet as the measure of a degree, we obtain 508 feet for the measure of the mean stadium.

There is still, however, some difficulty in assenting to this reduced stadium. For *Thucydides* IV. 3 states the distance from Pylos to Sparta at something more than 400 stadia: τετρακοσίων μάλιστα.—Now the road distance upon *Arrowsmith's* map is 42 g. miles. But 400 stadia to 42 g. miles will give 638 feet 5 inches as the length of the stadium: 420 stadia, which perhaps *Thucydides* might intend, would give 608 feet, or 10 stadia to the g. mile. If we estimate the circuit of Athens by the *Olympic* stadium, 604 feet (which this passage of *Thucydides* appears to warrant), we have $178 \times 604 = 107,512$ feet or $20\frac{1}{2}$ English miles for the circumference.

^g *Thucyd.* II. 17.

^h The collecting of so great a multitude within the walls aggravated the effects of the plague: *Thucyd.* II. 52. ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ οὐχ ἥσσαν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. οἰκίων γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγγραῖς ὥρα ἔτους διαιτωμένων, ὁ φθόρος ἐγένετο.

ⁱ *Thucyd.* II. 14. χαλεπῶς αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ εἰσθῆ-

ναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διατῆσθαι ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγένετο. compare c. 16.

^k *Strabo* IX. p. 396. τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δήμων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τεττάρων, ὡς φασιν. Enumerating the boroughs situated on the coast, he adds p. 399. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ δήμους τῆς Ἀττικῆς μακρὸν εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

^l *Pausan.* I. 31, l. δῆμοι δὲ οἱ μικροὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος οἰκισθεὶς. He names Ἀλιμοῦς, Πρὸςπαλτα, Ἀναγυροῦς, Κεφαλὴ, Πρασιαί, and others.

^m *Thucyd.* II. 19. Ἀχαρνὰς, χωρίον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τῶν δήμων καλουμένων.—οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως (τρισχιλίοι γὰρ ὀπλίται ἐγένοντο).

ⁿ *M. de Ste Croix* computes their population at a third of the population of Athens. *Isocrates*, however, whom he quotes, does not affirm so much, although his testimony to the importance of the *Piræus* is strong: *Panegy.* p. 49. α. ἐμπόριον γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκευάσατο, τοσαύτην ἔχονθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὥσθ' ἂ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν παρ' ἐκάστων χαλεπὸν ἐστί λαβεῖν ταυτ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥάδιον εἶναι πορίσασθαι. *Strabo* IX. p. 395 attests its former greatness, while he marks its subsequent decay: τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν ἐτετέλειχιστο καὶ συνώκιστο ἡ Μουνυχία παραπλησίως ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλις, προσειληφύια τῷ περιβάλλῳ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τοὺς λιμένας πλήρεις νεωρίων.—ἄξιόν τε ἦν ναύσταθμον τετρακοσίαις ναυσὶ κ. τ. λ.

ATTICA. the city itself was $43 + 17 = 60$ stadia^o. It is attested by various evidences to have been the most populous city in Greece^p; and, although the exact number of inhabitants is not
 395 named, we know from Xenophon^q that it contained more than 10,000 houses. London contains $7\frac{1}{2}$ persons to a house; but at Paris formerly the proportion was near 25^r. If we take about half the proportion of Paris, and assume 12 persons to a house, we obtain 120,000 for the population of Athens^s; and we may perhaps assign 40,000 more for the collective inhabitants of *Piræus*, *Munychia*, and *Phalerum*.

^o Thucyd. II. 13. et schol. ad locum.

^p According to Critias apud Xenoph. Hel. II. 3, 24. Athens was πολυανθρωποτάτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεις. Archidamus remarks apud Thucyd. I. 80. θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἐξήρτνται, πλούτῳ τὲ ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὄχλῳ, ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐνὶ γε χωρίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐστίν. And Pericles: Thucyd. II. 64. πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ὥκησamen. Dio tom. I. p. 199. describes what Athens was in the time of Alexander: διακοσίων σταδίων εἶναι τὴν περίμετρον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ Πειραιέως συντιθεμένου, καὶ τῶν διὰ μέσου τειχῶν πρὸς τὸν περίβολον τοῦ ἁστέος οἰκεῖσθαι γὰρ πάσαι καὶ ταῦτα ξύμπαντα ὥστε τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχειν Ἀθήνας Βαβυλῶνος, εἰ τυγχάνει ἀληθὴ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν ἐκεί. The actual circuit, 178 stadia, is called by the orator in round numbers 200 stadia.

^q Xenoph. Mem. III. 6, 14. ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐκ πλείονων ἢ μυρίων οἰκῶν συνέστηκεν. Idem Œcon. 8, 22. ἴσμεν ὅτι μυριοπλάσια ἡμῶν ἅπαντα ἔχει ἡ πᾶσα πόλις.

^r Gibbon Decline and Fall vol. v. p. 289 note observes, "M. de Messance assigns to Paris 23,565 houses and 576,630 inhabitants." These numbers give about $24\frac{1}{2}$ to a house. He adopts the proportion of 25 in computing the inhabitants of ancient Rome. But according to Dicæarchus p. 3 the houses of Athens were incommodious: ἡ πόλις—κακῶς ἐρρύμοτομημένη διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. αἱ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν οἰκῶν εὐτελεῖς ὀλίγαι δὲ χρήσιμα, and we may take for Athens a less proportion.

^s In the *Museum Criticum* already quoted, vol. II. p. 215, the following calculation is formed upon the quantity of imported corn: "Of the 800,000 *medimni* two thirds were by law to be carried into the city, or 533,333. Thucydides IV. 16. tells us, that the daily allowance to the Lacedæmonians in Sphacteria was two *chænixes* of wheat for each soldier, and one *chænix* for each servant. Now it appears from Herodot. VI. 51. that the Spartan kings had no more than two *chænixes* for their allowance. The daily ration of the Athenian captives in Syracuse was only two *cotylæ* of flour, or half a *chænix*. We might conclude, that one *chænix* was the usual daily allowance for one man. Herodotus

VII. 187. intimates, and Laërtius expressly says, "that one *chænix* was a man's daily allowance, equivalent to somewhat less than two pounds. Hesych. Χοίνικες. αἱ ἐφ' ἡμέρας τροφαί. Hence Alexarchus apud Athenæum III. p. 98. e. used "to call a *chænix* ἡμεροτροφία. Hence soldiers of the same mess were called ὁμοχοίνικες. Plutarch. Sympos. II. 10. Now a *medimnus* contained 48 *chænixes*, and consequently $7\frac{1}{2}$ *medimni* would last a man 360 days, and 533,333 *medimni* would suffice for 71,111 people. But it is not probable that women, children, and slaves, who amounted to at least two thirds of the whole population, consumed the same daily proportion as the freemen; and we shall be justified in estimating their consumption at an average of two thirds of a *chænix* each *per diem*;—giving 91,428 for the number of inhabitants. This estimate is of course a very rough one, but I think it is likely to come within 10,000 of the real number of the inhabitants of Athens." In this estimate, the women, children, and slaves are rated too low. It has been ascertained that the male adults above the age of fifteen were 5907 in 20,160. The women and children alone therefore would be much more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole number of the free, and the slaves would still remain to be computed. If the slaves in Athens had been only equal in number to the free, then the free male adults would even in that case have been only 5907 in 40,320, or little more than $\frac{1}{7}$ th of the total inhabitants. But if the slaves were, as it appears to me from preceding considerations, in the proportion of more than three to one compared with the free inhabitants, that is, as about 100 to 32 (see above, p. 392), it will follow, that the freemen above the age of fifteen would be only 5907 in about 82,500 persons, or less than $\frac{1}{13}$ th of the whole, and $\frac{1}{13}$ ths instead of $\frac{1}{3}$ ds would be the proportion for which the reduced allowance is to be computed. It appears, then, that 533,333 *medimni* would supply annually more than 91,428 persons. But in the preceding estimate the author has assumed, that the inhabitants of Athens were exclusively subsisted upon foreign corn, and has omitted to compute how much of the produce of Attica might be carried into the city. If we

We collect from Xenophon^t that the free population of ΒΕΟΤΙΑ was equal to that of ΒΕΟΤΙΑ. Attica: πλῆθει μὲν οὐδὲν μέλους εἶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Βοιωτῶν. And this is very probable, when we consider the extent and fertility of the province, and the cities which it contained. Bœotia appears to have contained fourteen states. Three of these, *Eleutherae*^v, *Plataeæ*, and *Oropus*^w, were separated from the Bœotian confederacy, and attached to Athens; Oropus

make allowance for this, we shall find that 120,000 inhabitants are not too many. For the free male adults, taken at a thirteenth of the whole, would be 9231, and the consumption would be this:

free male adults 9,231 = 9,231 *chæn*.

other inhabitants 110,769 = 73,846 *chæn*.

120,000 = 83,077 *chæn*.

But 83,077 *chœnices* daily, or 1731 *medimni* × 365 = 631,815 *medimni* for the annual consumption: and, as 533,333 were imported, this would leave only 98,482 *medimni* = 107,875 bushels to be derived from the soil of Attica.

^t Memor. III. 5, 2. On the population of Bœotia it is remarked in the Penny Cyclopædia vol. V. p. 43 art. ΒΕΟΤΙΑ as follows: "The population according to Mr. Clinton's deductions was 130,500: F. H. II. p. 399."—"But the population given is unreasonably low.—Xenophon says that the Athenians and Bœotians were on a par in point of population; but probably there were not so many slaves in Bœotia as in Attica."

My estimate for the numbers was not 130,500, but 135,000. See below p. 401. Xenophon however by no means affirms that they were "on a par in point of population." For his expression Ἀθηναῖοι does not mean the inhabitants of Attica, but the citizens of Athens.

^v *Eleutherae*: πόλις Βοιωτίας Steph. Byz. Ἐλευθεραί ἂς οἱ μὲν τῶν Πλαταιῶν οἱ δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας φασὶν Strab. IX. p. 412. *Eleutherae* voluntarily placed itself under the protection of Athens: Pausan. I. 38, 8. πρότερον Ἐλευθερεῦσιν ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦσαν προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τούτων, οὕτως ἤδη Βοιωτίας ὁ Κιθαιρὼν ἐστὶν ὄρος. προσεχώρησαν δὲ Ἐλευθερεῖς οὐ πολὺ μὲν βιασθέντες ἀλλὰ πολιτείας τε ἐπιθυμήσαντες παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ κατ' ἔχθος τὸ Θηβαίων. *Eleutherae* is mentioned by Xenoph. Hel. V. 4, 14 Arrian. Exp. I. 7, 13 Plutarch. Mor. p. 300. A Pausan. IX. 1, 3.

^v *Plataea* withdrew from the Bœotian confederacy in B. C. 519. See the Tables. Herodot. VI. 108. πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐδίδονσαν σφέας αὐτοῦς.—Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιεῖς: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφί ἐβόηθησαν. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες—οὔρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλο-

μένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν. It was destroyed in B. C. 427 (see the Tables); restored at the peace of Antalcidas, and again destroyed by the Thebans B. C. 374. Philip promised to restore Plataea with Thespiæ; but at the capture of Thebes by Alexander in B. C. 335 these towns were not yet restored: Diod. XVII. 13. Θεσπιεῖς καὶ Πλαταιεῖς ἔτι δ' Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένων πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους συστρατεύόμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ συνέπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Justin. XI. 3. In concilio cum de excidio urbis (Thebarum) deliberaretur, Phocenses et Plataenses et Thespienses et Orchomenii, Alexandri socii victoriaeque participes, excidia urbium suarum referebant. Plutarch. Alex. c. 11. καὶ γὰρ Φωκεῖς καὶ Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγορήσαν. Arrian. I. 8. Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔκτεινον. The restoration of the Plataeans was proposed at this time: Arrian. I. 9. ἐπὶ τούτοις [upon the destruction of Thebes] Ὀρχομένον τε καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἀναστήσαι τε καὶ τειχίσαι οἱ ἑὺμαχοι ἔγνωσαν. and after the battle of Arbela in B. C. 331 Alexander ἔγραψεν ἰδίᾳ Πλαταιεῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν. Plutarch. Alex. c. 34. Idem Aristid. c. 11. Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη βασιλεύοντα τῆς Ἀσίας —τειχίζοντα τὰς Πλαταιάς. But they were not restored till B. C. 315, sixty years after their expulsion, and at the time of the restoration of Thebes by Cassander: Pausan. IX. 3, 4. Δαϊδάλων δὲ ἑορτὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ σφίσι συνεορτάζουσι, δι' ἐξηκοστοῦ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἔτους ἐκλιπεῖν γὰρ τοσούτον χρόνον τὴν ἑορτὴν φασιν, ἥνικα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔφηνγον.—ταῦτα ἀναιροῦνται κλήρω Πλαταιεῖς, Κορωναῖοι, Θεσπιεῖς, Ταναγραῖοι, Χαϊρωνεῖς, Ὀρχομένιοι, Λεβαδεῖς, Θηβαῖοι. διαλλαγῆναι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι Πλαταιεῦσιν ἠξίωσαν καὶ συλλόγου μετασχεῖν κοινού, καὶ ἐς Δαίδαλα θυσίαν ἀποσταλεῖν, ὅτε Κάσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου τὰς Θήβας συνώκισε. These sixty years he calls δύο γενεάς IV. 27, 5.

^w *Oropus*: Strab. IX. p. 399. Ὀρωπὸς ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ γεγένηται πολλάκις. It belonged to the Athenians in B. C. 490: conf. Herodot. VI. 100. and in B. C. 431: Ὀρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι Thucyd. II. 23. It was lost to the Bœotians in the beginning of B. C. 411: Βοιωτοὶ τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος Ὀρωπὸν εἶδον προδοσίᾳ Thucyd. VIII. 60. and still independent of Athens in B. C. 402: Diod. XIV. 17. Oropus was recovered, but lost again in B. C. 366. See the Tables. Still in the

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397 by conquest, Eleutheræ and Platæa by voluntary cession. The other Bæotian states were these: *Anthedon* ^x, *Copæ* ^y, *Orchomenus* ^z, *Chæronea* ^a, *Lebadea* ^b, *Coronea* ^c, *Haliartus* ^d,

hands of the Thebans in B. C. 346: Demosth. de Pace p. 63. but subsequently restored by Philip to the Athenians: Ulpian. ad Demosth. de Cor. p. 153, 176. Θηβαῖοι οὐδετέροις ἀπέδοσαν μέχρις οὗ ὁ Φίλιππος ὑστερον σπενδόμενος Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῷ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐχαρίσατο αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ Θηβαίων λαβόν. Pausan. l. 34, l. 1. τὴν γῆν τὴν Ὠρωπίαν μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ταναγκρικῆς Βοιωτίαν τὸ ἐξαρχῆς οὖσαν ἔχουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, πολεμήσαντες μὲν τὸν πάντα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς χρόνον κτησάμενοι δὲ οὐ πρότερον βεβαίως πρὶν ἢ Φίλιππος Θῆβας ἐλὼν ἔδοκέ σφισι. To the loss of *Oropus* in B. C. 366 may be referred the cause περὶ Ὠρωποῦ in which *Chabrias* was prosecuted: Demosth. Mid. p. 535. τὸν Φιλόστρατον πάντες ἴσμεν τὸν Κολωνῆθεν Χαβρίου κατηγοροῦντα ὅτ' ἐκρίνετο τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσιν θανάτου. The celebrated cause in which *Callistratus* pleaded, and which Demosthenes heard when a boy, is supposed by Taylor ad Demosth. l. c. to have been on a different occasion; from whom Spalding dissents ad Midianam c. XVIII. *Non video quare Taylorus neget esse posse causam illam quam orantem audiens Callistratum eloquentiae amore exarsit Demosthenes*. The testimonies are these: Plutarch. Vit. Demosth. c. 5. Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσιν μέλλοντος, ἣν προσδοκία τῆς δίκης μεγάλη, διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμιν ἀνθούontos τότε μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν, οὖσαν περιβόητον. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν συντιθεμένων τῇ δίκῃ παρατυχεῖν, ἔπεισε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν δεόμενος καὶ προθυμούμενος ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀγάγοι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. ὁ δ' ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια συνήθειαν εὐπόρησε χώρας ἐν ἣ καθήμενος ὁ παῖς ἀδήλως ἀκούσεται τῶν λεγομένων, κ. τ. λ. Vit. X. or. p. 344. B. ὡς δὲ Ἡγησίας ὁ Μάγνης [emendat Ruhnkenius apud Reisk. tom. VIII. p. 185. or. Græc. Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης] φησὶν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ ἵνα Καλλιστράτου—μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν ἀκούσῃ, ἀκούσας δὲ ἐραστής ἐγένετο τῶν λόγων καὶ τούτου μὲν ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἤκουσεν ἕως ἐπεδήμει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἔφυγεν εἰς Θράκην ὁ δ' ἐγεγόνει ἐξ ἐφήβων, παρέβαλλεν Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Πλάτωνα, εἶτα καὶ Ἰσαῖον ἀναλαβὼν, κ. τ. λ. Gellius III. 13. *Hermippus hoc scriptum reliquit, Demosthenem admodum adolescentem ventitare in Academiam Platonemque audire solitum. Atque is, inquit, Demosthenes domo egressus—cum ad Platonem pergeret, compluresque populos concurrentes videret; percontatur ejus rei causam, cognoscitque currere eos auditum Callistratum. Venit, inquit, atque audit Callistratum nobilem illam τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ δίκην dicentem, atque*

ita motus et demulctus et captus est ut Callistratum jam inde sectari cœperit, Academiam cum Platone reliquerit. Add Ammianus XXX. 4, 5. If this celebrated cause referred to the loss of *Oropus* in B. C. 366, it would have occurred in the archonship of Cephisodorus, in that very year in which *Demosthenes* emerged from minority and was admitted to his estate: and this is perhaps inconsistent with Plutarch and the biographer, who represent him as still a boy, subject to the authority of tutors. *Hermippus*, however, apud Gellium represents him as his own master and already the disciple of *Plato*. If *Callistratus* and *Chabrias* were engaged in the same cause, they must have been on the same side of the question; for *Callistratus* was successful: Plutarch l. c. εὐμερῆσαντος τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμασθέντος ὑπερφύως κ. τ. λ. and we know from *Demosthenes* that *Chabrias* escaped. We may therefore conjecture that they were both involved in the same charge (ὁ Χαβρίας ἔπειθε Θηβαίους βοηθῆσαι Ἀθηναίους ὅτε ἐκινδύνουν· εἶτα σωθέντες ἀπέσπασαν τὴν Ὠρωπόν· ὑποπτέυθη γοῦν ὁ στρατηγὸς ὡς συνειδὼς, καὶ προδοσίας ἐκρίθη. Ulpian. ad Demosth. p. 335), and that *Callistratus* defended himself in that oration.

^x *Anthedon*: πόλις Βοιωτίας Steph. Byz. πόλις λιμένα ἔχουσα Strab. IX. p. 404. Dicæarchus p. 62. πόλις οὐ μεγάλη τῷ μεγέθει, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Εὐβοικῆς κειμένη θαλάττης· τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν ἔχουσα κατὰ δένδρον πᾶσαν, στοαῖς ἀνειλημμένην διτταῖς. αὕτη δὲ εὖανος, εὖοφος, σίτῳ σπανίζουσα διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν εἶναι λυπράν. οἱ δ' ἐνοικοῦντες σχεδὸν πάντες ἀλιεῖς.

^y *Copæ*: πόλις Βοιωτικὴ Steph. Byz. κένται αἱ Κῶπαι πόλισμα ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ Pausan. IX. 24, 2.

^z *Orchomenus* was added to Bæotia in the 60th year after the Trojan war, at the time of the Æolic migration: Thucyd. I. 12. Βοιωτοὶ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ἄκισαν. Strabo IX. p. 401. ἐν Θετταλίᾳ συνεστήσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ Ἀρναίων ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥστε καὶ Βοιωτοὺς κληθῆναι ἅπαντας· εἰτ' ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἥδη τοῦ Αἰολικοῦ στόλου παρεσκευασμένου περὶ Αὐλίδας τῆς Βοιωτίας, ὃν ἔστειλον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ τοῦ Ὀρέστου παῖδες· προσθέντες δὲ τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν, μετ' ἐκείνων ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Πελασγούς εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. conf. p. 411. *Orchomenus* was destroyed by the Thebans during their ascendancy: Pausan. IX. 15, 2. ἕως ἀπὴν ὁ Ἐπαμῶνδας [in rescuing *Pelopidas* from *Alexander of Phæræ*] Ὀρχομενίους Θηβαῖοι ποιοῦσιν ἀναστάνους ἐκ τῆς χώρας. placed by Diodorus XV. 79 in B. C.

Thespiæ ε, *Tanagra* ς, *Parasopia* ζ, *Thebes*. These were independent states, except when ΒΕΟΤΙΑ. oppressed by the superior power of Thebes. They participated in the four great councils 398

364, after the liberation of *Pelopidas*. But Pausanias IV. 27, 5 is consistent with himself: 'Ορχομενίων οἱ Μινύαι μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἐκπεσόντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐξ 'Ορχομενοῦ. And Diodorus XV. 57 mentions the fact as designed in B. C. 370. ἤρχε Δυσκίητος.—Θηβαῖοι μεγάλην δυνάμει στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' 'Ορχομενὸν ἐπεβάλλοντο ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν. It might therefore happen earlier than the year 364. Demosthenes in B. C. 355 alludes to this event: Leptin. p. 490. ἴστε γὰρ ὅν τρόπον 'Ορχομενίου διεθήκαν. It was restored by Philip, according to Pausanias IV. 27, 5, before B. C. 352, when Demosthenes pro Megalop. p. 203 mentions it: Θηβαίους μὲν 'Ορχομενοῦ καὶ Θεσπιῶν καὶ Πλαταιῶν οικισθεῖσιν ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι. conf. p. 208. Perhaps, however, this restoration was only promised and never seriously effected; for Philip in B. C. 346 destroyed Orchomenus, and gave the territory to the Thebans: Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 375. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἔφη Θεσπιᾶς καὶ Πλαταιᾶς αὐτὸν τειχεῖν—καὶ τὰς μὲν Θεσπιᾶς καὶ Πλαταιᾶς οὐ τετείχευε, τὸν δὲ 'Ορχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν προσεξηνδραπόδισται. conf. p. 445. Ibid. p. 385. 'Ορχομενός, Κορώνεια,—τοῖς Θηβαίοις ταῦτ' ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης γέγονεν. Idem de Pace p. 62. τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἐβούλετο Θηβαῖοις 'Ορχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν παραδοῦναι ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθη. He mentions it again in B. C. 344. Philipp. II. p. 69. πῶς ἂν 'Ορχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοῖς; Orchomenus was restored after the destruction of Thebes (see *Platea*), and is named by Dicaearchus about twenty years after the death of *Alexander* (see below, *Tanagra*). Ephorus apud Schol. Iliad. IX. 381. ed. Bekk. notices the plain around Orchomenus: 'Ορχομενὸν τὴν τῆς Βοιωτίας—ὃν Μινύαι κατέκρησαν' πολὺ δὲ τοῦτο παράκειται πεδίον, εἰ πιστός ἐστιν Ἐφορος, πλήρης πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ὧν ταῖς ἐκείσε τιμωμέναις Χάρισι πέμπουσιν οἱ περίοικοι.

^a *Chæronea*: Χαιρώνεια δ' ἐστὶν 'Ορχομενοῦ πλησίον Strab. IX. p. 414. Χαιρώνεια ἔσχατον τῆς Βοιωτίας Thucyd. IV. 76. Chæronea was comprehended with Orchomenus in the age of Thucydides: Χαιρώνειαν ἢ ἐς 'Ορχομενὸν ξυντελεῖ IV. 76. (a similar expression is in Polyb. XL. 3, 4. Πατρεῖς καὶ τὸ μετὰ τούτων συντελικόν.) But Chæronea formed one of the states, and is named in B. C. 171 as one of the Boeotian towns by Polybius XXVII. 1. πρέσβεις παρὰ μὲν Θεσπιέων—τοὺς Χαιρωνεῖς καὶ τοὺς Λεβαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι παρήσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων.—οἱ δὲ Κορωνεῖς καὶ Ἀλιάρτιοι συνδεδραμηκότες εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀκμὴν ἀντεποιοῦντο τῶν πραγμάτων.

^b *Lebadea*: conf. Strab. IX. p. 414. Polybius names this state in B. C. 171. See *Chæronea*.

^c *Coronea*: ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἑλικωνός ἐστὶν ἐφ' ὕψους ἰδρυμένη Strab. IX. p. 411. Here the Pambœotian festival was held: ἐπαύθα τὰ Παμβοιωτία συνετέλουν Strab. ibid. See *Orchomenus* for the fortunes of *Coronea* in B. C. 346.

^d *Haliartus*: named by Polybius in B. C. 171 (see *Chæronea*); but destroyed soon after in the war with *Perseus*: Strab. IX. p. 411. Ἀλιάρτος δὲ νῦν οὐκέτι ἐστὶ, κατασκαφείσα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Περσεία πολέμῳ τὴν χώραν δ' ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι δόντων Ῥωμαίων.

^e *Thespiæ* before the Persian war followed the lead of Thebes: Herodot. V. 79. Ταναγραῖοι τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπιεῖς ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον. The Thespians were ejected by the Thebans in B. C. 374, at the same time with the Plataeans: Xenoph. Hel. VI. 3, 1. Diodorus XV. 46 places both events in the year of Socratides: Θηβαῖοι τὰς Πλαταιᾶς κατασκάψαντες καὶ Θεσπιᾶς ἀλλοτριῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακειμένας ἐξεπύρρησαν. According to Demosthenes, Philip had undertaken to rebuild Thespiæ as a check to the Thebans (see *Orchomenus*); but in B. C. 344 Thespiæ was not yet restored: Demosth. Philipp. II. p. 73. Φίλιππος Θεσπιᾶς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιᾶς τειχεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως. And in B. C. 343 he again remarks, ἀκούσεσθαι Θεσπιᾶς καὶ Πλαταιᾶς οἰκισόμενας, κ. τ. λ. Fals. Leg. p. 347. It had been restored in the time of Dicaearchus (see *Dicaearch.* p. 64. 79); and near 300 years after was still a considerable town in the time of Strabo: Strab. IX. p. 403. 410.

^f *Tanagra* is thus described by Dicaearchus p. 31. πόλις τραχεῖα μὲν καὶ μετέωρος λευκὴ δὲ τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ ἀργιλλώδης τοῖς δὲ τῶν οἰκίων προθύροις καὶ ἐγκαύμασιν ἀναθεματικοῖς κάλλιστα κατεσκευασμένη καρποῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς χώρας σιτικοῖς οὐ λίαν ἀφθανος, οἶνω δὲ τῷ γινόμενῳ κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν πρωτεύονσα. οἱ δὲ ἐνοικούντες ταῖς μὲν οὐσίαις λαμπροὶ τοῖς δὲ βίοις λιτοί. πάντες γεωργοὶ οὐκ ἐργάται δικαιοσύνην, πίστιν, ξενίαν, ἀγαθοὶ διαφυλάξαι τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τοῖς στεichoπλανήταις τῶν ἀποδημητικῶν ἀφ' ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀπαρχόμενοι τε καὶ ἑλευθέρως μεταδίδοντες ἀλλότριον πάσης ἀδίκου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἐνδιατρίψαι δὲ ξένους ἀσφαλεστάτη πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν. Tanagra continued to flourish to a late period: Strabo IX. p. 403.—Τανάγρας καὶ Θεσπιῶν αὗται δ' ἰκανῶς συμμένουσι. p. 410. (Θεσπιαί) μόνη συνέστηκε τῶν Βοιωτικῶν πόλεων καὶ Τάναγρα. Pliny H. N. IV. 7 names all these Boeotian towns ex-

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by which the affairs of the Bœotian confederacy were directed^h, and had a share in the appointment of the Bœotarchs; whose numberⁱ was perhaps proportioned to the number of states composing the confederacy. Each of these states contained within its territory a number of smaller towns or villages^k.

cept Orchomenus, but distinguishes Thespiæ and Tanagra as free towns: *Thespiæ liberum oppidum*; —*Tanagra liber populus*: Dicaearchus in his metrical description enumerates the following: p. 79.

——— Ἀνθηδών δ' ἔχει
Ἀνθηδόσιον τὸν λιμένα· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
Τάναγρα· κείται δ' ἐν μεσογαίᾳ πάννυ καλῇ
πόλιν μεγάλας Θῆβαι, σταδίων τὸ περίμετρον
ἔχοντα τετταράκοντα καὶ προσέτι τριῶν.
Κῶπαι δὲ πόλιν κῶρχομενός· εἴτα μετὰ δύο
πόλιν Λεβαδεία, καὶ ἱερὸν Τροφωνίου,
ὅπου τὸ μαντεῖον λέγουσι γεγονέναι.
εἴτ' Ὀκαλία πόλιν ἐστὶ καὶ Μεδεών· μετὰ
ταύτην ὑπόκειται Θέσπια, κατ' ἐχομένη
ἢ προσαγορευομένη Πλαταιαί.———

§ Ἡ Παρασωπία. This district contained many towns: Σκῶλος κώμη τῆς Παρασωπίας Strabo IX. p. 408. Σκάρφη τῆς Παρασωπίας p. 409. Ὑσιὰς τῆς Παρασωπίας p. 404. Idem p. 409. Ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ποίῳν τοὺς Παρασωπίους εἰς κατοικίας πλείους διηρημένους, ἅπαντας δ' ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις ὄντας. ἕτεροι δ' ἐν τῇ Πλαταιέων φασὶ τὸν τε Σκῶλον καὶ τὸν Ἑτεωρὸν καὶ τὰς Ἑρυθράς. The situation of *Erythræ* is marked by Herod. IX. 19 Thucyd. III. 24 Strabo IX. p. 404. Euripidis Bacch. 707. (750.)

Ὑσιὰς δ' Ἑρυθράς θ' αἱ Κιθαιρώνας λέπας
νέρθεν κατωκῆκασιν———

This district, containing *Erythræ*, *Hysia*, and other towns, appears to have been distinct from the Thebaid, and independent until subjected by the Thebans. οἱ Ἀσώπιοι are mentioned by Herodot. IX. 15.

^h Thucyd. V. 38. οἱ βωιωτάρχαι ἐκωνόνησαν ταῖς τέσσαρσι βουλαῖς τῶν βωιωτῶν ταῦτα, αἵπερ ἅπαν τὸ κύρος ἔχουσι. The Bœotian confederacy was dissolved in the autumn of B. C. 172: Polyb. XXVII. 2. τὸ δὲ τῶν βωιωτῶν ἔθνος, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον συνετηρηκός τε τὴν κοινὴν συμπολιτείαν, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους καιροὺς διαπεφευγὸς παραδόξως τότε προπετῶς καὶ ἀλογίστως ἐλόμενον τὰ παρὰ Περσέως—κατελύθη καὶ διεσκορπίσθη κατὰ πόλεις. conf. Livium XLII. 44. A Bœotian congress is mentioned by Pausanias IX. 34, 1 as still existing in his time: ἐς τὸν κοινὸν συνίασιν ἐνταῦθα [at the temple of *Minerva Itonia*] οἱ βωιωτοὶ σύλλογον. The Bœotians, like some other states of Greece, were permitted to retain some of their ancient forms under the dominion of the Romans; but their existence

as an independent community ceased with their dissolution in B. C. 172.

ⁱ According to Thucydides IV. 91 the Bœotarchs were eleven in number; τῶν ἄλλων βωιωτάρχων, οἳ εἰσιν ἑνδεκα, οὗ ξυνεπαίνοντων μάχεσθαι,—Παγώνδας ὁ Αἰολιάδου βωιωτάρχων ἐκ Θηβῶν μετ' Ἀριανθίδου τοῦ Λυσιμαχίδου——Idem II. 2. Θηβαίων ἄνδρες—ἡγούντο δὲ αὐτῶν βωιωτάρχουντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδου καὶ Διέμπορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδου—Scho-liastes: ἦσαν οἱ πάντες ἑνδεκα. According to Livy XLII. 43 they were twelve: *Exules Thebas revocati decretum faciunt, ut duodecim qui privati cætum el concilium habuissent exsilio multarentur*. Perhaps the number had been increased with the number of the states. In the age of Thucydides, *Plataea* was not a member of the Bœotian confederacy; in the time of which Livy speaks it had been reunited to the League. See above, *Plataea*, According to Diodorus XV. 52. 53 Pausan. IX. 13 only seven Bœotarchs were present at Leuctra: probably because all Bœotia did not then join the Thebans; for Xenophon V. 4, 46. thus describes the state of Bœotia in B. C. 378. ἐστρατεύοντο (οἱ Θηβαῖοι) ἐς Θεσπιὰς καὶ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις· ὁ μόντοι δῆμος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς Θήβας ἀπεχώρει· ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι δυναστεῖαι καθειστώκεισαν ὥσπερ ἐν Θήβαις· ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας ἐδέοντο. *Tanagra* at that time was in the interest of *Lacedæmon*: Ibid. s. 49. While the Thebans held Bœotia in subjection, they would regulate the appointment of these magistrates. All the seven in Pausanias appear to be Thebans. In B. C. 378, three of the Bœotarchs are Thebans; *Melon*, *Charon*, *Pelopidas*: Plutarch *Pelopid.* c. 13. In Thucyd. IV. 91 it seems implied that only two of the body were Thebans at that time. οἱ βωιωτάρχαι Herodot. IX. 15. οἱ βωιωτάρχαι Xenoph. Hel. III. 4, 4. βωιωτάρχουντες Arrian. Exp. I. 7. are mentioned generally. Θηβαίων τῶν βωιωτάρχων Σκίρφώνδαν Thucyd. VII. 30.

^k Thus *Thespiæ*: ἐν τῇ τῶν Θεσπιέων ἡ Ἀσκη Strab. IX. p. 409. Κρευσίδι ἐπινείῳ τῷ Θεσπιέων Pausan. IX. 32, 1. [Κρέουσα Strabo IX. p. 409. *Creusa* Liv. XXXVI. 21.] Εὐτρησις κώμιον Θεσπιέων Strab. p. 411. Σίφαι τῆς Θεσπικῆς γῆς Thucyd. IV. 76. Λεῦκτρα τῆς Θεσπικῆς Xenoph. Hel. VI. 4, 4. *Tanagra*: Αὐλὶς κώμη Ταναγραίων Strabo IX. p. 403. Δῆλιον Ταναγραίων πολίχριν Ibid. conf. Thu-

The observation of Xenophon, implying that the collective number of citizens in the Bæotian states was equal to the citizens of Athens, or about 20,000, is confirmed by Thucydides: from whom it appears, that at the battle of Delium B. C. 424¹ the Bæotian forces were more than 18,500 men. But 18,500 men from 18 to 60 years of age will give a total of 80,640 persons^m. A force, however, of moreⁿ than 18,500 effective men in the field will suppose a total of more than that number; and we may state the total military population of Bæotia as at least 20,000; and the total free population will be 87,000 persons. A number rather exceeding the estimate of Xenophon^o. In Bæotia, an agricultural country, which had no commercial wealth like Athens, the slaves would not be numerous. If, however, we assume them to be no more than half as many as the free, or 43,500, of both sexes and of all ages, we obtain 130,500 for the total population of Bæotia in the age of Thucydides and Xenophon.

A probable conjecture may be formed what proportion of this number belonged to Thebes. According to Diodorus and Plutarch^p, at the destruction of Thebes by *Alexander* more than 6000 were slain and more than 30,000 were sold as slaves. Barthelemy^q estimates from

cyd. IV. 76. Μυκαλησὸς κώμη τῆς Ταναγρακῆς Strab. p. 404. πόλις οὐ μεγάλη Thucyd. VII. 29. Ἄρμα κώμη τῆς Ταναγρακῆς Strab. p. 404. Ἐλεὼν κώμη Ταναγρακῆ Ibid. *Haliartus*: Πετειὼν τῆς Ἀλιαρτίας καὶ Μεδεῶν καὶ Ὠκαλῆα Strab. p. 410. Ὀγγηστός ὅπου τὸ Ἀμφικτυονικὸν συνέγγετο ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ p. 412. *Thebes*: Σχοίνος χώρα τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς Strab. IX. p. 408. ἐν τῇ Θηβαίων αἱ Θεράπναι καὶ ὁ Τευμησσός p. 409. Πετειὼν κώμη τῆς Θηβαϊδος p. 410. Σκῶλος ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων Herodot. IX. 15. In B. C. 377, when the Thebans threw up works to defend their frontier, Ἀγησίλαος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐρυθράς^r καὶ ἔφθασεν ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα. Xenoph. Hel. V. 4, 49. The frontier then of the Thebaid was between Scolus and Erythræ. For the towns of *Parasopia*, of which Erythræ was one, see p. 398. note g.

¹ Thucyd. IV. 93. He enumerates the forces and the names of the Bæotian states: ὀπλίται ἑπτακισχίλιοι μάλιστα καὶ ψιλοὶ ὑπὲρ μυρίου ἱππῆς τε χίλιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ πεντακόσιοι. εἶχον δὲ δέξιον μὲν κέρας Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμοροι αὐτοῖς [perhaps the *Parasopii*]: μέσσοι δὲ Ἀλιάρτιοι καὶ Κορωνάιοι καὶ Κωπαῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἶχον Θεσπιῆς καὶ Ταναγραῖοι καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι. The term ξύμμοροι appears to mean "those states" which were classed τῇ Θηβαϊδὶ μοίρα, or in other words, which ξυντελοῦν ἐς Θήβας, as the Chæroneans are said IV. 76 ξυντελεῖν ἐς Ὀρχομένον. The *Parasopian* district, according to Strabo, was under the authority of Thebes. See above, note g p. 398.

^m See above p. 387.

ⁿ The force was more than this number; for the light-armed were ὑπὲρ μυρίου, and the Bæo-

tians had already detached a body to watch 300 Athenian cavalry at Delium: Thucyd. *ibid.* πρὸς τοὺτους ἀντικατέστησαν τοὺς ἀμυνομένους. The 18,500 men appear to have been exclusive of these.

^o Twenty thousand citizens, or males above the age of 20, would give a total number of 82,360 persons. See p. 387. and the Tables B. C. 422, 2.

^p Diod. XVII. 14. τῶν Θηβαίων ἀνῆρέθησαν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξακισχίλιους, αἰχμάλωτα δὲ σώματα συνέχθη πλείω τῶν τρισμυρίων. Plutarch Alex. c. 11. ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἄλλους, περὶ τρισμυρίους γενομένους: οἱ δ' ἀποθανόντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιους ἦσαν.

^q Anachars. tom. III. p. 491. He observes that some were spared, and that many probably fled: *On peut présumer en conséquence que le nombre des habitants de Thèbes et de son district pouvait monter à 50,000 personnes de tout sexe et de tout âge, sans y comprendre les esclaves.* Hume p. 562 adopts a much lower estimate: "All those who bore arms were put to the sword, and they amounted only to 6000 men. Among these were some strangers and manumitted slaves. [Diod. XVII. 11. τοὺς ἐλευθερωθέντας οἰκέτας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους.] The captives, consisting of old men, women, children, and slaves, were sold, and they amounted to 30,000. We may therefore conclude that the free citizens in Thebes, of both sexes and all ages, were near 24,000, the strangers and slaves about 12,000.—Thirty-six thousand was the whole number of people, both in Thebes and the neighbouring territory." This estimate cannot be admitted. 1. He omits to take account of those who escaped. Some did not concur in the war,

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these data that the free inhabitants of Thebes and the towns in its territory at that time might be 50,000, a number by no means exceeding the probable amount. If we suppose 25,000 slaves, the population of the Thebaid would be 75,000. And this is confirmed by Dicaearchus. Thebes, when visited by him after its restoration by Cassander, is described in one passage as 43 stadia¹, in another as 70 stadia in circuit². Barthelemy³ endeavours to reconcile these two numbers. The first, however, alone can be relied upon as authentic. And 43 stadia, upon the reduced standard of Rennell⁴, of 508 feet, will give 21,844 feet, or more than 4 miles; at the Olympic stadium, of 604, they will give 25,972, or nearly five, for the circumference of Thebes. Now, as Athens, which was 60 stadia in circuit, contained 10,000 houses, we may assume that Thebes, which was 43, contained at least half that

and appear to have withdrawn from Thebes before the attack was made, or to have been in exile. Some whole families were spared by the conqueror. Many escaped by flight after the action: Arrian. I. 7. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν γινώσκοντες ἐξελθεῖν ὥρμητο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ εὐρεσθαι ξυγγνώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως. Idem I. 8. οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διεκπεσόντες διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πῆδιον ἐξέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὡς ἑκάστοις προὔχῃ εἰσώζοντο. Plutarch Alexand. c. 11. ὑπεξελόμενος τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πινδάρου γεγονότας, ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἄλλους. (conf. Arrian. I. 9. Ælian V. H. XIII. 7.) Justin. XI. 4. *Miseranda res Atheniensibus visa. Itaque portas refugii profugorum contra interdictum regis aperuere.* Plutarch Alex. c. 13. Ἀθηναῖοι—τοῖς καταφυγούσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων μετεδίδοσαν τῶν φιλανθρώπων. Diod. XVII. 15. ὁ δῆμος—δοὺς ἐντολὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν Θηβαίων φυγάδων ἀξιῶσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον συγχωρῆσαι τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς πεφευγότας Θηβαίους ὑποδέχεσθαι. Pausan. IX. 7, 1. τοὺς Θηβαίους γενομένους ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ διαπεσόντας ἐς Ἀθήνας. At Athens, μυστηρίων ἀγομένων ἦκον τινὲς τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου Arrian I. 10. After the capture of the city, the allies decree τοὺς φυγάδας τῶν Θηβαίων ἀγωγίμους ὑπάρχειν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Diod. XVII. 14.

2. Hume supposes the 30,000 captives to include the slaves. But it is not the practice of Greek writers to include the slaves and free persons under one description, or to take account of slaves at all on such occasions. And the passages in which this transaction is noticed clearly refer to free persons only: Arrian I. 9. ἔδοξε παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ὅσοι ὑπελείποντο Θηβαίων, πλὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τε καὶ ἱερειῶν καὶ ὅσοι ξένοι Φιλίππου ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ ὅσοι πρόξενοι Μακεδόνων ἐγένοντο, ἀνδραποδίσαι. καὶ τὴν Πινδάρου δὲ οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου λέγουσιν ὅτι διεφύλαξεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ælian V. H. XIII. 7. ὅτε εἶλε τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν

Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἐλευθέρους πάντας, πλὴν ἱερῶν. ἀφῆκε δὲ τῆς πράσεως καὶ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς ξένους καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς δὲ τούτων ἀφῆκεν. ἐτίμησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Πινδάρου. Justin. XI. 4. *Deleta juventute, nunc senum feminarumque restare vulgus.—Captivi sub corona venduntur; quorum pretium non ex ementium commodo sed ex inimicorum odio extenditur.* Diodorus XVII. 13. 14. has the expressions πάνδημος ἡπῆρχε τῆς πόλεως ἀνδραποδισμός—τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ γεγηρακότες ἀπήγοντο.—αἰχμάλωτα δὲ σώματα συνήχθη.—οἱ σύνεδροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόσθαι.—ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαφυροπωλήσας.—In these expressions the free persons only are meant.

3. Those who fell, to the number of more than 6000 (ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίου), were men of the military age. Those who escaped, or fled, or were in exile, were also males of full age. Perhaps these may be computed collectively at half the number of the slain; and we may estimate all the free-men between the ages of 18 and 60 as at least 9000. But these will be less than a fourth of the whole (see above, p. 387): and 9000 males of the military age will give about 39,000 for the total free population. The slaves therefore were not included in that estimate of 30,000 captives.

¹ See above, p. 398. note ¹.

² Dicaearch. p. 46. ἡ πόλις ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν κεῖται χώρας, τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσα σταδίων ὅ, πᾶσα δὲ ὁμαλή· στοργγύλη μὲν τῷ σχήματι, τῇ χροῇ δὲ μελάγγειος· ἀρχαία μὲν οὖσα, καυνὴ δὲ ἐρῶντοσμημένη διὰ τὸ τρις ἡδὴ, ὥς φασιν αἱ ἱστορίαι, κατεσκάφθαι διὰ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν υπερηφανίαν τῶν κατοικούντων. καὶ ἱπποτρόφος δὲ ἀγαθὴ, κάθυδρος πᾶσα, χλωρὰ τε καὶ γεώλοφος· κηπεύματα ἔχουσα πλείστα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων· καὶ γὰρ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσι δι' αὐτῆς δύο τὸ ἐπικείμενον τῇ πόλει πῆδιον πᾶν ἀρδεύοντες.

³ Anacharsis tom. III. p. 490.

⁴ See above, p. 393.

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number; and 5000 houses, at 12 persons to each, would give 60,000 inhabitants for Thebes in the time of Dicæarchus. It cannot be supposed that Thebes was less populous in the days of its greatness: and Pausanias ^v in fact attests, that the walls only equalled the extent of the former city. But if the Theban territory contained 75,000 inhabitants (60,000 of whom might be resident in the city), when the total population of the province was 180,500, this would leave 55,500 inhabitants for the other ten states of Bœotia, or an average population of between 5000 and 6000 to each. This proportion may be considered probable in the age of *Epaminondas*, when Thespiæ and Orchomenus had been destroyed. In the preceding period, during the flourishing state of those two cities, the proportion of Thebes would be less, and that of the other Bœotian states would be more ^w.

It will be remembered, that the estimates of Xenophon and Thucydides do not include *Oropus* and *Eleuthera*, because these were subject to Athens, and were not members of the Bœotian confederacy. And yet these are to be computed in reckoning the collective population of Bœotia ^{ww}. We may therefore probably state the inhabitants of Bœotia at 135,000. The soil of Bœotia was fertile ^x; and its extent, computed at about 1080 square English miles, compared with a population of 135,000, would give just 125 persons to the square mile.

LACONIA, probably the largest province in Peloponnesus, is said to have once contained 100 towns^y. When the Dorians conquered it, they selected *Sparta* for the place of their

LACONIA.

^v Pausan. IX. 7, 4. *Θηβαίους ἐπὶ Κασσάνδρον πᾶς ὁ ἀρχαῖος περίβολος ἀνφικίσθη.*

^w At the battle of Plataea the Thespians who joined the Greeks were 1800: Herodot. IX. 30. and yet 700 Thespians (*Θεσπιέων ἑπτακόσιοι* Herodot. VII. 202) in the preceding year fell with Leonidas at Thermopylae: *καταμείναντες συναπέθανον* Herodot. VII. 222. But 2500 males from 18 to 60 will give a total population of 10,800 persons for the Thespian state at that period: even supposing slaves to be included. We may conclude that in that age Thebes was less populous, and the other states more populous, than in the age of Xenophon. Thus, after the overthrow of Thebes by *Alexander*, the other states of Bœotia profited by her adversity: Diod. XVIII. 11. *Ἀλέξανδρος Θήβας κατασκάψας τὴν χώραν τοῖς περιουκοῦσι Βοιωτοῖς ἔδωκεν· οἱ δὲ κατακληρουχίσαντες τὰς τῶν ἡτυχηκότων κτήσεις ἐκ τῆς χώρας μεγάλας ἐλάβανον προσόδους.*

^{ww} But not Plataea. For the population of *Plataea* at the period of which Thucydides speaks would be included in that of the Athenians; by whom the Plataeans after the destruction of their city in B. C. 427 were admitted into the number of citizens. See Demosth. Near. p. 1380, and Lysias p. 166. 167. But it is probable that the total population of Bœotia was not much diminished by the ruin of Plataea; for their territory was occupied and inhabited by the Thebans:

Thucyd. III. 68. Some few Plataeans remained, as partizans of the Thebans: Thucyd. *ibid*.

^x Strabo IX. p. 400 remarks that it was far superior to Attica: *ἀρετὴ τῆς χώρας πάμπολυ διαφέρει.* Idem p. 406. *τῶν πεδίων τὰ μὲν λιμνάζει—τὰ δὲ καὶ γεωργεῖται παντοδαπῶς διὰ τὴν εὐκαρπλίαν.*

^y Strabo VIII. p. 362. *τὸ παλαιὸν ἑκατόμπολιν φασιν αὐτὴν (τὴν Λακωνικὴν) καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἑκατόμβοια διὰ τοῦτο θύεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς κατ' ἔτος.* Among the towns of Laconia, besides *Sparta* the capital, were these:

Acrae. ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀκραι Pausan. III. 22, 4. See *Helos*.

Ægys. Αἶγυς πόλις Λακωνικὴ Steph. Byz. near *Belmina*: Polyb. II. 53.

Ægia. μετὰ Κροκέας ἀποτραπέειν ἐς δεξιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐς Γύθειον εὐθείας ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἦξει Αἰγίας Pausan. III. 21, 5. Γύθειον ἀπέχει σταδίων τριάκοντα Αἰγίων *Ibid*.

Ægila. Αἰγίλα τῆς Λακωνικῆς Pausan. IV. 17, 1.

Æthaea. Αἰθαία πόλις Λακωνικῆς μία τῶν ἑκατὸν Φιλόχορος ἐν Ἀρθίδος τρίτῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Αἰθαίεύς· Θουκυδίδης πρώτη [I. 101. ubi Αἰθεῖς]. Steph. Byz.

Amathus. See *Asinē*.

Amyclae. πόλις Λακωνικὴ τῶν ἑκατὸν πόλεων Steph. Byz. τόπος τῆς Λακωνικῆς χώρας καλλιγενέστατος καὶ καλλικαρπώτατος· ἀπέχει δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ὡς εἴκοσι στάδια.—κέεται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς πρὸς θάλατταν κελιμένοις μέρεσι Polyb. V. 19.

LACONIA.

Anthana. πόλις Λακωνική μία τῶν ἑκατὸν Steph. Byz.

Aphrodisias. πόλις Λακωνικῆς μία τῶν ρ' Steph. Byz. Ἀφροδισία Thucyd. IV. 56. See *Bææ*.

Asopus. Ἀσωπὸς πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ Strab. VIII. p. 364. πρὸς θαλάσση πόλις Ἀσωπὸς Ἀκριῶν ἀπέχει σταδίου ἐξήκοντα Pausan. III. 22, 7. See *Helos*.

Asinæ. πόλις Λακωνική Steph. Byz. μετὰ Ταίναρον πλέοντι ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνου γνάθον καὶ Μαλέας Ἀμαθοὺς ἐστὶ πόλις· εἴτα Ἀσίνη καὶ Γύθιον Strab. VIII. p. 363. ἔς τε Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἐλος καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν περὶ θάλασσαν Thucyd. IV. 54. Conf. Polyb. V. 19.

Aulon. πόλις Λακωνική μία τῶν ἑκατὸν Steph. Byz.

Belmina, or *Belbina*. Βέλβινα πόλις Λακωνική· 402 Πανσωνίας ὁδόφ Steph. Byz. Πελλήνας δὲ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἀπέχει Βελεμίνη (sic) καλουμένη Pausan. III. 21, 3. λέγουσι μὲν δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Βελεμίναν τῆς σφετέρας οὖσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποτεμέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίου VIII. 35, 4. Λακωνικῆς μεσόγειος—Βλέμμινα Ptol. Geograph. III. 16. *Ager Belbinates* Liv. XXXVIII. 34. Κλεομένην οἱ Ἔφοροι πέμπουσιν καταληψόμενον τὸ περὶ τὴν Βελβίαν Ἀθηναίων ἐμβολὴ δὲ τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὸ χωρίον ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἦν ἐπίδικον Plutarch Cleom. c. 4. From Plutarch l. c. Liv. XXXVIII. 34. and from Pausan. VIII. 27, 3 (where it is written Βλένινα) it would seem that after the invasion of Laconia in B. C. 369 *Belmina* was detached from Laconia and made a part of the territory of Megalopolis. And yet compare Pausan. VIII. 35, 4.

Biandina. See *Helos*.

Bææ. See *Helos*. Βοία πόλις Strab. VIII. p. 364. Βοιατικὸς κόλπος καὶ Βοιαί πόλις πρὸς τῷ πέρατι ἐστὶ τοῦ κόλπου· ταύτην ἔκτισε μὲν Βοιοὺς τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, συναγαγείν δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐς αὐτὴν λέγεται πόλεον, Ἡτιδος, Ἀφροδισιάδος, καὶ Σίδης Pausan. III. 22, 9.

Caryæ. Κάρυα χωρίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς· Θεόπομπος ν' Steph. Byz. οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 25. After the Thebans were withdrawn, Archidamus Καρύας ἐξαιρεῖ κατὰ κράτος Idem VII. 1, 28. *Caryæ* is described by Pausan. III. 10, 8. In the second Messenian war Ἀριστομένης τὰς ἐν Καρύαις παρθένους χορευούσας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐλόχησε Pausan. IV. 16, 5.

Cardamylæ. Καρδαμύλη τῇ Λακωνικῇ Herod. VIII. 75. perhaps because in that age Messenia belonged to Lacedæmon. Thus Thucydides IV. 12 calls *Pylus* γῆς Λακωνικῆς. But, as *Cardamylæ* was near the borders of the two provinces, it might, like *Thuria*, or *Thalamæ*, have sometimes been reckoned to the one and sometimes to the other. Strabo VIII. p. 360 reckons it among the Messenian towns. It was restored to Sparta by Au-

gustus: Pausan. III. 26, 5. Καρδαμύλη Λακεδαιμονίαν ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοὺς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, βασιλέως Διγούστου τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀποτερομένων· ἀπέχει δὲ Καρδαμύλη θαλάσσης ὀκτὼ σταδίου.

Characoma. προῖοντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Πελλήναν Χαράκωμά ἐστιν ὀνομαζόμενον, καὶ ἡ μετὰ τοῦτο Πελλήνα πόλις τὸ ἀρχαῖον Pausan. III. 21, 2.

Cotyrtæ. περὶ Κοτύρτῃν καὶ Ἀφροδισίαν Thucyd. IV. 56. Κότυρτα χωρίον Λακωνικόν· Θουκυδίδης Steph. Byz.

Croceæ. Κροκεία πόλις Λακωνική τῶν ἑκατὸν πόλεων μία Steph. Byz. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντί ἐστὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἡ κώμη καλουμένη Κροκεία Pausan. III. 21, 4. conf. II. 3, 5.

Cypræissia. πόλις ἐπὶ χερρόνησον ἰδρυμένη Κυπρισσία λιμένα ἔχουσα Strab. VIII. p. 363.

Cyphanta. Κυφάντων καλουμένων ἐρείπια ἐστὶν Pausan. III. 24, 2. See *Prasieæ*.

Derrhium. τὸ Δαπίθαϊον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Ταυγέτῳ, καὶ οὐ πόρρω Δέρριον Pausan. III. 20, 7.

Dyrrhachium. ἐστὶ τις Λακωνική μία τῶν ρ' Steph. Byz.

Epidaurus Limera. τῆς Βοιατῶν ὁμορος Ἐπίδανρός ἐστιν ἡ Λιμηρά—φασὶ δὲ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἐπίδανριον εἶναι Pausan. III. 23, 4. τινὲς δὲ Δειμηρὸν Λακωνικὴν λέγουσι μίαν τῶν ἑκατὸν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν λιμένας Steph. Byz. See *Prasieæ*.

Eteia, or *Etis*. Ἡτεία δῆμος Λακωνικῆς Steph. Byz. Ἡτις Pausan. III. 22, 9. See *Bææ*. Οἷητις VIII. 12, 5.

Geronthraæ. Pausan. III. 22, 5. ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνὸ Γερὸνθραι σταδίου ἀπέχουσιν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ἀκριῶν· ταύτας οἰκουμένας πρὶν Ἡρακλείδης ἐλθεῖν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους Δωριεῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνα ἔχοντες· ἀναστήσαντες δὲ Γερὸνθρας τοὺς ἀρχαίους παρὰ σφῶν ἀποίκους ἀπέστειλαν.

Glyppia, or *Glympes*, probably the same place. Μαρίος πόλισμα ὃ ἀπὸ Γερωνθρῶν στάδια ἑκατὸν ἀφ' ἑστηκεν—κώμη δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμά ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὐτὴ Γλυππία· καὶ ἐς κώμην ἑτέραν Σελινούντα ἐκ Γερωνθρῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς σταδίων εἴκοσι Pausan. III. 22, 6. Γλύμπεσι καὶ Ζάρακι προσπεσὼν Polyb. IV. 36, 5. Γλυμπεῖς χωρίον ὃ κεῖται περὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς Idem V. 20, 4.

Gythium. Γύθιον ἔνθα τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 32. conf. I. 4, 11. εἴτα Ἀσίνη καὶ Γύθιον τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπίνειον ἐν διακοσίοις καὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίοις ἰδρυμένον Strab. VIII. p. 363. τὸ ναύσταθμον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Γύθιον ἔχει δ' ἀσφαλὴ λιμένα, τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπέχει περὶ τριάκοντα στάδια Polyb. V. 19, 6. Schweigh. ad Polyb. l. c. solves the difficulty by explaining that *Gythium* was 240 stadia from *Sparta*, and the port 30 stadia from *Gythium*.

Helos. ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλισμα Ἐλος ἦν Pausan. III.

20, 6. Ἔλος τ' ἔφαλον ἰππολίεθρον Hom. II. II. 584. ὁ Εὐρώτας ἐκδιδῶσι μεταξὺ Γυθίου καὶ Ἀκραιῶν—εἰθ' ἐλῶδες ὑπέρεκειται χωρίον καὶ κόμη Ἔλος πρότερον δ' ἦν πόλις Strab. VIII. p. 363. ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Γυθείου στάδια προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἡπίεργ Τρινασοῦ καλουμένης τείχῃ [at Τρίνασος ἐπίνειον Ptol. Geogr. III. 16. conf. Schweigh. ad Polyb. V. 19, 6], φρουρίου ποτὲ (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) καὶ οὐ πόλεως.—προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ Τρινασοῦ στάδια ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα τοῦ Ἔλους τὰ ἐρείπια ὑπόλοιπα ἦν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τριάκοντα προελθόντι που σταδίου ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀκριαί Pausan. III. 22, 3. 4. τὴν Ἑλίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶ πλείστη καὶ καλλίστη χώρα τῆς Λακωνικῆς Polyb. V. 19, 7. Strabo places *Acriæ* between the *Eurotas* and *Helos*: but according to Pausanias, who is confirmed by Polybius, *Helos* lay between the *Eurotas* and *Acriæ*. Ptolemy Geogr. III. 16 names the places on the Laconic bay in this order: ἐν τῷ Λακωνικῷ κόλῳ Ταϊνάριον, Καυὴ [see *Tenarium*], Τευθρώνη, Λᾶς, Γύθιον, Τρίνασος ἐπίνειον, Εὐρώτα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, Ἀκρια, Βιῶνδινα, Ἀσσωπὸς πόλις, Ὄνου γνάθος, Βοαί [*l. Boiai*], Μαλέα ἄκρα.

403 Hippola. See *Ætylus*.

Lapithæum. See *Derrhium*.

Las. ἐν δεξιᾷ Γυθίου Λᾶς ἐστὶ θαλάσσης μὲν δέκα στάδια Γυθίου δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχοντα Pausan. III. 24, 5. τὴν δὲ Λᾶν οἱ Διόσκουροι ποτὲ ἐκ πολιορκίας εἰς ἰστοροῦνται Strab. VIII. p. 364.

Lernæ. Λέρνη τῆς Λακωνικῆς μεσόγειος Ptol. Geogr. III. 16.

Leuce, near *Helos*. ἀφικνεῖτο ταῖς προνομαῖς πρὸς Ἀκριὰς καὶ Λεύκας ἔτι δὲ τὴν τῶν Βοιωτῶν χώραν Polyb. V. 19, 8. *Ad Pleias posuit castra*; *imminet is locus et Leucis et Acriis* Liv. XXXV. 27. ἔστι πεδῖον καλούμενον Λεύκη· εἴτα—Κυπαρισσία· εἴτα ἡ Ὄνου γνάθος· εἴτα Βοία πόλις Strab. VIII. p. 363.

Leuce. Πολίχνην καὶ Πρασίαν καὶ Λεύκας καὶ Κύφαντα Polyb. IV. 36, 5. On the borders of Argolis.

Leuctra. Θαλαμῶν ἀπέχει σταδίου εἴκοσιν ὀνομαζομένη Πέφνος ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ.—Πέφνον δὲ στάδια εἴκοσιν ἀπέχει Δεῦκτρα Pausan. III. 26, 2. 3. οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ φασί—τὰ Δεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι Ibid. Λακωνικῆς Δεῦκτρον, Ταϊναρία ἄκρα Ptol. Geogr. III. 16. Δεῦκτρον τῶν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Δεῦκτρον ἀποικος Strab. VIII. p. 360.

Leuctra. on the northern frontier, near Arcadia. Δεῦκτρα τῆς ἐαυτῶν μεθορίας, where the Lacedæmonians sacrifice τὰ διαβατήρια Thucyd. V. 54. ἐπὶ Δεῦκτρον ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεατίδος Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 24. After the invasion of Laconia B.C. 369, this district was detached from Laconia and added to Megalopolis: Pausan. VIII. 27, 3.—παρὰ Αἰγυπτίων [*leg. cum Palmer. Αἰγυπτιῶν*] καὶ Σκιρτῶν καὶ Μαλαία [*l. Μαλέα*] καὶ Κρῶμοι καὶ Βλένινα [*forte Βέλμυνα*] καὶ Δεῦκτρον. The emendation of

Palmerius is confirmed by Polyb. II. 54. τὴν Αἰγύτιν καὶ Βελμινάτιν χώραν.

Litææ. Λιταῖαι πόλις Λακωνικῆς Ἀπολλόδαρος ἐβδομῇ Steph. Byz.

Marios. See *Glyppia*.

Messa. See *Ætylus*.

Methonæ. Μεθώνη πόλις—τῆς Λακωνικῆς Steph. Byz. ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀποβάτες Thucyd. II. 25. Probably no other than the Messenian *Methonæ*.

Ænus. Οἶνους πολίχνην Λακωνικῆς Steph. Byz. τῆς Λακωνικῆς μεσόγειος Οἶνῳ [*forte l. Οἶνους*] Ptol. Geogr. III. 16. The river *Ænus* near Sellasia is mentioned by Polyb. II. 65. 66.

Ætylus. μεταξὺ ἀπὸ τῶν Θυρίδων ἀρξαμένοις ὁ Τύλος ἐστὶ· καλεῖται δ' ὑπὸ τινων Οἶτυλος Strab. VIII. p. 360. Θυρίδες ἄκρα Ταϊνάρου καὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια Ἰππόδας ἐστὶν, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν Ἰππολαΐτιδος· ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Μέσσα πόλις καὶ λιμὴν [at confer Strab. VIII. p. 364]. ἀπὸ τούτου στάδια τοῦ λιμένος πεντήκοντά ἐστι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Οἶτυλον Pausan. III. 25, 6. Φερεκύδης· “τοῦ δὲ γίνεται Ἀμφιάναξ, τοῦ δ' Οἶτυλος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις ἢ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλεῖται” Schol. Iliad. II. 585. ed. Bekker.

Pellana. See *Characoma*. τὰ δὲ Πέλλανα Λακωνικὸν χωρίον ὡς πρὸς τὴν Μεγαλοπολίτην νεῦον Strab. VIII. p. 386. τὴν ἐν τῇ Τριπόλει προσαγορευομένην Πελλήνην Polyb. IV. 81, 7. *Tripolim Laconici agri, qui proximus finem Megalopolitarum est* Liv. XXXV. 27.

Pephnos. See *Leuctra*. Πέφνον πόλις Λακωνικῆς οὐδετέρως Steph. Byz.

Pharæ. Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ Pausan. III. 20, 3. πόλιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα καὶ ἐν Ὁμήρῳ καταλόγῳ Φᾶριν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ προσοίκων καλουμένην Φαράς Pausan. IV. 16, 5. ὑποπέπτωκε τῷ Ταυγέτῳ ἢ Σπάρτῃ ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ Ἀμύκλαι—καὶ ἡ Φᾶρις Strab. VIII. p. 363.

Pleiaæ. Liv. XXXV. 27. See *Leuce*. Meursius however reads *Bææ*, see Drakenborch. ad Liv. l. c.

Polichna. See *Leuce*.

Prasieæ, or *Brasieæ*. Πρασίαν τῆς Λακωνικῆς πόλιν ἐπιθαλάσσιον Thucyd. II. 56. ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λιμνὴν καὶ Πρασιὰν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Idem VI. 105. Πρασίαι Λακωνικὸν πολίχνην Steph. Byz. Βρασιαὶ ἐσχάτῃ ταύτῃ τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων πρὸς θαλάσῃ ἐστὶ, Κυφάντων δὲ ἀπέχουσι πλοῦν σταδίων διακοσίων Pausan. III. 24, 3. Ptol. Geogr. III. 16 thus enumerates the places on the Argolic bay: ἐν τῷ Ἀργολικῷ κόλῳ ἔτι Λακωνικῆς Μινῶα λιμὴν [conf. Strab. VIII. p. 368. Pausan. III. 23, 7], Διὸς Σωτήρος λιμὴν [Pausan. *ibid.*], Ἐπίδαυρος, Ζάρηξ, Κυφάντα λιμὴν, Πρασία. *Prasieæ*, with some other towns in the north-east quarter of Laconia, belonged in the age of Polybius to the Argives.

LACONIA.

See Polyb. IV. 36, 5. It was restored to the Laconians by Augustus, and formed one of the 24 free cities (τῶν Ἐλευθερολακῶνων) which he established. See Pausan. III. 21, 6.

Pyrrhichus. τοῦ ποταμοῦ [the Scyras] σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα ἀπέχει Πύρριχος ἐν μεσσηγίᾳ Pausan. III. 25, 2.

Sciros, Sciritis. A district of Laconia on the borders of Arcadia, near the Mænalians: Thucyd. V. 33. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Ἀρκადίας ἐς Παρρᾶσιους Μαντινέων ὑπηκόους ὄντας, κατὰ στάσιον ἐπικαλεσαμένων σφᾶς· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυνήλοις τεῖχος ἀναίρουντες,—ὃ εἰτέχισαν Μαντινῆς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφρούρουσαν, ἐν τῇ Παρρᾶσικῇ κειμένον, ἐπὶ τῇ Σκιρίτιδι τῆς Λακωνικῆς. In B. C. 369 οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ Ἴδον τῆς Σκιρίτιδος Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 25. ἦν Ἰσχόλαος ἐν Ἰῶ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος ἔχων νεοδαμῶδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγᾶδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους Ibid. s. 24. ὃ Ἰσχόλαος βουλόμενος τοῖς Ἰάταις συμμάχοις χρῆσθαι ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Ibid. s. 26. conf. Diod. XV. 64. According to Xenophon Rep. Lac. c. 12, 3. the *Sciritæ* were in the service of Sparta before the time of Lycurgus: εἰ δέ τις προῖοι νύκτωρ ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐνόμισεν [sc. Lycurgus] ὑπὸ Σκιριτῶν προφυλάττεσθαι. They appear to have been distinct from the other περίοικοι: Xenoph. Hel. V. 2, 24. νεοδαμῶδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιόικων καὶ Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. They formed a separate body: Thucyd. V. 67. κέρας εὐώνυμον Σκιρίται αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο, αἶε ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μόνου Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες.

404 and at the battle of Mantinea B. C. 415 supplied 600 men; Thucyd. V. 68. They were often in the post of danger: Xenoph. Cyrop. IV. 2, 1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Σκιρίταις· οὐδὲν φειδόμενοι αὐτῶν οὗτ' ἐν πόνοις οὗτ' ἐν κινδύνοις. After the invasion of Laconia B. C. 369 they revolted from the Spartans: Xenoph. Hel. VII. 4, 21. Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλθων [in B. C. 364] ἐδήον καὶ τῆς Ἀρκადίας ὅσα ἐδύνατο καὶ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος. They appear to have been of Arcadian race: Steph. Byz. Σκίρος Ἀρκადίας κατοικία πλησίον Μαινάλιων καὶ Παρρᾶσιων. οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σκιρίται· Perhaps conquered in the reign of Soüs: Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 2. Σόος, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ Σπαρτιάται χώραν προσεκτήσαντο πολλήν, Ἀρκάδων ἀποτερόμενοι. unless the term Ἀρκადίας κατοικία refers to them after their separation from Lacedæmon.

Selinus. See *Glyppia*.

Sellasia. Σελλασία πόλις Λακωνικῇ Θεόπομπος ἐν τετάρτῳ Ἑλληνικῶν Steph. Byz. *Sellasia* stood on the river Cenus: Liv. XXXIV. 28. within the north-east frontier of Laconia, between *Caryæ* and *Sparta*. Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 27. οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς Καρύας· οἱ δὲ

Θηβαῖοι—κατεβαίνον· καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθὺς ἔκαιον καὶ ἐπόρθον. Diod. XV. 64. Ἥλείοι κατ' ἄλλους τόπους πεπταμένους διελθόντες εἰς τὴν Σελλασίαν παρεγένοντο· εἰς τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τόπον πᾶσι κατατὰν παρήγγελτο· ἀθροισθείσης δὲ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Σελλασίαν, προήγον ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Σπάρτην. Conf. Polyb. II. 65, 7. There appears a corruption in Xenoph. Hel. II. 2, 13. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς. The explanation offered by Weiske ad loc. *finēs regionum sæpe belli jure mutantur*, is not satisfactory, because at that period (B. C. 404) *Sellasia* undoubtedly belonged to the Laconian territory. I would therefore expunge πλησίον as an interpolation, and read ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ τῆς Λακωνικῆς. This town revolted after B. C. 369: Xenoph. Hel. VII. 4, 12. (Διονύσιος) πέμπει βοήθειαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις [B. C. 366], δώδεκα τριήρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Τιμοκράτην· οὗτος δ' οὖν ἀφικόμενος ξυνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς Σελλασίαν. confirming Diod. XV. 64. ἡ πρώτη μερὶς τῶν Βοιωτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐποίησατο ἐπὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς τῇδε κατοικοῦντας ἀπέστεισε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

Tenarum. Ταίναρον δὲ τῆς ἄκρας πλοῦν ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ἀφίστηκε Καινὴ πόλις· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν πάλαι καὶ ταύτῃ Ταίναρον Pausan. III. 25, 6. Φερικύδης ἐν τῇ θ' φησὶν ὅτι Ἐλατος ὁ Ἰκάρου γαμεῖ Ἐριμήδαν.—τούτου δὲ γίνεται Ταίναρος· ἀφ' οὗ Ταίναρον καλεῖται ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ ἄκρα καὶ ὁ λιμὴν Schol. Apollon. I. 102.

Tenos. Τήνος—πόλις Λακωνικῇ μία τῶν ρ' Steph. Byz.

Teuthrone. ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρίχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἔστι Τευθρόνη Pausan. III. 25, 3. See *Helos*.

Thalamæ. ἐς Θαλάμας ἐξ Οἰτύλου μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ στάδιοι περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοηκόντα εἰσι Pausan. III. 26, 1. Polybius XVI. 16 places it to the south-west of Sparta: τὰ κατὰ Θαλάμας—κεῖται τῆς Σπάρτης ὡς πρὸς τὰς χειμερινὰς δύνσεις. Ptol. Geogr. III. 16. Λακωνικῆς μεσόγειος—Θαλάμη. Steph. Byz. Θαλάμαι πόλις τῆς Μεσσηνίας· Θεόπομπος τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ Φιλίππικῶν. Pausan. III. 1, 4. καὶ οἰκῆσαι τε Ἀφάρεα τῆς Μεσσηνίας φασὶν (οἱ Μεσσηνιοὶ) ἐν Θαλάμας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντι αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. Strabo VIII. p. 360 mentioning among the Messenian towns Cetylus, Leuctrum, proceeds: εἴτα ἐπὶ πέτρας ἔρυνμῆς ἰδρυταὶ Καρδαμύλῃ· εἴτα Φηραὶ ὁμορος Θουρίᾳ καὶ Γερήνοις—οἰκίσαι δὲ λέγεται Πέλοψ τὸ τε Λεῦκτρον καὶ Χαράδραν καὶ Θαλάμους τοὺς νῦν Βοιωτοὺς καλουμένους, τὴν ἀδελφὴν Νιώβην ἐκδοὺς Ἀμφίονι καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἀγόμενός τις. It is probable that this Messenian *Thalamæ* was no other than the Laconian, which was near *Leuctra*, and on the Messenian bay. See *Cardamylæ*.

Therapnæ. Θεράπναι πόλις Λακωνικῇ ἦν τινες Σπάρτην φασὶν Steph. Byz. Θεράπναι· Ἰσοκράτης

own residence, and permitted the rest of the province to be occupied by a mixed population composed of Dorians and other strangers, and of the Achæans the original inhabitants². At their first settlement the Dorians appropriated to themselves a sixth part of 405 the soil of Laconia: but by gradual encroachments upon the *περίοικοι* they augmented this proportion, and at the final division of the lands the Spartans received nearly one fourth of the whole territory³.

Ἑλένη [ἐν Θεράπναις τῆς Λακωνικῆς p. 218. d]. τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι Θεράπναι Harpocrat. ἑτέρα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁδὸς ἐς Θεράπνην ἄγει Pausan. III. 19, 7. *Therapnæ* lay to the south of *Sparta*.

Thuria. τῶν περιόικων Θουριάται ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν Thucyd. I. 101. ἡ Θουριατῶν πόλις. Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔπειν ὠνομάσθαι τοῖς Ὀμήρου λέγουσι. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἔδωκεν Αὔγουστος Pausan. IV. 31, 2. Strabo VIII. p. 361 names *Thuria* among the Messenian towns. This town, which was thus restored to the Spartans by *Augustus*, appears to be no other than the *Thuria* of Thucydides. See *Cardamylæ*. Ptol. Geogr. III. 16. Λακωνικῆς μεσόγειος—Θούριον.

Thyrides. See *Ætylus*.

Trinasos. See *Helos*.

Zarax. Ζάρηξ πόλις Λακωνικὴ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ Steph. Byz. Ἐπιδαύρον σταδίου ἑκατὸν ἀπέχει Ζάραξ, ἄλλως μὲν εὐλίμενον χωρίον τῶν δ' Ἐλευθερολακῶνων [conf. Pausan. III. 21. 26, 6] μάλιστα τοῦτο ἐκτετρίχεται· ἐπεὶ καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ Κλεομένους τοῦ Ἀγιστοπίλιδος (ἀδελφοῦ) μόνον τοῦτο τῶν Λακωνικῶν πολισμάτων ἐποίησεν ἀνάστατον [B. C. 272]. See above, p. 215] Pausan. III. 24, 1. *Zarax* in the age of Polybius had been acquired by the Argives. See *Prasie*.

² Strabo VIII. p. 364. φησὶ δ' Ἐφωρος καὶ τοὺς κατὰρχοντας τὴν Λακωνικὴν Ἡρακλείδης, Εὐρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆ, διελὼν εἰς ἑξ μέρη καὶ πόλιν τὴν χώραν· μίαν μὲν οὖν τῶν μερίδων τὰς Ἀμύκλας ἐξάρετον δοῦναι τῷ προδόντι αὐτοῖς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, καὶ πείσαντι τὸν κατέχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπόσπονδον ἀπελθεῖν μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν, τὴν δὲ Σπάρτην βασιλεῖον ἀποφῆναι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἄλλας πέμψαι βασιλέας ἐπιτρέψαντας δέχεσθαι συνοίκους τοὺς βουλομένους τῶν ξένων διὰ τὴν λειπαυρίαν—ὑπακούοντας δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς περιόικους Σπαρτιατῶν ὅμως ἰσονόμους εἶναι, μετέχοντας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀρχείων. Ἄγιν δὲ τὸν Εὐρυσθένης ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ συντελεῖν προσταξά τῇ Σπάρτῃ· τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ὑπακούσαι τοὺς δ' Ἐλείους τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ ἔλος ποιησαμένους ἀποστασιν κατὰ κράτος αἰῶναι πολέμῳ. In the reign of Archelaüs *Ægys* shared the fate of *Helos*: Pausan. III. 2, 5. Ἀρχέλαος· ἐπὶ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες πόλιν τῶν περιοικίδων ἡνδραποδίσαντο Αἶγυν, ὑποπτεύσαντες ὡς οἱ Αἰγῦται φρονοῦσι τὰ Ἀρκάδων. Χαρίλαος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας οἰκίας βασιλεὺς συνεξέειλε μὲν καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τὴν Αἶγυν. In the following reign *Amyclæ*, *Pharis*, and *Geronthræ*:

Idem III. 2, 6. Τήλεκλος· ἐπὶ τούτου πόλεις Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν περιοικίδων πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἐξέειλον Ἀμύκλας καὶ Φάριν καὶ Γεράνθρας ἔχόντων ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν. III. 19, 5. Ἀμύκλαι ἀνάστατος ὑπὸ Δωριέων γενομένη καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων κόμῃ διαμένονσα. See Aristotle quoted F. H. I. p. 337. In the next reign *Helos* was finally reduced: Pausan. III. 2, 7. Ἀλκαμένης—ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἔλος ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλισμα, Ἀχαιῶν ἔχόντων, καὶ Ἀργείους τοῖς Εἰλώσιν ἀμύνοντας μάχῃ νικῶσι. To reconcile Ephorus with Pausanias we must suppose that, at the subjection of the Helots by *Agis* about 200 years before, some of the inhabitants had been suffered to remain, and that they were now finally destroyed or removed. *Helos* itself remained to the time of Thucydides (Thucyd. IV. 54), and of Xenophon (Hel. VI. 5, 32): perhaps as a fortress on the coast. Isocrates Panath. p. 270 describes the condition of the Lacedæmonian *περίοικοι*: ἐπειδὴ Δωριέων οἱ στρατεύσαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον τριχὰ διείλοντο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας ἀφείλοντο τοὺς δικαίως κεκτημένους—τὸ τρίτον μέρος αὐτῶν, οὓς καλοῦμεν νῦν Λακεδαιμονίους, στασιάσαι μὲν φασιν αὐτοὺς οἱ τὰ κείνων ἀκριβοῦντες ὡς οὐδέναις ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων, περιγενομένους δὲ τοὺς μείζονα τοῦ πλήθους φρονούντας οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς τοιαῦτα διαπεπραγμένοις· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους συνοίκους ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς στασιάσαντας καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἅπαντων πλὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν τιμῶν· οὓς οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν ἠγγίσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας—αὐτοὺς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σφίσιν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἰσονομίαν καταστήσαι καὶ δημοκρατίαν—τὸν δὲ δῆμον περιόικους ποιήσασθαι καταδουλωσαμένους αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν· ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντας τῆς χώρας, ἧς προσήκεν ἴσον ἔχειν ἕκαστον, αὐτοὺς μὲν λαβεῖν ὀλίγους ὄντας οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀρίστην ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσαύτην ὅσην οὐδένας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχουσι, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τηλικούτον ἀπονείμει μέρος τῆς χειρίστης ὥστ' ἐπιπόνως ἐργαζομένους μόλις ἔχειν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διελόντας τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ὡς οὖν τ' ἦν εἰς ἐλαχίστους εἰς τόπους κατοικίσαι μικροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς, ὀνόμασι μὲν προσαγορευομένους ὡς πόλεις οἰκούντας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἔχοντας ἐλάττω τῶν δῆμων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. It is plain from Ephorus and Pausanias that those designated by Isocrates as τὸν δῆμον and τὸ πλῆθος principally consisted of the Achæan inhabitants who had remained as subjects or vassals of the Dorians.

³ Plutarch Lycurg. c. 8. δίνεμε (Λυκοῦργος) τὴν

LACONIA.

The *περίοικοι*^b, who were left in possession of three fourths of the soil of Laconia, held 406 their towns as subjects or vassals of the Spartans^c. They formed a part of the military

μὲν ἄλλην τοῖς περίοικοις Λακωνικὴν τρισμυρίους κλήρους, τὴν δ' εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὴν Σπάρτην συντελοῦσαν ἑνακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο κλήροι Σπαρτιατῶν. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὸν μὲν Λυκούργον ἑξακισχιλίους νείμαι, τρισχιλίους δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα προσθεῖναι Πολύδωρον· οἱ δὲ, τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν ἑνακισχιλίων τούτων τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις Λυκούργον. If *Amyclæ*, *Pharis*, and *Geronthra* were reduced in the reign of *Teleclus*, and consequently after the legislation of *Lycurgus*, that account is extremely probable which represents an augmentation of the Spartan lots to have been made by *Polydorus*. It appears also from *Ephorus* apud *Strab.* VI. p. 279 that after the first Messenian war part of the lands of Messenia were divided by the Spartans: τὴν μὲν οὖν Μεσσηνίαν κατενείμαντο. *Lycurgus* might have fixed the allotments or κλήροι at 6000, and after these accessions of territory *Polydorus* might enlarge the number to 9000. And this is the more probable, because the reign of *Polydorus* was a period at which other changes or additions at least to the institutions of *Lycurgus* were made. His colleague *Theopompus* instituted the *Ephori*. This is attested not only by *Plutarch* *Lycurg.* c. 7. *Moral.* p. 779. E. and by *Dio* tom. II. p. 292. κατέστη τοῦτο τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐν Σπάρτῃ Θεοπόμπου βασιλεύοντος, but by *Aristot.* *Polit.* V. 9, 1. πάλιν Θεοπόμπου μετριάσαντος τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχὴν ἐπικαταστήσαντος, and by *Cicero* *Leg.* III. 7. *Quare nec ephori Lacedæmone sine causa a Theopompo oppositi regibus.* See also *Val. Max.* IV. 1, 8. ext. Another political change, in which *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* both concurred, is noticed by *Plutarch* *Lycurg.* c. 6. Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰδε τῇ ῥήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν, κ. τ. λ.

^b The Dorians who held Sparta received from their city the name of *Spartans*, the Laconians who inhabited the surrounding towns were designated *περίοικοι*, the name of *Lacedæmonians* was common to both. See *Valck.* ad *Herodot.* VII. 234. IX. 11. Examples of all these may be collected: I. ἡ πόλις ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν, *Isocrat.* *Panath.* p. 241. b. 246. a. 266. d. means exclusively the Spartans: for these alone, and not for the *περίοικοι*, the discipline of *Lycurgus* was designed. The citizens of Sparta, ἀμελήσαντες γεωργιῶν καὶ τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, οὐδὲν ἐπαύοντο κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πολιορκοῦντες (*Isocrat.* *Panath.* p. 242), while the *περίοικοι* engaged in agriculture and trade: *Max. Tyr.* *Diss.* 29. p. 73. *Reisk.* ταῦτα μὲν οἱ εἰλωτες αὐτῷ ἔχουσι καὶ ὁ ἀνδραποδῶδης ὄμιλος, καὶ οἱ περίοικοι

Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ καθαρῶς Σπαρτιατικὸν ἄφετον ἐκ γῆς οὐ καὶ ὄρθιον καὶ πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν τεθραμμένον—ἐπὶ αἰχμῇ καὶ ἀσπίδι τεταγμένον—Hence ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν πολιτεία *Isocrat.* p. 255. b. νόμοι οὓς Λυκούργος μὲν ἔθηκε Σπαρτιάται δ' αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι τυγχάνουσιν *Idem* p. 264. e. τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιάταισι *Herodot.* I. 65. τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν *Xenoph.* *Rep. Lac.* I, 1. Λυκούργος παραλαβὼν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας—οἱκοὶ σκηνοῦντας—ἐς τὸ φανερόν ἐξήγαγε τὰ συσκήνια *Idem* c. 5, 2. κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκούργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ νόμιμα *Idem* 7, 1.—II. To the examples in notes ^a and ^a, may be added τὴν περιουκίδα *Thucyd.* III. 16. τοῖς περίοικοις *Xenoph.* *Hel.* III. 3, 6. Κλεομένης ἔταξε τοὺς περίοικοις *Polyb.* II. 65, 9. whence it appears that the term was still in use in B. C. 222. *Schol.* ad *Thucyd.* VIII. 6 apud *Duker.* ad VIII. 22. περίοικοι εἰσιν οἱ ὑπήκοοι γείτονες τῆς Σπάρτης. *Schol.* *Aristid.* p. 76 ad *Panath.* tom. I. p. 273 *Canter.* οἱ περίοικοι.....οἱ περιουκόντες Σπάρτην τὴν μητρόπολιν. III. *Herodotus* VII. 234 gives the name *Lacedæmonians* to both: πλῆθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὸν, καὶ πόλεις πολλαί. τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθέειν εἰδήσεις· ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ Σπάρτη πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα κη. οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχесσάμενοι· οἱ γὰρ μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦτοι μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. The *περίοικοι* are called *Lacedæmonians* in these passages: Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰσὶ τῶν περιούκων *Thucyd.* IV. 53. τῶν περιούκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες *Herodot.* IX. 11. Σκίριται μόνον Λακεδαιμονίων *Thucyd.* V. 67. the *Sciritæ* being *περίοικοι*. See p. 403. v. *Sciros*. Lastly, we may remark that the term *Laconians* is sometimes applied to the citizens of Sparta. Thus the Spartan discipline is called παιδεία Λακωνική *Xenoph.* *Rep. Lac.* 3, 6. πολιτεία Λακωνική *Aristot.* *Rep.* II. 8, 1. 2. ἡ τῶν Λακωνίων πολιτεία *Ibid.* c. 7, 1. τοῖς Λάκωσιν οἱ εἰλωτες *Idem* II. 6, 2. παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσιν—πολλὰ διωκεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν *Ibid.* s. 7. αἱ τῶν Λακωνίων γυναῖκες *Ibid.* s. 7, 8. τὰ φιδίτια παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσιν *Ibid.* s. 21. In these passages Λάκωνες mean the Spartans. *Cleomenes* king of Sparta is Κλεομένης τοῦ Λάκωνος in *Aristot.* *Rep.* V. 2, 8.

^c In the words of *Morus* ad *Isocr.* *Panegy.* c. 36. *περίοικοι* a *Spartanis dicebantur vicinorum Sparta oppidorum incolæ, liberi quidem, sed imperio Spartanorum subjecti, jure autem civitatis non donati.* At the death of a Spartan king they were required to pay a tribute of respect: *Herodot.* VI. 58.—ἐκ πάσης δέῃ Λακεδαιμόνος [all Laconia] χωρὶς Σπαρτηγέων [see *Valcken.* ad locum] ἀριθμῷ τῶν περιούκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος λέναι.

force^d, and were sometimes placed in offices of trust^e. But they might be treated with great oppression^f, and were ready at all opportunities to throw off the yoke^g. Although their towns were inconsiderable, and are compared by Isocrates to the *δήμοι* of Attica, yet 407 their collective population appears to have been great. At the battle of Plataea in B. C. 479 the *περίοικοι* supplied 10,000 men^h. If we assume this proportion to be the same as that which the Spartan force bore to the whole number on the same occasion, or five eighths of the whole number of citizens, this would give 16,000 for the males of full age, and the total population of this class of the inhabitants of Laconia would amount to about 66,000 personsⁱ.

τουτέων ὧν καὶ τῶν εἰλωτῶν καὶ αὐτέων Σπαρτιγτέων ἐπεὶν συλλεχθένσι ἐς τὸντὸ πολλὰι χιλιάδες σύμμιγα τῇσι γυναῖξι—οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ἀπλέτῳ. The three classes of inhabitants, the *περίοικοι* or free Laco- nians, the *Helots*, and the *Spartans*, are here ac- curately distinguished.

^d Isocrat. Panath. p. 271. a. ἐν τε γὰρ ταῖς στρα- τεῖαις αἰς ἡγείται βασιλεὺς κατ' ἄνδρα συμπαρατά- τεσθαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῆς πρώτης τά- τεως· ἐάν τε που δεῖσαν αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμψαι βοήθειαν φοβηθῶσιν ἢ τοὺς πόρους ἢ τοὺς κινδύνους ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου, τοὺτους ἀποστέλλειν προκινδυνεύουσιν τῶν ἄλλων. In B. C. 382 the Spartans send to the Olynthian war νεοδαμόδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιόικων καὶ Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. Xenoph. Hel. V. 2, 24. In 380, when Agesipolis command- ed, πολλοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιόικων καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ ἠκολούθουν. Idem V. 3, 9. There fell at Leuctra in B. C. 371 τῶν ξυμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγγὺς χιλίους—αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν περὶ τετρακοσίους. Xe- noph. Hel. VI. 4, 15. The *περίοικοι* are included in τῶν ξυμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων. See Valck. ad Herodot. IX. 11.

^e In B. C. 412 the Lacedæmonians send *Phry- nis*, one of the *περίοικοι*—Φρύνην ἄνδρα περίοικον— on a mission of trust to Samos: Thucyd. VIII. 6. and *Diniadas*, also of the *περίοικοι*, commands a fleet: ἦρχε τῶν νεῶν Δεινιάδας περίοικος. Thucyd. VIII. 22.

^f Isocrat. Panath. p. 271. b. τί δεῖ μακρολογεῖν ἀπᾶσας διεξιόντα τὰς ὕβρεις τὰς περὶ τὸ πλῆθος γιγνο- μένας [sc. the *περίοικους*. See p. 405. note ^z], ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ μέγιστον εἰπόντα τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν ἄλλων; τῶν γὰρ οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεινὰ πεπονθῶτων ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρούσι καιροῖς χρησίμων ὄντων ἔξεστι τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀκρίτους ἀποκτείνειν τοσοῦτους ὑπόσους ἂν βου- ληθῶσιν.

^g In the revolt of the *Helots* in B. C. 464 some of the *περίοικοι* joined them: Thucyd. I. 101. When the Thebans invaded Laconia in B. C. 369, παρῆσαν τινες καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες ἀποστήσεσθαι εἰ μόνον φανείησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὡς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ περίοικοι ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν βοηθεῖν. Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 25. In Sparta itself, according to

Plutarch Ages. c. 32. πολλοὶ τῶν τεταγμένων εἰς τὰ ὅπλα περιόικων καὶ εἰλωτῶν ἀπεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους. When the invaders arrived at Gythium, ἦσαν τινες τῶν περιόικων οἱ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ ξυνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων. Xenoph. VI. 5, 32. See p. 402—404 v. *Belmina*, *Caryæ*, *Leuctra*, *Sciros*, *Sellasia*. Plutarch Pelopid. c. 24 asserts that the Thebans detached from Sparta in that expedition αὐτῆς τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ πλείστα. Xenophon Hel. VII. 2, 2 remarks, σφαλέντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῇ ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχῃ καὶ ἀπο- στάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιόικων ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν εἰλωτῶν.

^h The Lacedæmonian force at Plataea consisted of 50,000 men: Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν πεντακισμύριοι Herodot. IX. 61. These were composed of 5000 heavy-armed Spartans, and 35,000 light-armed *Helots*: τοὺς πεντακισ- χίλιους ὄντας Σπαρτιάτας ἐφύλασσαν ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλω- τέων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι Herodot. IX. 28. The others were *περίοικοι*, 5000 heavy-armed, Herodot. IX. 11. and 5000 light-armed, οἱ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ψιλοὶ, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἕκαστον ἔων ἄνδρα Ibid. c. 29. As the whole number of Spar- tan citizens was 8000 and upwards, ὀκτακισχίλιοι μάλιστα κη Herodot. VII. 234. there were conse- quently five eighths of their whole number pre- sent at Plataea.

ⁱ We may conclude that the whole force of the *περίοικοι* did not march, for these reasons: 1. The heavy-armed men were λογάδες ὀπλίται Herodot. IX. 11. select men: implying that there were more. 2. *Leotychides* at that very time com- manded a fleet at Mycæ, composed according to Diodorus IX. 34 of 250 ships, but according to Herodotus VIII. 131 of 110. to which the Lace- dæmonians probably contributed 16 (see Herodot. VIII. 43); whose crews would consist of at least 3000 men. 3. The *περίοικοι* at the division of the lands of Laconia were to the Spartans as 30 to 9, or 3½ to 1. It is not therefore probable that they should be now no more than 10 to 8. The pro- portion then of those who marched to Plataea may at least be taken, like that of the Spartans, at five eighths of their whole number.

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The citizens of Sparta, according to Aristotle^k, were said to have once amounted to 10,000. Isocrates asserts that the Dorian conquerors of Laconia did not originally exceed 2000 in number^l. If this account at all approached the truth, there was a great increase between that period and the time of Lycurgus. This augmentation was partly produced by the admission of strangers, which was practised during the early reigns^m. The legislation of *Lycurgus* appears to have caused a change in this respect: and yet the numbers of the citizens continued for some ages with but little diminution. In the time of *Lycurgus*, or at least in the reign of *Polydorus*ⁿ, there were 9000 citizens. In B. C. 479 there were still more than 8000; which would suppose the total free population of Sparta and its territory to be about 33,000 persons^o. After that period their numbers declined. In B. C. 369, at the time of the invasion of Laconia, the total number of Spartans probably did not exceed 2000^p; and Sparta in that age is described by Xenophon as τῶν ὀλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οὐσα^q. About 45 years after that event, in the time of Aristotle, they were scarcely 1000: οὐδὲ χίλιοι τὸ πλῆθος ἦσαν^r. and eighty years later than Aristotle, in the reign of *Agis* B. C. 244, not more than 700 Spartans remained^s. This diminution is not to be ascribed to the

^k Aristot. Rep. II. 6, 12. φασὶν εἶναι ποτε τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυρίους. He seems however to doubt it; for he adds, εἰτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθὴ ταῦτα εἴτε μῆ.

^l Isocr. Panath. p. 286. c. ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους καὶ Μεσσηνίους τὴν χώραν διείλοντο καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατέκησαν—τοσοῦτον φρονῆσαι ὥστε ὄντας οὐ πλείους τότε δισχιλίων οὐχ ἡγήσασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀξίους εἶναι ζῆν, εἰ μὴ δεσπόται πασῶν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων γενέσθαι δυναθεῖεν.—σφεῖς μὲν ὄντες οὕτως ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐδεμῶ πάποτε τῶν μυριάδων πόλεων ἠκολούθησαν.

^m Aristot. Rep. II. 6, 12. ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων βασιλείων μετεδίδοσαν τῆς πολιτείας, ὥστ' οὐ γίνεσθαι τότε ὀλιγανθρωπίαν πολεμούντων πολὺν χρόνον.

ⁿ See p. 405. note^a.

^o All the males above the age of 20 being 4897 in 20, 160, 8031 males above that age would give 33,062 for the total free population.

^p Many indications remain of the reduced numbers in that age. *Cinadon* about B. C. 397 counted only 40 Spartans in the *agora*: Xenoph. Hel. III. 3, 5. who were all official persons, according to Valck. ad Herodot. VI. 57. *Agésilas* in B. C. 396 took into Asia no Spartan soldiers: Xenoph. Hel. III. 4, 2. *Agésilas* 1, 7. *Agésilas* had no Spartan soldiers in B. C. 380: Xenoph. Hel. V. 3, 8. Only thirty Spartans accompanied the kings on these occasions. *Cleombrotus* at *Leuctra* had only 700 Spartans in his army: Xenoph. Hel. VI. 4, 15. In B. C. 369 οἱ Σπαρτιάται ἀτείχιστον ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διαταχθέντες, μᾶλα ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι, ἐφύλαττον. Ibid. 5, 28. and when about 6000 Helots were armed, φόβον αὐτοῖς παρέχον ξυντεταγμένοι, καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι. Aristotle observes Polit. II. 6, 12 μίαν πληγὴν οὐχ ὑπῆρκεν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ'

ἀπώλετο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγανθρωπίαν. At this period Xenophon asserts Ages. 2, 24 αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μειόνων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Δείκτροις μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων. This sentence, when compared with Hel. VI. 4, 15. presents great difficulties. Perhaps it may be taken as a rhetorical exaggeration, and not intended to be precise. But however these terms are to be understood, the small number of the Spartans is plainly marked. I suspect that Isocrates Panath. p. 286. c. quoted above, note^l, in describing the numbers of the Dorians at the original conquest, has adapted to the description the actual numbers of the Spartans in his own time. It can scarcely be imagined that the original conquerors were so few as 2000; and the expressions σφεῖς μὲν ὄντες οὕτως ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐδεμῶ πάποτε τῶν μυριάδων πόλεων ἠκολούθησαν rather refer to their subsequent condition. And when we recollect that within less than 50 years after the invasion of Laconia the Spartans were less than 1000, we shall think it probable that they could not exceed 2000 in B. C. 369. Isocrates would describe the state of things as they stood twenty or thirty years after that period; Aristotle might speak of the Spartans after their loss in the war with *Antipater* B. C. 331; when *Agis* fell, and with him, according to *Diodorus* XVII. 63. and *Curtius* VI. 1, 16. more than 5300 of the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

^q Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 1, 1.

^r Aristot. Rep. II. 6, 11. Aristotle died only 47 years after the invasion of Laconia in B. C. 369, and his observation might have been written about 45 years after that period.

^s Plutarch *Agis*. c. 5.

ravages of war; for this cause would have operated in the period from *Lycurgus* to the Persian war. Within that period, a space according to Thucydides of about 330 years¹, the

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^t Eratosthenes placed *Lycurgus* at 299 years after the Trojan war, and 108 years before the Olympiad of *Coræbus*=B. C. 884. Upon his chronology were founded the dates of many succeeding writers: Diodorus XV. 1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ Λεῦκτρα παραδόξως ἡττηθέντες καὶ πάλιν περὶ Μαντίνειαν πταίσαντες ἀπέβαλον τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν—καὶ ταύτην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν προγόνων διαφυλαχθεῖσαν ἔτη πλείω τῶν πεντακοσίων. B. C. 371+513=884. Idem XV. 50. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἀλκισθένης [B. C. 37 $\frac{1}{2}$]. Λακεδαιμονίων ἔτη σχεδὸν πεντακόσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχόντων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. XV. 65. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Λυσιστράτου [B. C. 36 $\frac{3}{4}$] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεντακόσια ἔτη τὴν Λακωνικὴν τετηρηκότες ἀπὸρρόηγον—Nicolaus Damascenus p. 241. οἱ Σπαρτιάται πεισθέντες (ὑπὸ Λυκούργου) οὐ τῶν περιοίκων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων Ἑλλήνων διαφανῶς ἄριστοι ἐγένοντο, ἡγεμόνες τε συνεχῶς ἐξ ὅπου παρεδέξαντο τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ ἔτη πεντακόσια. Plutarch sometimes reckoned this period of 500 years to the invasion of Laconia. See Introd. p. viii. Ælian V. H. XIII. 42. Θηβαίους ἡγάκασεν Ἐπαμινώνδας τὴν Λακωνικὴν πυρπολῆσαι πεντακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀδύωτον οὖσαν. transcribed from Plutarch Apophthegm. p. 194. B. Tatian p. 140. Λυκούργος—πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν νομοθετεῖ Λακεδαιμόνιος.=B. C. 876. Livius XXXVIII. 34. M. Fulvio Nobiliore et Cn. Manlio Vulstone coss. disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos adsuverant, sublata. In reality in B. C. 188, the close of 147, 4. the beginning of the year of Livius and Messala: See F. H. III. p. 66. But 188+700=B. C. 888. When due allowance is made for round numbers and general statements, these numbers all resolve themselves into the date of Eratosthenes.

Thucydides, however, I. 18, has a lower date: ἔτη γὰρ ἔστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῃ πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται. If we assume B. C. 404+406=810 for the period designed by Thucydides, or B. C. 822 with Scaliger ad Euseb. Chron. p. 65 (who assumes 417 years to adapt Thucydides to a date in Eusebius), there will be a difference of 60 or 70 years between Thucydides and Eratosthenes. The apparent difference, however, is greater than the real. For Eratosthenes, however so understood by some writers, by no means designed to fix the legislation of *Lycurgus* at B. C. 884. Clemens Al. Strom. I. p. 336. B. Ἐρατοσθένης τοὺς χρόνους ὡς ἀναγράφει· ἀπὸ μὲν Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον ἔτη ὀγδοή-

κοντα· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν κτίσιν ἔτη ἐξήκοντα· τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τὴν Λυκούργου ἔτη ἑκατὸν πενηκονταεννέα· ἐπὶ δὲ προηγούμενον ἔτος τῶν πρώτων Ὀλυμπίων ἔτη ἑκατὸν ὀκτώ. But the regency of *Lycurgus* commenced at the birth of *Charilaüs*: and Sosibius of Laconia, who flourished in the reign of *Philadelphus* (Athen. XI. p. 493. f) and was contemporary with *Callimachus* (Athen. IV. p. 144. e), and therefore preceded Eratosthenes, nearly agrees in this date for the birth of *Charilaüs*: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 327. C. Σωσίβιος ὁ Λάκων ἐν χρόνων ἀναγραφῇ κατὰ τὸ ὁγδοον ἔτος τῆς Χαρίλλου τοῦ Πολυδέκτου βασιλείας Ὅμηρον φέρει. βασιλεύει μὲν οὖν Χάριλλος ἔτη ἐξηκοντατέσσαρα· μεθ' οὗ υἱὸς Νικάνδρος ἔτη τριακονταεννέα· τούτου κατὰ τὸ τριακοστὸν τέταρτον ἔτος τεθῆναι φησὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα. The result of these dates is this:

	Y.	B. C.
<i>Charilaüs</i>	64.	873
<i>Nicander</i>	39.	809
<i>Theopompus</i>	770	

Sosibius therefore fixes the birth and reign of *Charilaüs*, and consequently the regency of *Lycurgus*, 11 years below the date of Eratosthenes. Eratosthenes, then, refers to the period of the regency, which commenced at the birth of *Charilaüs*; Thucydides to the period at which the laws were established and the constitution settled. But many years intervened between these points: Ephorus apud Strab. X. p. 482. Πολυδέκτης τελευταίων ἔγκνον κατέλιπε τὴν γυναικᾶ· τέως μὲν οὖν ἐβασίλευεν ὁ Λυκούργος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ· γενομένου δὲ παιδὸς, ἐπετρόπευεν ἐκείνον, εἰς δὲ ἣ ἀρχὴ καθήκουσα ἐτύγχανε· λοιδορούμενος δὲ τις αὐτῷ σαφῶς εἶπεν εἶδέναι διότι βασιλεύσοι· λαβὼν δ' ὑπόνοιαν ἐκείνος ὡς ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου διαβάλοιτο ἐπιβουλὴ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ—ἀπῆρεν εἰς Κρήτην. Plutarch *Lycurg.* c. 3. ἔγνω πλανηθῆναι μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενομένος τεκνώσῃ διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας. Comp. Ag. et Cleom. cum Gracchis p. 689. Reisk. Λυκούργος φοβούμενος μὴ, κἂν ἄλλως ἀποθάνῃ τὸ μειράκιον, αἰτία τις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔλθῃ, πολὺν χρόνον ἔξω πλανηθεὶς οὐ πρότερον ἐπανήλθεν ἢ παῖδα τῷ Χαρίλλῳ γενέσθαι διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς. Aristot. Rep. II. 7, 1. φασὶ τὸν Λυκούργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπίαν τὴν Χαρίλαου τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπὼν ἀπεδήμησε, τότε τὸν πλείστον διατρίψαι χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην. When *Lycurgus* returned to Sparta, *Charilaüs* was grown up and administered the government: Ephorus apud Strab. I. c. καταλαβεῖν δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ υἱὸν τὸν Πολυδέκτου Χαρίλαον βασιλεύοντα· εἴθ' ὁρμήσαι δια-

LIACONIA. Lacedæmonians were engaged in the two Messenian wars, and in wars with the Argives and
 409 Arcadians, and sent forth besides some colonies^u; and yet in that time the numbers of the
 410

θεῖναι τοὺς νόμους, φοιτῶντα ὡς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς. conf. Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 5. Accordingly Lucian Gymnas. c. 39 has preserved a tradition that he proposed his laws in advanced age: πρεσβύτης ᾗδ' ὃν ἔγραψε τοὺς νόμους. and reports that he lived to 85. Macrobi. c. 28. Λυκούργος ὁ νομοθέτης τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ζῆσαι ἱστορεῖται. We may reasonably then suppose thirty years at least between the regency and the settlement of the constitution; and the actual difference between Eratosthenes and Thucydides will not be more than thirty years.

Plutarch Lycurg. c. 1. has these remarks: περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον—ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁμολογοῦνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφίτα συν-ακμάσαι καὶ συνδιαβῆναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκχειρίαν λέγουσιν αὐτόν· ὃν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προσφέρον τὸν Ὀλυμπιάσι δίσκον ἐν ᾧ τοῦνομα τοῦ Λυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον· οἱ δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλευκόντων ἀναλεγόμενοι τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Ἀπολλώδωρος, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. But *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus* are made contemporary by the general consent of antiquity; and *Iphitus* is placed at B. C. 884, precisely the date which Eratosthenes assigns to *Lycurgus*. We cannot therefore doubt that Eratosthenes, like Aristotle, admitted them to be contemporary, however he might differ in the date of these two princes. Plutarch, it should seem, has substituted the Olympiad of *Coræbus* for the Olympiad of *Iphitus*. The testimonies to *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus* are these: Pausanias V. 4, 4. Ἰφίτος γένος μὲν ὦν ἀπὸ Ὁξύλου ἡλικίαν δὲ κατὰ Λυκούργον. add Athenæus and Hermippus quoted F. H. I. p. 140 a. Syncellus p. 196. C. τὸν ἀγῶνα τετέλεκεν Ἰφίτος Ἡρακλείδης σὺν Λυκούργῳ συγγενεῖ. ἑκάτεροι δὲ Ἡρακλείδαι. τότε δὲ ἀγὼν σταδίου ἦν μόνον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνεγράφετο νικηφόρος—ὀγδὴ δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι Ὀλυμπιάδι Κόροιβος Ἡλείος ἀνεγράφη στάδιον νικήσας· καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπιάς πρώτη ἐτάχθη, ἀφ' ἧς Ἕλληνες ἀριθμεῖν τι δοκοῦσιν ἀκριβῶς χρονικόν. ταῦτα Ἀριστόδημος ἱστορεῖ καὶ συνάδῃ τούτῳ Πολύβιος. Καλλιμάχος δὲ φησιν Ὀλυμπιάδας ιγ' παρῆσθαι μὴ ἀναγραφείσας, τῇ δὲ ιδ' Κόροιβον Ἡλείον νικήσαι. Idem p. 197. C. Ἀφρικανὸς—ὧδε γράφει· ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ πρώτῃ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃν, ἡνίκα καὶ Κόροιβος στάδιον [ἐνίκα]. [ἡ ἐνίκα καὶ Κ. στάδιον Routh.] Phlegon in fragmento p. 139. ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου ὀλυμπιάδες ὀκτώ πρὸς ταῖς εἰκοσι καταριθμοῦνται εἰς Κόροιβον τὸν Ἡλείον, καὶ ἀμελησάντων τοῦ ἀγῶνος

στάσις ἐνέστη κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. Λυκούργος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, υἱὸς ὦν τοῦ Πρυτανέως τοῦ Εὐρυπώντος τοῦ Σόου τοῦ Προκλέως—καὶ Ἰφίτος ὁ Αἰμόνος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, Πραξωνίδου, ἐνὸς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους, Ἡλείος, καὶ Κλεοσθένης ὁ Κλεονίκου Πεισάτης—τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν ἔγνωσαν ἀνάγειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα. It appears from hence that *Aristodemus* of *Elis*, the disciple of *Aristarchus* (Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἀριστάρχου μαθητῆς Schol. Pindar. Nem. VII. 1. called perhaps from his residence Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Schol. Pindar. Isthm. I. 11), whose commentary on *Pindar* is quoted by *Athenæus* XI. p. 495. f. and who is quoted for the Olympic games by *Harpocratio* v. Ἑλλανοδίκα, concurred with *Eratosthenes* in placing *Iphitus* and *Lycurgus* 27 Olympiads or 108 years before B. C. 776; that *Polybius* agreed in this chronology, and that *Phlegon* followed it in his work on the Olympiads. But it also appears that *Callimachus* differed from this date, and had placed *Iphitus* 13 Olympiads, or only 52 years, before B. C. 776, and that *Africanus* had adopted the date of *Callimachus*. I am inclined to prefer the chronology of *Callimachus* to that of his disciple *Eratosthenes*, and to place the Olympiad of *Iphitus* at B. C. 828. And, from a comparison of this date with *Thucydides*, we may perhaps determine that the legislation of *Lycurgus* occurred between the years B. C. 828 and 810. See F. H. I. p. 141.

Dieuchidas of *Megara* (Clem. Al. Strom. VI. p. 629. A) whose *Μεγαρικά* are quoted by *Athenæus* VI. p. 262. e. Laërt. I. 57 Schol. Apollon. I. 517 in Cod. Paris. Harpocrat. v. Ἀγνίς, and who is referred to by *Plutarch* Lycurg. c. 2, but whose precise time is not known, places the ἀκμὴ of *Lycurgus* about the 290th year after the Trojan era: Clem. Al. Strom. I. p. 328. A. But, as the date of *Dieuchidas* for *Troy* is not known to us, we cannot determine the value of these numbers.

^u Within the reign of *Polydorus* colonists were sent to *Locri* and *Crotona*, and the colony to *Tarentum* was planted by *Phalanthus*: *Pausan.* III. 3, 1. Πολύδωρος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀλκαμέων, καὶ ἀποικίαν τε εἰς Ἰταλίαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν εἰς Κρότωνα ἔστειλαν καὶ ἀποικίαν εἰς Λοκροὺς τοὺς πρὸς ἄκρα Ζεφυρίῳ. *Crotona* was founded by the *Achæans* about B. C. 710. See above p. 265. *Locri* was founded about the same time: *Strabo* VI. p. 259. ἡ πόλις οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ἐπιζεφύριοι, ἐπεὶ Λοκρῶν ἀποικοὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Κρισσαίῳ κόλπῳ, μικρὸν ὕστερον τῆς ἀπὸ Κρότωνος καὶ Συρακουσῶν κτίσεως ἀποικισθέντες ὑπὸ Εὐάνθους. Ἐφορος δὲ οὐκ εὖ, τῶν Ὀποντιῶν

citizens did not much decline. The diminution is to be traced to the unequal distribution of the lands. The equal division of land, which had been intended by the legislator, no longer existed in practice. The 9000 Spartan allotments had been gradually transferred into few hands. In the time of Aristotle near two fifths of the soil belonged to women; and in the reign of *Agis IV.* only one in seven among the citizens was possessed of landed property^x. Nor had the poorer citizens under the institutions of *Lycurgus* that resource which was open in other states, of seeking a subsistence in industry; being forbidden the occupations of manufactures or agriculture^y. Nor was any aid provided from the funds of the state. For the public tables, which were ordained by the laws of *Lycurgus*, could only be frequented by those who had property: those who could not contribute to the expense being excluded from the society^z. Under this state of things it would naturally happen that the numbers would decay.

Λοκρῶν ἀποίκους φήσας. To reconcile these two accounts we must suppose that the Spartans participated in these two colonies. *Tarentum* was founded after the first Messenian war: Strabo VI. p. 279. *Εφορος οὕτω λέγει περὶ τῆς κτίσεως. —Μεσσήνην ἐάλω πολεμηθεῖσα ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη—ἐπαυελθόντες δὲ οἴκαδε τοὺς Παρθενείας οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτίμων, ὥς οὐκ ἐκ γάμου γεγονότας· οἱ συνιστάμενοι μετὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ συνέθεντο ἄραι σύσσημον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πῖλον Λακωνικὸν ἐπειδὴν ἐγχειρώσι· τῶν δὲ εἰλώτων τινὲς ἐξαγγελίαντες τὸ μὲν ἀντεπιτίθεσθαι χαλεπὸν ἔγνωσαν· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς εἶναι καὶ πάντας ὁμόφροντας, ὥς ἂν ἀλλήλων ἀδελφοὺς νομιζομένους· τοὺς μέλλοντας δ' αἰρεῖν τὸ σύσσημον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπείναι προσέταξαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ μεμνημένην αἰσθόμενοι τὴν πράξιν ἐπέσχον, οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν πατέρων ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐξελθεῖν· κἂν μὲν κατὰσχουσιν ἀρκοῦντα τὸν τόπον, μένουν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὸ πέμπτον καταλείμασθαι μέρος ἐπανιόντας. οἱ δὲ σταλόντες κατελάβοντο τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς [the settlers at Crotona] πολεμοῦντας τοῖς βαρβάροις, μετασχόντες δὲ τῶν κινδύνων κτίζουσι τὴν Τάραντα. Antiochus apud Strab. VI. p. 278 gives much the same account as Ephorus; and both are confirmed by Aristot. Rep. V. 6, 1. οἷον ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι οἱ λεγόμενοι Παρθενίαι· ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων γὰρ ἦσαν· οὓς φωράσαντες ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀπέστειλαν Τάραντος οἰκιστάς. The date of Eusebius (in Chron.) for *Tarentum* is B.C. 708 *Ol.* 18. 1. See F. H. I. p. 174. This date is consistent with the foundation both of Crotona and Coreyra: see above p. 265. and with the reign of *Polydorus*. The date of Eusebius for *Locri* *Ol.* 26. 4 B.C. 673 (see F. H. I. p. 186), is too low, and cannot be reconciled either with the reign of *Polydorus* or with the narrative of Strabo. If the report which Aristotle has preserved, that there were once 10,000 Spartans, was ever true, we might suspect that it was true in the reign of *Polydorus*; and that 9000 remained after these colonies had

been sent to Italy.

^x Polybius VI. 45, 3 expresses the original intention of *Lycurgus*: περὶ τὰς ἐγγαίους κτήσεις, ὧν οὐδενὶ μέτεστι πλείον, ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας ἴσον ἔχειν δεῖ τῆς πολιτικῆς χώρας. And Heraclides περὶ πολιτειῶν p. 207. πωλεῖν δὲ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰσχρὸν νενόμισται· τῆς γὰρ ἀρχαίας μοίρας ἀνανέμεσθαι οὐδὲν ἔξεστι. But, although *Lycurgus* had prohibited the sale of lands, he unfortunately had omitted to provide against alienation by bequest or gift: Aristot. Rep. II. 6, 10. τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς κτίσεως ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἂν τις· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν συμβέβηκε κεκτήσθαι πολλὴν λανούσιαν τοῖς δὲ ἅμπαν μικράν· διόπερ εἰς ὀλίγους ἦκεν ἡ χώρα. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων τέτακται φαύλως· ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἡ πωλεῖν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλὸν ὀρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις. καίτοι ταῦτο συμβαίνειν ἀναγκαῖον ἐκείνως τε καὶ οὕτως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν γ' ἐπικλήρων πολλῶν γινομένων καὶ διὰ τὸ προίκας διδόναι μεγάλας. According to Aristotle this power of alienation was an original defect in the constitution of *Lycurgus*: Plutarch Agid. c. 5 ascribes it to a specific law passed by the ephor *Epitadeus*. Both, however, agree in its effects: Plutarch I. c. ἐκτῶντο ἀφειδῶς ἤδη παρωθόντες οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐκ τῶν διαδοχῶν· καὶ ταχὺ τῆς εὐπορίας εἰς ὀλίγους συρρύνεισιν πενία τὴν πόλιν κατέσχεν.—ἀπελείφθησαν οὖν ἐπτακοσίων οὐ πλείονες Σπαρτιῶται, καὶ τούτων ἴσως ἑκατὸν ἦσαν οἱ γῆν κεκτημένοι καὶ κλήρον· ὁ δ' ἄλλος ὄχλος ἄπορος καὶ ἄτιμος ἐν τῇ πόλει παρεκάθητο.

^y Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 7, 2. ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ ὁ Λυκούργος τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀπέειπε μηδενὸς ἄπτεσθαι. See Max. Tyr. tom. II. p. 73. quoted above, p. 406 note ^b, and Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 24.

^z This incidental defect in the institutions of *Lycurgus* is pointed out by Aristotle Rep. II. 6, 21. οὐ καλῶς δ' οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ συσσίτια τὰ καλούμενα

LACONIA.

The *Helots*, who formed the slave population of the state, were far more numerous in proportion to the free than the slaves of other Grecian cities. The observation of Thucydides^a upon this point is confirmed by Herodotus. In Attica we have seen that the proportion was more than three to one; but we learn from Herodotus that at the time of the Persian war the slaves to the free at Sparta were as 5 or 6 to 1. This larger proportion is explained, when we consider the condition of the Spartan slaves. Two species of slavery may be discerned among the Greeks. The one consisted of domestic slaves acquired by purchase. This was the kind of slavery which prevailed in Attica, and the numbers would vary in different states according to the wealth, the luxury, or commerce of each particular state. In the rich and trading communities of Athens and Corinth they would be numerous; supplying the place of the artisans and manufacturers in modern times. In poorer republics, which had little or no capital, and no foreign trade, and which subsisted wholly by agriculture, the domestic slaves would be few. Thus in *Locris* and *Phocis*, while the inhabitants retained their original simplicity of manners, there were no domestic slaves^b. The other species of slavery was that, in which all the inhabitants of a province had been reduced to subjection and deprived of their rights and liberties by the conquerors. Of this kind were the *Penestæ* in Thessaly, and the *Helots* at Sparta^c. A body of slaves of this description would from the nature of things be more numerous than the former species. The number of the former would be regulated by the wealth or wants of their masters; the latter, remaining in the occupation of the soil, which they cultivated for the benefit of their conquerors, might multiply to any number that their masters might be able to govern.

The *Helots* were originally composed of the inhabitants of Laconian towns reduced to slavery; but their name was afterwards communicated to those Messenians who remained

φιδίτια νενομοθέτηται τῷ καταστήσαντι πρώτων· ἔδει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ μᾶλλον εἶναι τὴν σύνοδον καθάπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἕκαστον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφύδρα πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων δαπανᾶν· ὥστε συμβαίνειν τοῖς ἀντιπάλαι νομοθέτῃ τῆς προαιρέσεως. βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν εἶναι τὸ κατασκευάσμα τῶν συσσιτίων, γίνεται δ' ἥκιστα δημοκρατικὸν οὕτω νενομοθετημένον· μετέχει μὲν γὰρ οὐ ράδιον τοῖς λίαν πένησιν· ὅρος δὲ τῆς πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς.

^a Thucyd. VIII. 40. οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τοῖς Χίοις πολλοὶ ὄντες, καὶ μῆ γε πᾶσι πλήν Λακεδαιμονίων πλείστοι γενόμενοι. That is, most numerous in proportion to the free inhabitants. It is not likely that the actual number of slaves in Chios, an island which contained only 257 square English miles, was greater than in Attica.

^b Timæus apud Athen. VI. p. 264. c. καθόλου δὲ ἡτιώοντο τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην διημαρτηκέναι τῶν Λοκρικῶν ἐθῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ κεκτῆσθαι νόμον εἶναι τοῖς Λοκροῖς ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ Φωκεῦσιν οὔτε θεραπαίνας οὔτε οἰκέτας, πλὴν ἐγγὺς τῶν χρόνων. ἀλλὰ πρώτη τῇ Φιλομήλῳ γυναικὶ τοῦ καταλαβόντος Δελφούς [B. C. 356] δύο θεραπαίνας ἀκολουθήσαι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Μνάσωνα τὸν τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐταῖρον χιλιούς οἰκέτας κτησάμενον διαβεβλησθαι τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν, ὡς τοσοῦτους τῶν πο-

λιτῶν τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφὴν ἀφρημένον. εἰθίσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διακονεῖν τοὺς νεωτέρους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

^c Pollux III. 83. μεταξύ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων Εἰλωτες, καὶ Θετταλῶν Πενέσται, καὶ Κρητῶν Κλαρώται, καὶ Μνῶται [conf. Athen. VI. p. 267. c], καὶ Μαριανδύνων Δωροφόροι, καὶ Ἀργείων Γυμνήτες, καὶ Σικυνωίων Κορνηφόροι. Athenæus VI. p. 271. b. Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ Καρῶν καὶ Δελέγων συγγράμματι καταλέξας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Εἰλωτας καὶ τοὺς Θετταλικούς Πενέστας, καὶ Κάρας, φησὶ, τοῖς Λέλεξιν ὡς οἰκέταις χρήσασθαι πάσαι τε καὶ νῦν. The Καλλικύριοι at Syracuse were slaves of the same kind: Timæus et Aristot. ap. Suid. v. Καλλικύριοι. Theopompus apud Athen. VI. p. 265. b. distinguishes the two kinds of slavery: Χίοι πρώτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετὰ Θετταλοῦς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρήσαντο δούλοις· τὴν μὲντοι κτῆσιν αὐτῶν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις· Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Θετταλοὶ φανήσονται κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν οἰκούντων πρότερον τὴν χώραν ἣν ἐκείνοι νῦν ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν, Θετταλοὶ δὲ Περγαίων καὶ Μαγνήτων· καὶ προσηγόρευσαν τοὺς καταδουλωθέντας οἱ μὲν Εἰλωτας οἱ δὲ Πενέστας. Χίοι δὲ βαρβάρους κέκτηνται τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῶν καταβάλλοντες.

in the country after the second Messenian war^d. From this period they occupied the soil of Messenia and of those parts of Laconia which formed the territory of Sparta. They constituted the agricultural population of this region^e. The domestic slaves of the Spartan citizens were supplied from this body. They were besides employed in war, and often served as heavy-armed soldiers^f. Sometimes they received their freedom: and these emancipated slaves, under the various names of *νεοδαμῶδεις*, *τρόφιμοι*, and other appellations, supplied the 413 deficient numbers of the Spartans in their military expeditions^g. The Helots were often formidable to their masters^h; and some of the Helots of Messenia in B. C. 455 succeeded

^d The inhabitants of *Helos* were first subjected by *Agis*. See p. 405. note ^z. Plutarch speaks to the same effect when he refers this to the reign of *Sōils* the contemporary of *Agis*: Lycurg. c. 2. Σόους ἐφ' οὗ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ἐποιήσαντο δούλους οἱ Σπαρτιάται. They were finally reduced seven generations afterwards. See above, p. 405. Pausan. III. 20, 6. πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδαιμονίων δούλοι τοῦ κοινού, καὶ Εἰλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτητὴν ὕστερον Δωριᾶσι, Μεσσηνίοις ὄντας, ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξενίκησεν Εἰλωτας. Idem IV. 23, 1. τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὅσοι—ἐγκατελείφθησαν, τούτους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσένειμαν ἐς τὸ Εἰλωτικόν. 24, 2. Μεσσηνίων τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας συντελοῦντας κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐς τοὺς Εἰλωτας. Theopompus apud Athen. VI. p. 272. a. τὸ δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἔθνος παντάπασιν ὥμῳς διάκειται καὶ πικρῶς· εἰσὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καταδεδουλωμένοι πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν· οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκ Μεσσηνίας ὄντες οἱ δὲ Ἑλεᾶται, κατοικοῦντες πρότερον τὸ καλονόμενον Ἑλος τῆς Λακωνικῆς. Any of the *perioeci* who were successively enslaved received the name of Helots. Thus Antiochus apud Strab. VI. p. 278 remarks: τοῦ Μεσσηνιακοῦ πολέμου γενηθέντος, οἱ μὴ μετασχόντες Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς στρατείας ἐκρίθησαν δούλοι, καὶ ὀνομάσθησαν Εἰλωτες. These Lacedæmonians were *perioeci*, as appears from Pausanias IV. 11, 1 speaking of that war: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν Κορινθίοις καὶ τοῖς Εἰλωσι καὶ ὅσοι *perioeci* συνεστρατεύοντο τὸ μέσον ἐπιτρέψαντες κ. τ. λ. When the inhabitants of *Ægys* and *Amyclæ* were reduced to slavery (see p. 405 note ^z), doubtless they were included in the common name of Helots.

^e Plutarch Lycurg. c. 24. οἱ Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν, ἀποφορὰν τὴν εἰρημένην τελούντες. Aristot. Rep. II. 7, 3. ἔχει ἀνάλογον ἡ Κρητικὴ τάξις πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικὴν· γεωργοῦσι γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Εἰλωτες τοῖς δὲ Κρησὶν οἱ *perioeci*.

^f To the testimonies which have already occurred we may add these: Thucyd. V. 57. ἐστράτευον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες πανδημεὶ ἐπ' Ἄργους. V. 64. αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν πανδημεὶ. VII. 19. τῶν τε Εἰλωτῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ τῶν *Neodamōdōn*, ξυναμφοτέρων ἐς ἑξακοσίους ὀπλίτας. IV. 80.

καὶ τότε τῷ Βρασίδᾳ αὐτῶν [sc. τῶν Εἰλωτῶν] ξυνέπεμψαν ἑπτακοσίους ὀπλίτας. Helots were even sometimes entrusted with command: Xenoph. Hel. III. 5, 12. τοὺς μὲν Εἰλωτας ἀρμοστὰς καθίσταναι ἀξιούσι.

^g Athenæus VI. p. 272. f. Μύρων ὁ Πριηνεὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν “Πολλάκις,” φησὶν, “ἡλευθέρωσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δούλους· καὶ οὓς μὲν Ἀφέτας ἐκάλεσαν οὓς δὲ Ἀδεσπότους οὓς δὲ Ἐρυκτῆρας, “Δεσποσιοναῦτας ἄλλους, οὓς εἰς τοὺς στόλους καταέτασσον” ἄλλους δὲ *Neodamōdōis*, ἐτέρους ὄντας τῶν “Εἰλωτῶν.” The *Neodamodes* were οἱ κατὰ δόσιν ἐλεύθεροι ἀπὸ τῆς εἰλωτείας. Hesych. *Neodam.* conf. Pollucem III. 83. Thucyd. VII. 58. *Neodamōdōis* δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ Εἰλωτας· δύναται δὲ τὸ *Neodamōdōis* ἐλευθέρων ἤδη εἶναι. V. 34. ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς μὲν μετὰ Βρασίδου Εἰλωτας μαχεσαμένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ οἰκεῖν ὅπου ἂν βούλωνται· καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν *Neodamōdōn* ἐς Λέπρεον κατέστησαν. 2000 *Neodamōdōis* are sent with *Agésilæus* into Asia: Xenoph. Hel. III. 4, 2. 300 to Eubœa: Thucyd. VIII. 5. The *τρόφιμοι* are mentioned by Xenoph. Hel. V. 3, 9. ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, among the forces of *Agésilopolis*. Conf. Schneider. ad locum.

^h The Spartans were pressed by this difficulty in B. C. 421. Thucyd. V. 14. ληστευομένης τῆς χώρας ἐκ τῆς Πύλου καὶ Κυθήρων, αὐτομολούντων τε τῶν Εἰλωτῶν καὶ αἰεὶ προσδοκίας οὕσης μή τι καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες τοῖς ἔξω πύσονται—νεωτερίσωσιν. It is made a stipulation in the treaty apud Thucyd. V. 23 that, ἣν ἡ δουλεία ἐπανιστήται, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀθηναῖους Λακεδαιμονίους πάντι σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. They prevail upon the Athenians ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ Πύλου Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Εἰλωτάς τε καὶ ὅσοι ἡγόμολήκεσαν ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς· καὶ κατόπισαν αὐτοὺς ἐν Κρανίοις τῆς Κεφαλληνίας. (Thuc. V. 35.) In B. C. 419 the Athenians at the instance of the Argives ἐς Πύλον ἐκόμισαν τοὺς ἐκ Κρανίων Εἰλωτας λητίζεσθαι. Thuc. V. 56. *Demosthenes* in his way to Sicily fortified a post on the coast of Laconia, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τε Εἰλωτες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτόσε αὐτομολῶσι, καὶ ἅμα λησται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου ἀρπαγὴν ποιῶνται. Idem VII. 26.

LAONIA. in escaping from the tyranny of the Spartans and were settled at Naupactusⁱ. From thence their descendants, 85 years afterwards, returned to inhabit their own country as an independent people^k.

According to Herodotus, 35,000 Helots were present at the battle of Plataea in B. C. 479.^l If we were to follow the proportion which Herodotus himself supplies in the case of the Spartan citizens, and to assume these 35,000 to be $\frac{1}{5}$ ths of the total male adult population, the result would be that the total number of male Helots of full age would be 56,000, the total number of persons 231,000, and the proportion of slaves to free persons at Sparta as 7 to 1. But, since the same reasons would not exist for sparing the Helots as for sparing the other classes, it may perhaps be thought probable that their whole military force was drawn out on that occasion; and that 35,000 constituted all the males of the military age. If, then, we compute that this number composed all the male Helots between the ages of 20 and 60, even by this estimate the total population of the Helots would consist of 170,500 persons; and the inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia may be calculated in this manner:

Spartans 8000	citizens	= 33,000
Περίοικοι 16,000	citizens	= 66,000
Helots 35,000	of military age	= 170,500
		<hr/> 269,500

This computation, which certainly cannot exceed the truth, will make the Helots to the Spartans more than five to one; conformably with the declaration of Thucydides, that the 414 slaves in proportion to the free were most numerous at Sparta^m. But, as the number of

ⁱ Thucyd. I. 101. οἱ Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περι-
οίκων Θουριάται τε καὶ Αἰθεεῖς ἐς Ἰθάμην ἀπέστησαν.
πλείστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν
Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι· ἥ καὶ Μεσσή-
νιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. See the Tables B. C. 464,
2 for the beginning of the war, and B. C. 455, 2
for the settlement of the Messenians at Naupac-
tus.

^k See the Tables B. C. 369, 2. The new state
of Messenia was composed not only of Messe-
nians collected from Naupactus and other quar-
ters, but of Messenian Helots. On this account
Archidamus in *Isocrates* p. 117. e. is made to say,
αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἰ περιίδοιμι τὴν χώραν ταύτην τοὺς
οἰκέτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἔχοντας. p. 121. c. νῦν τοὺς
Εἰλωτας ὁμόρους ἡμῖν παρακατοικίζουσιν.

^l See the passage in p. 407. note h.

^m Hume, *Essay on the Populousness &c.* p. 446.
pursuing his exaggerated representation of Athe-
næus, by which he computes the slaves of Attica
to the free as 6 to 1 (see above p. 391), reasons
in this manner: "Chios is said to contain more
" slaves than any Greek city except Sparta. Sparta
" then had more than Athens, in proportion to
" the number of citizens. The Spartans were
" 9000 in the town, 30,000 in the country. The

" male slaves therefore of full age must have
" been more than 780,000: the whole number
" [780,000 × 4] more than 3,120,000. A number
" impossible to be maintained in a narrow barren
" country, such as Laconia, which had no trade."
There are three errors in this reasoning. 1. He
assumes that, if the slaves in Attica were as 6 to
1, they must at Sparta have been 20 to 1, because
at Sparta the proportion was greater than at
Athens. A conclusion quite unwarranted. 2. Hav-
ing assumed the original number of lots, 39,000,
to be the number of citizens in all future times,
(in itself a considerable error,) he makes this ag-
gregate amount the standard for computing the
number of slaves. But 30,000 of these were the
περίοικοι, and the περίοικοι had no jurisdiction over
the Helots. These were the slaves of the Spartans
alone; and their numbers are to be compared
with the citizens of Sparta. 3. He supposes the
question to refer only to *Laconia*. But in the age
of Thucydides *Messenia* was included; the slaves
of Sparta being the inhabitants of Messenia. And
these two provinces, so far from being a narrow
territory, contained more than $\frac{1}{3}$ ths of the whole
peninsula.

M^r. Kruger F. H. p. 421 ed. Lips. remarks

the Spartan citizens probably declined between the Persian war and the age of Thucydides, this proportion might have become in his time 6 to 1. LAONIA.

This description would not include the inhabitants of *Asinē* and *Methonē*, who were settled in Messenia by the Lacedæmonians^a. Some domestic slaves may be supposed in the habitations of the *περίοικοι*, and these are not computed in the preceding estimate: we may therefore conclude the total population of the two provinces to have been full 300,000, an amount which would give nearly 100 persons to the square mile.

There is reason to suppose that the aggregate population did not decline with the decay of the Spartan power. The deficient numbers of Sparta itself would be partly supplied by *neodamodes* and other classes of freedmen^o. The Laconian towns would probably improve with the acquisition of a greater share of liberty^p; and it is not to be supposed that Messenia would be less populous after the establishment of independence than it was during the period of its servitude.

The ARCADIANs, who were *πλείστον φύλον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν*^q, were divided into many independent states; and each of these contained several inferior towns or villages. In the north of Arcadia lay *Psophis*, *Clitor*, *Cynætha*, *Pheneos*, *Stymphalus*^r; towards the middle ARCADIA. 415

upon this passage: “Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται Thucyd. I. 10. *Id est, duas quintas partes.*” My meaning has been misunderstood by my translator. I do not refer to the division of Peloponnesus into provinces, but to its extent of surface as expressed in square English miles at p. 385. Of this the Lacedæmonians possessed 3058 parts out of 7779; which I call more than three-eighths in round numbers.

^a Pausan. IV. 8, 1. Ἀσιναιοὶ τε καὶ Δρύοπες γενεᾷ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ἀνεστηκότες, καὶ ἡκόντες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἰκέται, κατ’ ἀνάγκην συν-εστρατεύοντο [in the first Messenian war]. IV. 14, 2. τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Μεσσηνίας Ἀσιναιοὶ μὲν ἀνεστηκόσιν ὑπὸ Ἀργείων διδύσασιν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Ἀσιναιοὶ νέμονται [after the second war]. Strabo VIII. p. 373. οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν μετεκίσθησαν.—οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς φησιν ὁ Θεόπομπος, πολλὴν κατακτησάμενοι τῆς ἀλλοτρίας, εἰς ταύτην κατώκισον οὓς ἂν ὑποδέξαιτο τῶν φυγόντων ἐπ’ αὐτούς. Herodotus VIII. 73 notices that they were of the race of *Dryopes*: Δρύοπων Ἑρμῶν τε καὶ Ἀσίνῃ ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ. conf. Pausan. IV. 34, 6. This town was distinct from the Laconian *Asinē*, which stood on the bay of Laconia. *Mothonē*, or *Methonē*, is noticed by Pausan. IV. 35, 2. Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐπὶ Λακωνισμῷ διω-χθεῖσι Δαμοκρατίδα βασιλεύοντος ἐν Ἀργεὶ Μοθῶνῃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διδύσασιν. IV. 24, 2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε ὥς ἐπεκράτησαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας τὴν μὲν ἄλλην πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναιῶν αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον, Μοθῶνῃ δὲ Ναυπλιεῦσιν ἐδίδοσαν ἐκπεπωκόσιν ἐκ Ναυπλίας ἑναγχοῦς ὑπὸ Ἀργείων. The Messenians on their return in B. C. 369 Ναυπλιεῖς ἐκ Μοθῶνης οὐκ ἀνέστησαν. IV. 27, 4.

^o In an incursion in the reign of *Cleomenes III.* 50,000 slaves were carried off from Laconia by the Ætolians: Plutarch. *Cleom.* c. 18. Lacedæmon in the time of Polybius was 48 stadia in circuit, and had twice the population of Megalopolis. But Lacedæmon then was no longer an unfortified town, inhabited by Spartans under the discipline of *Lycurgus*. It had been surrounded with walls, and was filled by a mixed population of mercenary troops, emancipated slaves, and others, who had been collected during the tyrannies of *Machanidas* and *Nabis*.

^p The Spartans probably never recovered their former authority over the *περίοικοι*. In the war of Lacedæmon and Megalopolis in B. C. 352, (see the Tables,) the *περίοικοι* favoured the enemy: Pausan. VIII. 27, 7. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προθυμίας μὲν εἵνεκα Ἀρκάδας τε ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐποίησαν ἀναστάτους· ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν τότε οὐκ ἀθύμως, καὶ ἅμα τῶν περιόικων ἀπροφασίστως σφίσιν ἐπικουρούντων, λόγου μὲν συνέπεσεν οὐδὲν ἄξιον γενέσθαι παρὰ οὐδετέρων.

^q Xenoph. *Hel.* VII. 1, 23.

^r (1) *Psophis* stood in the N. W. Polybius IV. 70. ἡ Ψωφίς ἔστι μὲν ὁμολογούμενον καὶ παλαιὸν Ἀρκάδων κτίσμα τῆς Ἀζανίδος, κείμεν δὲ τῆς μὲν συμπασης Πελοποννήσου κατὰ τὴν μεσόγειαν αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Ἀρκადίας ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς δυσμὰς πέρασιν, συνάπτουσα τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἐσχατίας κατοικοῦσι τῶν προσεσπερίων Ἀχαιῶν. ἐπικείται δ’ εὐφύως τῇ τῶν Ἠλείων χώρα, μεθ’ ὧν συνέβαινε τότε πολιτεύεσθαι αὐτὴν [B. C. 219]. The boundaries towards *Clitor* are marked by Pausanias VIII. 23, 6. ὅροι δὲ Κλειτορίου τῆς χώρας πρὸς Ψωφιδίου εἰσὶν αἱ Σειραῖ. (2) *Clitor*

ARCADIA. *Caphyæ*, *Orchomenus*^s; on the west were *Telphussa*, *Heræa*, *Aliphera*, and *Phigalia*^t; in

carried on a war with *Orchomenus* in B. C. 378: Xenoph. Hel. V. 4, 36. Ἀγησίλαος—μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς Κλειτορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις, καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς ὅπως γένοιτο τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι δεηθείη. The Clitorians are mentioned with praise by Polyb. II. 55. In B. C. 220 they defended their city against the Ætolians: Polyb. IV. 19. Their limits towards *Pheneos* are noticed by Pausan. VIII. 19, 3. ἔστι Φενεάταις ἡ Δυκουρία πρὸς Κλειτορίους ὄροι τῆς γῆς. *Lusi* stood in their territory: Pausan. VIII. 18, 3. ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Κλειτορίων εἰσὶν οἱ Λουσσοί· πῶλιν μὲν δὴ ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι τοὺς Λουσσοὺς. *Lusi* still subsisted in B. C. 220. See Polyb. IV. 18. In B. C. 184, *Romanis legatis Clitore in Arcadia datum est concilium*. Liv. XXXIX. 35. (3) *Cynæthæ* was contiguous to *Clitor*: Polyb. IV. 18. τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν, ὃ κείται μεταξὺ Κλειτορίας καὶ Κυναίθης. The rude and savage manners of the Cynæthians in B. C. 221 are described by Polybius IV. 16—21. (4) *Pheneos*: Polyb. IV. 68. ἐκ Ψωφίδος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς Φενικῆς καὶ Στυμφαλίας. which marks its situation. Pausan. VIII. 13, 5. ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ συνάπτουσιν Ὀρχομενίων καὶ Φενεάτων τε καὶ Καφυατῶν ὄροι τῆς γῆς. Ibid. 14, 1. Φενεάτων τὸ πεδῖον κείται ὑπὸ ταῖς Καρυαῖς. Their territory included *Nonacris*, and extended beyond it to the Aroanian mountains: Herodot. VI. 74. ἡ Νώνακρις πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεά. Pausan. VIII. 18, 3. ὑπὲρ τὴν Νώνακριν ὄρη τε καλούμενα Ἀροάνια—τοῦ μὲν δὴ ὄρους τοῦ Ἀροανίων Φενεάται τὰ πολλὰ ἐνέμοντο. (5) *Stymphalus* was in the N. E. between *Pheneos* and *Argolis*. conf. Pausan. VIII. 22, 1. *Æneas* of *Stymphalus* was στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων in B. C. 366. Xenoph. Hel. VII. 3, 1. The *Stymphalians* and the city of *Stymphalus*—ἡ τῶν Στυμφαλίων πόλις—are mentioned in the war of *Cleomenes* B. C. 222, and in B. C. 219, by Polyb. II. 55. IV. 68. 69. In B. C. 197 it is appointed that the troops of the Achæan League *ad Apelaureum* (*Stymphaliæ terræ is locus est*) *convenirent*. Liv. XXXIII. 14.

^s (6) *Caphyæ* was the scene of a battle in which *Aratus* was defeated B. C. 220. Polyb. IV. 11, 12. It was near *Orchomenus*: Polyb. ibid. ἐχρῶντο τῇ φύγῃ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις· ὃ τε γὰρ Ὀρχομενὸς αἶ τε Κάφναι σύνεγγυς οὖσαι πολλοὺς ὤνησαν. (7) *Orchomenus* supplied 1200 men at *Platæa* B. C. 479. conf. Herodot. IX. 28. 29. When *Megalopolis* was founded in B. C. 371, the *Orchomenians* did not concur: Ὀρχομενίων οὐκ ἐθελόντων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 11. *Orchomenus* was successively occupied by *Cleomenes* and *Antigonus* in B. C. 225—223.

conf. Polyb. II. 46. 54. In B. C. 199, *Philippus legatos misit qui redderent Achæis Orchomenon et Heræam*. Liv. XXXII. 5.

^t (8) *Telphussa*: Its boundaries are noticed by Pausan. VIII. 25, 1. Τροπαίων ἔχεται δρυμὸς Ἀφροδίσιον· τρητὰ δέ ἐστιν ἀρχαία ἐν στήλῃ γράμματα, ὅροι Ψωφιδίοις πρὸς τὴν Θελπουσίαν χώραν. s. 2. ἐξ Ἀλοῦντος δὲ ἐπὶ Θαλιάδας γε (ὁ Λάδων) καὶ ἐπὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν κάτεισιν Ἑλεουσινίας. τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν Θελπουσίαν ἐν ὄροις. In B. C. 223 *Antigonus* προήγε τὴν ἐφ' Ἑραίας καὶ Τελφούσης παραλαβὼν καὶ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. Polyb. II. 54. *Philip* in B. C. 219 τὴν Σπάρτον ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Ἠλείων ἀποκατέστησε τοῖς Τελφουσιοῖς. Polyb. IV. 73. (9) *Heræa*: Its territories are defined by Pausan. VIII. 25, 7. Τουθθα ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν Λάδωνα κατὰ τὸν Θελπουσίαν ὄρον πρὸς Ἑραεῖς. c. 26, 3. τῇ Ἑραίᾳ ὄροι πρὸς τὴν Ἠλείαν λόγῳ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν ὁ Ἐρύμανθος. s. 5. τοῦ Βουφάγου περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὄροι πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας Ἑραεῦσιν εἰσιν. conf. c. 27, 11. V. 7, 1. Polyb. IV. 78. Ἀλφειὸς ῥεῖ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Ἑραίων πόλιν. In B. C. 370 the *Heræans* were allies of *Sparta*, and opposed to the rest of the *Arcadians*: Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 11. 22. *Heræa* was given by *Philip* to the *Achæans* in B. C. 199. See *Orchomenus*. In 197 the *Ætolians* claimed it: Αἰτωλοὺς (ἀμφισβητεῖν) περὶ τῆς Ἑραίων πόλεως Polyb. XVIII. 25. (10) *Aliphera* stood in the district called *Cynuria*, and was one of the towns which contributed to *Megalopolis*: Pausan. VIII. 27. ἐκ Κυνοουραίων τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Γόρτυς καὶ Θίσα ἡ πρὸς Δυκαίῳ, καὶ Δυκόται καὶ Ἀλίφρη. Liv. XXVIII. 8. *Philippus* [B. C. 207] *Alipheram reddidit Megalopolitis, quod suorum fuisse finium satis probabant*. Idem XXXII. 5. *Aliphera*—una ex iis quæ ad condendam Megalopolim ex concilio Arcadum contributæ forent. Polybius IV. 77. 78 describes its situation: Ἠλείοι προσελάβοντο καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀλιφειραίων πόλιν, συντελοῦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ Μεγαλόπολιν.—κείται μὲν ἐπὶ λόφου κρημνώδους πανταχόθεν ἔχοντος πλείον ἢ δέκα σταδίων πρόσβασιν· ἔχει δ' ἄκραν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ σύμπαντος λόφου. Although *Aliphera* was reduced by the migration of settlers to *Megalopolis* (Pausan. VIII. 26, 4), yet it still continued to subsist in after-times, as appears from *Livy* and *Polybius*, and from *Pausanias* himself VIII. 27, 5. τοῖς Ἀλιφηρεῦσι παραμένειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν σφᾶς καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζεσθαι. (11) *Phigalia* was seated in the S. W. angle of *Arcadia*, nearly 14 English miles, road distance, south of *Aliphera*. Polyb. IV. 3. ἐξαπεστάλη εἰς τὴν τῶν Φιγυλίων πόλιν, ἥτις—κείται πρὸς τοῖς τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὄροις, ἐτύγχανε δὲ τότε [B. C. 221] συμπολιτευομένη

the south the *Parrhasii*, the *Eutresii*, *Mænalus*, *Ægyptis*, and perhaps the district of *Arcadia*. *Tripolis*^u; on the east *Mantineia* and *Tegea*. 416

Mantineia, which adjoined the territory of the Argives^v, was composed of four or five hamlets^w, the inhabitants of which were collected into one city. The Mantineans were deprived of their walls by the Lacedæmonians in B. C. 385, and compelled to inhabit their villages^x. Their city was restored 15 years afterwards^y, and *Mantineia* continued to be a leading city of *Arcadia* down to the times of the Achæan League^z. The force of *Mantineia* may be collected from the following passage of *Lysias*^a: ὁρῶ δὲ Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινέας—τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ὁμόρους ὄντας Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς δὲ ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν πλείους τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ τρισχιλίους ὄντας. As the orator is underrating the numbers, we may conclude that at the period of which he speaks, about the year B. C. 402, the 417

τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. conf. c. 31. Pausan. VIII. 39, 3. κείται ἡ Φιγαλία ἐπὶ μετεώρου μὲν καὶ ἀποτόμου, πλέονα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥέουσα ἐστὶν ἐστὶν τείχη σφίσι· ἀνελθόντι δὲ ὁμαλῆς ἐστὶν ὁ λόφος ἥδη καὶ ἐπίπεδος. In Ol. 30. 2 B. C. 659 the Phigalians were engaged in war with the Lacedæmonians: Pausan. VIII. 39, 2.

^u These five districts were for the most part consolidated in B. C. 371 into the new state of *Megalopolis*. (12) The *Parrhasii* are mentioned by *Thucydides* V. 33 in B. C. 421. See above, page 403. v. *Sciros*. *Archidamus* in B. C. 367 στρατευσάμενος ἐς Παρρῆσας [l. Παρρῆσιους cum *Schneid.*] τῆς Ἀρκადίας ἐδήον τὴν χώραν. *Xenoph.* Hel. VII. 1, 28. The *Parrhasii* had been already transferred to *Megalopolis*. See Pausan. VIII. 27, 3. 38, 3. (13) The *Eutresii* are mentioned by *Xenophon* Hel. VII. 1, 29. They contributed 6 towns to *Megalopolis*: Pausan. VIII. 27, 3. ἐκ δὲ Εὐτρησίων Τρικλῶνοι, καὶ Ζοῖτιον, καὶ Χαρίσια [conf. 35, 5. 6], καὶ Πτολεῖον, καὶ Κναῦσον, καὶ Παρωρία [conf. c. 35. 6]. (14) *Mænalus*: The Lacedæmonians in B. C. 418 ἐχώρουν ἐς Ὀρέσθειον τῆς Μαιναλίας *Thucyd.* V. 64. The *Mænalians* are mentioned in the treaty between Lacedæmon and Argos: *Thucyd.* V. 77. They contributed 10 towns to *Megalopolis* in B. C. 371: Pausan. VIII. 27. (15) For *Ægyptis* or *Ægyptis*, see above, p. 402. 403. v. *Belmina*, *Leuctra*. (16) *Tripolis*: Pausanias VIII. 27. speaking of *Megalopolis*: προσεγένετο δὲ καὶ Τρίπολις ὀνομαζομένη, Καλλία καὶ Δίποινα καὶ Νώακρσις. *Steph. Byz.* Καλλία, πόλις μία τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Τριπόλεως. As *Nonacris* near *Pheneos* in the northern mountains of *Arcadia* is beyond the reach of *Megalopolis*, this is perhaps another *Nonacris*, in the south.

^v Pausan. VIII. 6, 2. ὁ δὲ Ἰναχος, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν πρόεισι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρους (τοῦ Ἀρτεμίου), τοῦτό ἐστιν Ἀργεῖοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ὄρος τῆς χώρας.

^w Four according to *Xenophon*, five according to *Ephorus*. See the following note.

^x *Xenophon* Hel. V. 2, 6. 7. καθηρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος διακίσθη δὲ ἡ Μαντινεία τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέον. Harpocr. v. Μαντινέων διοικισμός. —*Ephorus* ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ φησὶν ὅτι εἰς πέντε κόμας τὴν Μαντινέαν διέκισαν πόλιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. *Ephorus* is followed by *Diodorus* XV. 5. Λακεδαιμόνιοι —προσέτατον τὰ μὲν τείχη καθελεῖν αὐτοὺς δὲ μετοικῆσαι πάντας εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας πέντε κόμας, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τὴν Μαντινείαν τὸ παλαιὸν συνήκισαν. and by *Strabo* VIII. p. 337. τῆς Ἀρκადίας Μαντινεία μὲν ἐκ πέντε δήμων ὑπ' Ἀργείων συνήκισθη. *Polybius* IV. 27. avoids the difficulty by speaking generally: Λακεδαιμόνιοι —Μαντινέας φίλους ὄντας καὶ συμμάχους ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντες οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀδικεῖν, ἐκ μίας πόλεως εἰς πλείους αὐτοὺς διοικίσαντες. *Wesseling* ad *Diod.* XV. 5 reconciles the difference by an explanation (*nullam Mantinea rationem Xenophon habuit, quæ paucos incolas retinuit*) which seems confirmed by *Pausanias* VIII. 8, 5. to whom *Wesseling* refers: ὡς δὲ εἶλεν (Ἀγησίπολις) τὴν Μαντινείαν ὀλίγον μὲν τι κατέλιπεν οἰκεῖσθαι τὸ πλείστον δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος καταβαλὼν αὐτῆς κατὰ κόμας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέκισε. For the time of this event see the Tables B. C. 385.

^y Pausan. VIII. 8, 6. Μαντινέας δὲ ἐκ τῶν κομῶν κατάξεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἔμελλον Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Δεύκτροις. *Xenoph.* Hel. VI. 5, 3. ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες, ὡς ἥδη αὐτόνομοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, συνήλθον τε πάντες καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν πόλιν τὴν Μαντινείαν ποιεῖν. See the Tables B. C. 370.

^z *Phylarchus* apud *Polyb.* II. 56. (Μαντινεία) ἀρχαιοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. *Polybius* himself II. 62. οὐδενὸς ὄντες δεῦτεροι τῶν Ἀρκάδων Μαντινέες. They speak with reference to the war of *Cleomenes* B. C. 224—222.

^a Apud *Dionys.* *Lysia* p. 531.

ARCADIA. Argives were equal in number to the Athenians, and that the military population, or the citizens, of Mantinea were full 3000. And this will give about 13,000 for the free population of the Mantinean territory^b.

The *Tegeans* lay between *Mantineia* and *Laconia*, and were bounded on the east by *Cynuria*^c. They were divided into four tribes^d; and in early times had contended successfully with *Lacedæmon*^e. At the battle of *Plataea* the force of *Tegea* was 3000 men^f. It was not usual to send the whole force of a state upon a distant march, and we may probably estimate the force of the *Tegeans* on this occasion as not more than three fourths of their whole number^g. This would give 4000 for the military population of *Tegea*: and, if all

^b The military population might be all the males from 18 years to 60; the *citizens*, all the males above the age of 20. The former would be 4644 in 20,160, the latter 4897 in 20,160. See p. 387. The former proportion would give 13,000 for the total number of free inhabitants.

^c Pausanias VIII. 54, 1. Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Τεγεάταις ὅροι τῆς γῆς ὁ ποταμός ἐστιν ὁ Ἀλφειός. Xenophon Hel. VI. 5, 16. οἱ ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας Ἀρκάδες ἐχόμενοι τῶν μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὁρῶν παρῆσαν. Conf. Thucyd. V. 65. Pausan. VIII. 54, 5. ὑπερβάλλοντι τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους (τοῦ Παρθενίου) ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἤδη γεωργουμένοις Τεγεατῶν ὅροι καὶ Ἀργείων. Ibid. s. 3. ἡ εὐθεία ἐπὶ Θυρέαν τε καὶ κόμας τὰς ἐν τῇ Θυρεάτιδι ἐκ Τεγέας.

^d Pausan. VIII. 53, 3. Τεγεάταις τοῦ Ἀγνιεύς τὰ ἀγάλματα τέσσαρά εἰσιν ἀριθμὸν ὑπὸ φυλῆς ἐκάστης ἰδρυμένα· ὄνομα δὲ αἱ φυλαὶ παρέχονται Κλαρεῶτις, Ἰπποβοῖτις, Ἀπολλωνεᾶτις, Ἀθανεᾶτις. The *Tegeans*, like the *Mantineans*, originally dwelt in villages: Pausan. VIII. 45, 1. Τεγεᾶται ἐπὶ μὲν Τεγεάτου τοῦ Λυκάονος τῇ χώρᾳ φασὶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μόνῃ τὸ ὄνομα, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις κατὰ δήμους εἶναι τὰς οἰκίσεις. He names seven δήμοι, and subjoins, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀφειδαντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἐνατὸς σφισι προσεγένετο Ἀφειδαντες. The *ninth*, *si Tegeatas annumeres*, according to Fac. ad loc. Strabo VIII. p. 337 also makes them nine: Τεγέα δ' ἐξ ἑννέα.

^e Herodot. I. 66. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι—ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο χρησάμενοι κισθίλῳ πύσσιν, ὥς δὲ ἑξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτέων ἐξωγρήθησαν πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεατῶν ἐργάζοντο. This war was in the reign of *Charilaus* according to Pausan. III. 7, 3. ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι Χαρίλλῳ γίνεταί ἡ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπὶ Τεγεάτας ἐξοδος, κ. τ. λ. He refers to it VIII. 5, 6. 45, 2. 47, 2. 48, 3. This captivity of the *Lacedæmonians* is recorded by *Dinias* apud *Herodian*. περὶ μὲν λέξ. p. 8. λέγεται δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καθ' ὃν ἐν τῇ γαίᾳ [l. *Dindorf*. Τεγέα] χρόνον ἦσαν αἰχμαλώτοι, δεδεμένους ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὸν Λαχῶν

ποταμόν, Περιμήδας ἐν τῇ γέρᾳ [*Dindorf*. Τεγέα] δυναστεύουσας, ἣν οἱ πλείστοι καλοῦσι Χοίραν. In another war, some generations afterwards, the *Tegeans* had again the advantage: Herodot. I. 65. ἐπὶ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μόνους προσέπταιον. Pausanias III. 3, 5. Λέων.—ἐπὶ τούτων βασιλεύοντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσέπταιον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τεγεάτας πολέμῳ τὰ πλείονα. In the next generation the *Lacedæmonians* prevailed. See above p. 207. The *Tegeans* were again defeated by the *Lacedæmonians* in an action which occurred after the battle of *Plataea* B. C. 479, and before the revolt of the *Helots* B. C. 464: Herodot. IX. 35. (followed by Pausan. III. 11, 6.) ὁ ἀγὼν ἐν Τεγῇ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος.

^f Τεγεῆται τρισχίλιοι Herodot. IX. 61. of these, 1500 were ὀπλίται Herodot. IX. 28. and 1500 ψιλοί, the light-armed being about equal in number to the ὀπλίται.—ὥς εἰς περὶ ἑκάστον ἑὼν ἄνδρα c. 29. or rather more; for (exclusive of the *Spartans* and *Helots*) the ὀπλίται were 33,700, and the ψιλοὶ 34,500. The ψιλοὶ therefore from some states were more numerous than the ὀπλίται. This easy explanation is rejected by *Larcher* (ad locum), who rather chooses to suppose corruption in the numbers.

^g When the whole force of a state marched, it was generally so expressed. Thus οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι—ἀπὸ τῶν Thuc. III. 91. Μεγαρής—Ἀθηναίων ἐσβαλλόντων πανστρατιᾷ IV. 66. Ἀθηναίους πανδημεῖ—πανστρατιᾷς ξένων τῶν παρόντων καὶ αὐτῶν γενομένης IV. 90. 94. The *Athenians* march πανδημεῖ πανστρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα Thuc. II. 31. ἐβοήθησαν πανδημεῖ I. 107. when the *Lacedæmonians* were 11,500 and the *Athenians* with their allies 14,000. The *Lacedæmonians* ἐστράτευον αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες πανδημεῖ ἐπ' Ἄργος Thuc. V. 57. πανδημεῖ ἐς Λεῦκτρα V. 54. πανδημεῖ ἐς Παρράσιους V. 33. βοήθεια αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν πανδημεῖ ὀξεία V. 64. The *Thebans* στρατεύουσι πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν Xen. Hel. V.

the males from 18 to 60 years of age were 4000, the total free population would be 17,400. ARCADIA.
Tegea therefore, in the time of the Persian war, would be more populous than Mantinea in 418
the time of which Lysias speaks.

Forty towns contributed their inhabitants in B. C. 371^b to form the new state of *Megalopolis*: which was founded near the frontiers of Laconia, and had a territory assigned to it more extensive than that of any other Arcadian state; extending southwards to Laconia,

4, 42. The Argives ἐνέβαλλον πανδημὶ ἐς τὸν Φλοιόντα Idem VII. 2, 4. The Achæans πανδημὶ ξυνεστρατεύοντο into Acarnania Xen. Hel. IV. 6, 3. The Corinthians ἐβοήθησαν ἐς Ἴσθμὸν πάντες—πανδημὶ ἐπετήρουν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους Thuc. IV. 42. But these were only the men of the military age; for immediately afterwards ἐβοήθησαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Κορινθίων Ibid. c. 44. The preceding expeditions πανδημὶ were all made to short distances. Sometimes the reason is given why the whole force of the state went forth: Φλιάσιοι πανστρατιά ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῳ ἦν τὸ στράτευμα Thuc. V. 57. Otherwise the defence of their own state is provided for. The Lacedæmonians sometimes send back a sixth part: τὸ ἕκτον μέρος σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀποπέμφαντες ἐπ' οἶκου, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ τὸ νεώτερόν ἦν, ὥστε τὰ οἶκου φρουρεῖν Thuc. V. 64. But in distant expeditions only two-thirds of the military force marched: Thuc. III. 15. τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν τοῖς τε ξυμμάχοις παροῦσι κατὰ τάχος ἔφραζον ἵεναι ἐς τὸν ἰσθμὸν τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν ὡς ποιησόμενοι. Idem II. 10. ξυνήσαν τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἐς τὸν ἰσθμὸν. c. 12. Βοιωτοὶ μέρος τὸ σφέτερον παρείχοντο. II. 47. τὰ δύο μέρη, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐσέβαλον. Sometimes a smaller proportion than two-thirds; as at the battle of Corinth B. C. 394. The Phlians at Plataea had 2000 men: Herodot. IX. 28. 29. But in B. C. 381, by the testimony of Xenophon, Phlius contained more than 5000 citizens. Even admitting a large increase in that century, we cannot assign to Phlius less than 3000 men of military age in B. C. 479. Only two-thirds therefore of the force of Phlius marched to Plataea; and perhaps a less proportion. The Spartan forces at that battle were five-eighths of their whole number of citizens. We are taking, then, a low estimate, in supposing that only one-fourth of the Tegeans remained at home.

^b See for the date of Megalopolis Xenophon and Pausanias quoted in the Tables B. C. 371. 370. Diodorus XV. 59. περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους [the year of Dyscinetus B. C. 370] Λυκομήδης ὁ Τεγαίτης (an error for Μαντινεύς. conf. c. 62. et Xenoph. Hel. VII. 1, 23) ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας εἰς μίαν συντέλειαν συνταχθῆναι, καὶ κοινὴν ἔχειν σύνοδον

συνεστῶσαν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν μυρίων, καὶ τούτους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευέσθαι. Idem c. 72. ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ναυσιγένοῦς—μετὰ τὴν μάχην [the tearless battle B. C. 367] οἱ Ἀρκάδες—ἐκτίσαν ἐπὶ τινος ἐπικαίρου τόπου τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μεγάλῃν πόλιν, συρρίψαντες εἰς αὐτὴν κόμας μ' [sic bene restituit Wess.] τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Μαιναλίων καὶ Παρρasiών Ἀρκάδων. The variation in the date can cause no difficulty, if we understand with Wess. ad loc. that the city was begun three years before and was now completed. The Parian Marble No. 74, although the date is obliterated, yet placed the foundation before the year of Nausigenes, who is named in the next epoch. Forty towns are mentioned by Diodorus: 39 are named in the present text of Pausanias VIII. 27, 3. πόλεις δὲ τοσαύτῃς ἦσαν ὅσας ὑπὸ τε προθυμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πατρίδας σφίσιν οὖσας ἐκλιπεῖν ἐπέθοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες. They were furnished from 7 states:

<i>Manalus</i> supplied 10 towns	
The Parrhasii . . .	8
Orchomenus . . .	3
Cynuria	4
Eutresis	6
Tripolis	3
Ægyptis	5
	39

The district called *Ægyptis* [see p. 402. 403. v. *Belmina*, *Leuctra*] was on the Laconian border, and partly in the Laconian territory. Perhaps in this passage a name has escaped; and for παρά δὲ Αἰγυτίων, καὶ Σκιρτώνιον, καὶ Μαλαία, καὶ Κρῶμοι, κ. τ. λ. we should read παρά δὲ Αἰγυτίων * καὶ Σκιρτώνιον, καὶ Μαλαία, κ. τ. λ. In that case *Ægyptis* would have had 6 towns, and Pausanias and Diodorus would agree in the number 40. Pausanias VIII. 27, 5 remarks, that of these 39 or 40 towns only 9 remained in his time, and that the others were lost in Megalopolis: τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατελεγμένων πόλεων αἱ μὲν ἐς ἅπαν εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔρημοι, τὰς δὲ ἔχουσιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται κόμας, Γόρτυνα, Διποίνας, Θεισσοάν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ὀρχομενῷ, Μεθύδριον, Τευθίν, Καλλιὰς, Ἐλίσσοντα. He adds *Pallantium* and *Aliphæra*.

ARCADIA.

and northwards for about 23 English miles from the city into the middle of the provinceⁱ. The new city itself was fifty stadia in circuit^k; and the territory in B. C. 318 contained 15,000 men capable of bearing arms^l: οἱ Μεγαλοπολίται—ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας
 419 κατὰγειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν ποιησάμενοι μυρίους καὶ πεν-
 τακισχιλίους εὖρον τοὺς δυναμένους παρέχεσθαι τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. The total population
 therefore was about 65,120, and if we calculate the slaves and strangers at half the whole
 amount, Megalopolis would contain at that time about 7500 citizens. The Arcadian
 assembly of *ten thousand* held its meetings at Megalopolis^m; and the presence of the

ⁱ Pausanias marks its extent: VIII. 35, 5. εἰσιν ἐκ Μεγάλης πόλεως καὶ ἐς τὰ χωρία ὁδοὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Ἀρκαδίας, ἐς Μεθύριον ἐξδομήκοντα στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατόν. 36, 2. Μεθύριον δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίου Νυμφασία πηγή· τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἀπὸ Νυμφασίας ἕτεροι πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν εἰσι καὶ Ὀρχομενίων τε κοινούς καὶ Καφνατῶν ὄρους. These numbers give

to Methydrium	170 stadia
to Nymphasia	30
to the borders	30
	<hr/> 230

making near 23 English miles. Μεθύριον τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος is mentioned Polyb. IV. 10. Κλάριον τῆς Μεγαλοπολίτιδος Idem IV. 25.

^k Polyb. IX. 21.

^l Diod. XVIII. 70. We must not often quote Diodorus for the numbers of armies. But when he is confirmed by other testimony, as XVII. 14 by Plutarch. Alex. c. 11. and XVII. 63 by Curtius VI. 1, 16. or when from particular circumstances his account bears the marks of accurate enumeration, as in the present case, his report of numbers may be produced.

^m Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 344 [B. C. 343]. ἀπαγγέλλων μετὰ ταύθ' ἤκων ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακροὺς λόγους, οὓς ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει πρὸς Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔφη δεδημηγορηκέναι. p. 403. καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ λόγος ἦν ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις. Æschin. Fals. Leg. p. 38, 24. ἐπιτιμᾶς δέ μοι καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δημηγορίαν καὶ πρεσβείαν. Scholiastes p. 760. Reisk. μύριοι Ἀρκάδων συνέδριον ἐν Μεγαλόπολει. Harpocr. v. μύριοι. συνέδριον ἐστὶ κοινὸν Ἀρκάδων ἀπάντων, οὗ πολλάκις μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ἱστορικοί. διείλεται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ κοινῇ Ἀρκάδων πολιτείᾳ. Pausan. VIII. 32, 1. describing Megalopolis: τοῦ θεάτρον δὲ οὐ πόρρω λείπεται τοῦ βουλευτηρίου θεμέλια, ὃ τοῖς μυρίοις ἐπεποιήτο Ἀρκάδων· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναθέντος Θεορσίλιον. Xenophon Hel. VII. 1, 38. on the return of the embassy from Persia [see the Tables B. C. 367], ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτι ἡλαττοῦτο τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν,

—ἀπήγγειλε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους κ. τ. λ. Idem Ibid. 4, 2. ὁ Λυκομήδης πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ ξυμμαχίας πρὸς Ἀθηναίους [B. C. 366]. Ibid. s. 33. 34. πρῶτοι Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι μὴ χρῆσθαι· καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ γινόμενον μέρος ἐς τοὺς Ἐπαρίτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμάνεσθαι τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ἀνεκαλοῦντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν. [sc. τοὺς προστάτας τῶν Μαντινέων. these words are misunderstood by Vales. ad Harpocr. p. 247 Wesseling ad Diod. XV. 59 and Fac. ad Pausan. VIII. 32, 1] καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον κατεδίκασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς Ἐπαρίτους ἔπεμπον ὡς ἄξοντας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαντινεῖς κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς εἶσω. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τάχα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ὡς οὐ χρὴ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι.—ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενοι ἀνεμυσθοῦ τῶν Ἐπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι—καθίσταντο ἐς τοὺς Ἐπαρίτους. The *Epariti* were a select corps of Arcadian troops: see Hesych. quoted by Schneid. ad loc. Mitford vol. VI. p. 239 thinks that the assembly called the *μύριοι* was composed of the whole free population of Arcadia. But this is not probable. 1. This body possessed only delegated powers: Diod. XV. 59. κοινὴν σύνοδον, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευέσθαι. But, if it was no other than the whole free population of the country, by whom were its powers delegated? 2. It is designated as a *synod* or *council*, *σύνοδος*, *συνέδριον*. But an assembly of the people would be rather called *ἐκκλησία*. 3. It does not appear that the *ten thousand* possessed the legislative power; they had only the judicial and executive. But the legislative power resided in the whole assembled people. 4. These three states, *Mantineia*, *Tegea*, and *Megalopolis*, contained together 14,000 or 15,000 citizens: and besides these three there were ten other independent Arcadian states. The *ten thousand*, then, were not the whole free population. Besides, it is probable that, according to the practice among the Achæans and at

Great Council of the nation would naturally draw together a considerable number of residentsⁿ. ARCADIA.

We may conjecture the probable number of Arcadian citizens by comparing the other 420 states with Tegea or Mantinea. Orchomenus sent 1200 men to the battle of Plataea. Hence we may infer that Orchomenus had at least 1600 men of the military age, or more than half the number of Mantinea. But as some states were less than Orchomenus, we may take a lower proportion as the average population of each. If we assume that the 16 states including Orchomenus contained one with another two-fifths of the number of citizens which Lysias ascribed to Mantinea, we shall obtain 1200 for the average proportion^o. This will give an aggregate of 26,200 for the free male population, and the males above the

Lacedæmon, and in most other Grecian states, (see above p. 386, note ^t.) the citizens who were under 30 would not be admitted into this assembly. But these composed more than a third of the whole number of citizens, and when those above 30 were 10,000, the citizens from 20 to 30 would be near 4300. See the proportions above, p. 387. These 10,000 then, were a deputed body, selected from a larger number. Barthelemy Anacharsis tom. IV. p. 270 describes from Pausanias the place of assembly as *une VASTE édifice. où se tient l'assemblée des dix mille députés*, adding an epithet which Pausanias does not supply. It is not at all likely that this whole number ever actually met. The functions of the Assembly would be performed, as in other cases, by a part only of its members. Thus in the Athenian *ἐκκλησία* the business of the state was generally transacted by a fourth part of the citizens (see the Tables B. C. 422, 2); and thus we know from experience in modern parliaments, that all the members seldom or never meet; and that affairs are despatched by a very small part of the whole.

ⁿ When the Arcadian Union was dissolved, and the Assembly of the *ten thousand* had ceased to meet, Megalopolis losing its importance would decline in population. Polybius IX. 21 remarks that in his time it was not peopled in proportion to its extent, and that it contained only half the population of Lacedæmon: οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς περιμέτρου τεκμαίρονται τὰ μεγέθη τῶν προειρημένων [sc. Lacedæmon and Megalopolis]. λοιπὸν, ὅταν εἴπῃ τις τὴν μὲν τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν πόλιν πεντήκοντα σταδίων ἔχειν τὸν περίβολον τὴν δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὀκτῶ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει διπλὴν εἶναι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τῆς Μεγάλης πόλεως, ἄπιστον αὐτοῖς εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ λεγόμενον. Phylarchus (who is charged by Polybius with exaggeration upon some occasions) implies that Megalopolis in his time was inferior to Mantinea. See

p. 416. note ^z. But according to Strabo VIII. p. 385 Megalopolis at the time of its union with the Achæan League was still *μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Ἀρκადίᾳ*. Megalopolis was originally planned on a large scale as the future capital of the Arcadian states. Its theatre was the largest in Greece: Pausan. VIII. 32, 1. II. 27, 5. A river ran through the city, which added to the extent of its circumference. The circumstances, therefore, of this city were peculiar, and the observation of Polybius, with reference to Megalopolis and Lacedæmon, affords no argument why we should not infer the populousness of Corinth, Thebes, or Athens, from the extent of their walls.

^o The 16 smaller states	$1200 \times 16 = 19,200$
Tegea	4,000
Mantineia	3,000
	<hr/> 26,200.

This proportion is confirmed by the numbers which Diodorus gives to Megalopolis. For most of the inhabitants of seven states were transferred to the new commonwealth. But if these states contained $1200 \times 7 = 8400$ citizens, the citizens of Megalopolis would be between 7000 and 8000: an amount which is fully justified by the account of Diodorus.

These numbers, 26,200 citizens, would suppose a free military population in all Arcadia of less than 25,000. a number which will perhaps appear below the truth, when it is remembered that the Arcadians, like the modern Swiss, were accustomed to sell their services to other states: Thucyd. VII. 57. *Μαντινῆς καὶ ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδων μισθοφόροι ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰὲς πολεμίους σφίσιν ἀποδεικνυμένους εἰσθότες ἰέναι, καὶ τότε τοὺς μετὰ Κορινθίων ἐλθόντας Ἀρκάδας οὐδὲν ἥσσον διὰ κέρδος ἡγούμενοι πολεμίους* [in the Sicilian war B. C. 415—413]. Ibid. c. 58. *ἐξ Ἀρκადίας μισθοφόροι ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀποσταλέντες*. A practice which had a tendency to augment the population by creating a demand for men.

ACHATA. age of 20 being 4897 in 20,160 persons, the total free population would consist of 107,850 persons. And if we assume the slaves in all Arcadia to be only half the number of the free P, or 53,900, we obtain 161,750 for the total number of inhabitants; about 95 persons to each square mile.

ACHAIA had originally twelve divisions or districts, each containing 7 or 8 hamlets^q. Although the Achæans had enjoyed a greater share of tranquillity than many other states of Greece, yet they seem to have somewhat declined in population. The twelve states continued from their first settlement down to the time of Herodotus. Between Herodotus and the rise of the Achæan League two had disappeared, and the states of Achaia were reduced 421 to ten^r. And at the establishment of the League the force of the Achæans was so incon-

P Athenæus VI. p. 271. d. has given occasion to Barthélemy Anachars. tom. IV. p. 267 to represent the Arcadians as having 300,000 slaves: Θεόπομπος Ἀρκαδίους φησὶ κεκτῆσθαι προσπελατῶν ὥσπερ Εἰλώτων τριάκοντα μυριάδας. But in X. p. 443. b. Ἀρκαίιοι κέκτῃται. and in both passages it appears that Ἀρκαίιοι is to be replaced, and that Theopompus there speaks of an Illyrian people. See Schweigh. ad VI. p. 271. d. Nor is it credible that the Arcadians, an agricultural and inland people, should have acquired 300,000 slaves; and there is no tradition that they had reduced to servitude any former race of inhabitants.

The account which Barthélemy has adopted is farther refuted by the numbers of Megalopolis. In Megalopolis during the period of its prosperity the proportion of slaves would be greater than in the other Arcadian republics. And yet at Megalopolis, which contained within its territory the population of six states, and part of the inhabitants of a seventh (Orchomenus), and which consequently possessed from 7000 to 8000 citizens, all the men of military age, including citizens, slaves, and strangers, were only 15,000 in B. C. 318. But if we deduct the citizens and strangers, who may be estimated together at 9000 or 10,000, there will remain 5000 or 6000 slaves. The slaves therefore at Megalopolis, at that time the richest and most important state in Arcadia, would be to the freemen as 6 to 9, and perhaps only as 5 to 10; or half the number of the free: which is the proportion that has been adopted in the preceding inquiry for the slave population of Achaia, Bœotia, and Arcadia collectively.

q Herodot. I. 145. δυνάδεκα ἦν (τῶν Ἰώνων) μέρεα· κατὰπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἰωνας δυνάδεκά ἐστι μέρεα. Strabo VIII. p. 385. εἰς δώδεκα μέρη διηρημένη. p. 386. ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν δώδεκα μερίδων ἐκ δῆμων συνειστήκει ἐπτὰ καὶ ὀκτώ τοσούτον εὐανδρεῖν τὴν χώραν συνέβαιεν.

r Olenus had from some cause decayed in population; Helicæ had been destroyed in B. C. 373 by

an earthquake: Polyb. II. 41. τὸ κοινὸν πολίτευμα ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ συνέχεν ἐπειρώντο. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκ δώδεκα πόλεων· ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν συμβαίνει διαμένειν, πλὴν Ὀλένου καὶ Ἑλίκης τῆς πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καταποθείσης. Herodotus I. 145 and Polybius II. 41 name the twelve states, but with some variation; for *Ægæ* and *Rhyes* in Herodotus are not in Polybius, who names in their stead *Cerynea* and *Leontium*. The following is the list of Herodotus.

1. *Pellenæ*: Πελλήνη μὲν τε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος Herodot. named also by Polyb. ἡ Πελλήνη στάδια ἐξήκοντα τῆς θαλάττης ὑπερκειμένη Strab. VIII. p. 386. Πελληνεῖς. πρὸς Σικυῶνος δὲ οὔτοι καὶ μοίρας τῆς Ἀργολίδος Ἀχαιῶν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι Pausan. VII. 26, 5.

2. *Ægira*: Pausan. VII. 26. εἴτα Αἰγείρα δευτέρα Strab. p. 385.

3. *Ægæ*: Αἰγαὶ ἐν τῇ Κράθις ποταμὸς ἀένναός ἐστιν Herodot. τρίτῃ Αἰγαὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἔχουσα Strab. p. 385. *Ægæ* is not named by Polybius. This town had decayed: Pausan. VII. 25, 7. πρὸς τῇ Ἀχαϊκῇ Κράθιδι Ἀχαιῶν ποτε ὤκητο Αἰγαὶ πόλις· ἐκλειφθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας λέγουσι. Its inhabitants had been transferred to *Ægira*: Strabo p. 386. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες κωμηδὸν ὄκουν, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν, ὧν εἰς τινας ὕστερον συνέκισαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων ἐνίας καθὰπερ τὰς Αἰγὰς εἰς Αἰγείραν, Αἰγαῖοι δ' ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. Ὀλεον δὲ εἰς Δύμην. Its place among the Achæan states was occupied by *Cerynea*, a city not named by Herodotus, but in the lists of Polybius (II. 41), Pausanias, and Strabo. Pausan. VII. 25, 3. μετὰ δὲ Ἑλίκην ἀποτραπήσῃ τε ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς δεξιὰν καὶ ἤξει εἰς πόλισμα Κερύνειαν· ὄκισται δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐν ὄρει.—παρὰ τούτους σύνοικοι Μυκηναῖοι κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος [when they were expelled by the Argives. See the Tables B. C. 468].—τοῦ δήμου δὲ πλέον μὲν ἢ ἡμῖν ἐς Μακεδονίαν καταφεύγουσι παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον—ὁ δὲ ἄλλος δῆμος ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν Κερύνειαν· καὶ δυνατωτέρα τε ἢ Κερύνεια οἰκητόρων πλήθει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα

siderable, that, according to Plutarch, the collective population of all the ten states was scarcely equal to the inhabitants of a single city^s. But they inhabited a narrow territory; probably not exceeding an area of 651 square English miles^t. Perhaps we may assume that the twelve states contained collectively 10,000 citizens. This will give about 41,200 for the total free population. Admitting half that number of slaves, we obtain 61,800 persons for the total number of inhabitants, or nearly 95 persons to the square mile.

The adjoining state of SICYON was more populous in proportion to its extent. The Sicyonians had 3000 *ὄπλιται* at Plataea^{tt}: *Σικυνῶνιοι τρισχίλιοι*. These at least were citizens. Their light-armed troops were equal in number^u. But, as the Sicyonians possessed a race of slaves of the class of vassals, like the Helots or *Penestæ*^v, these probably served as light-armed

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ἐγένετο ἐπιφανεστέρα διὰ τὴν συνοίησιν τῶν Μυκηναίων. Strabo p. 387. *ἡ Κερύνεια ἐπὶ πέτρας ὑψηλῆς ἰδρυμένη*.

4. *Bura*: *τετάρτη Βούρα* Strab. p. 385. *ἐκ Κερυνείας ἐπανελθόντι ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον καὶ ὀδεύσαντι οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ δευτέρᾳ ἔστω ἐς Βούραν ἀποτραπέσθαι* Pausan. VII. 25, 5.

5. *Helicē*: The destruction of *Helicē* and *Bura* by an earthquake (in the archonship of *Asteius* B. C. 37½ Pausan. VII. 25, 2. Diod. XV. 48. *δυσὶν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν* Strab. p. 384) is described by Diodorus l. c. Pausanias VII. 24, 5. Strabo p. 384. 385. They had been preceded by *Callisthenes*: *Seneca* N. Q. VI. 23. (conf. VII. 4.) *Callisthenes in libris quibus describit quemadmodum Helice Buraque mersæ sunt*. On this passage conf. *Wess.* ad Diod. XV. 48.

6. *Ægium*: *Αἴγιον ἐξ ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ δήμων συνεπολισθη* Strab. VIII. p. 337. In the time of the Achaean League the place of meeting for the Achaean congress. See above, p. 241. *ἐς δὲ Αἴγιον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι συνέδριον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀθροίζεται* Pausan. VIII. 24, 3.

7. *Rhypes*: *σταδίου δὲ Αἴγιον περὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει* *Ῥυπῶν* Pausan. VII. 23, 5. *μετὰ Ἐλίῃν Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες* Strab. p. 385. *Ἐρινεὸν τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῇ* Thucyd. VII. 34. See above, p. 265. note *h*. *Rhypes* does not occur in the list of Polybius. Its place among the states is occupied by *Leontium*; which seems to have been to the west of *Ægium*, towards *Pharæ*: Polyb. V. 94. *διελθὼν διὰ τῆς Φαραϊκῆς κατέδραμε τὴν χώραν ἕως τῆς Αἰγιάδος· περιελασάμενος δὲ λείαν ἱκανὴν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ὡς ἐπὶ Λεόντιον*. Idem XXXIII. 15. *Καλλικράτης ὁ Λεοντήσιος*. I do not find *Leontium* noticed in Pausan. or Strabo, or Steph. Byz. *Rhypes* however remained to the time of Augustus, who transferred its inhabitants to *Patrae*: Pausan. VIII. 18, 5.

8. *Patrae*: *Πάτραι ἐξ ἑπτὰ δήμων* Strab. p. 337. Described by Pausanias VII. 18—21.

9. *Pharæ*: *ὁδὸς ἐς Φαράς Πατρέων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ*

ἄστειος στάδιοι πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Pausan. VII. 22, 1.

10. *Olenus*: *δείκνυται ἔχνος μεταξὺ Πατρῶν καὶ Δύμης τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν Ὠλενίων κτίσματος* Strab. p. 386. *ἀνὰ χρόνον τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας φασὶ τὴν Ὠλενον* Pausan. VII. 18, 1.

11. *Dymē*: *Δύμη ἐξ ὀκτὼ δήμων* Strab. p. 337. *Ἀχαιοῖς ὄροι καὶ Ἠλείοις τῆς χώρας ποταμὸς Λάριστος. — καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις Δύμη σταδίους ὅσον τετρακοσίους [i. τετταράκοντα] ἀπέχει τοῦ Λαρίσιον*. Pausan. VII. 17, 3. *Dymē* in B. C. 67 was *χηρεύουσα ἀνδρῶν*, and was supplied by *Pompey* with inhabitants from the captive pirates: Plutarch. *Pomp.* c. 28.

12. *Trilæa*: *Τριταιέες οἱ μόνουι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσιν* Herodot. *στάδιοι ἐς Τριταίαν ἑκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατὸν εἰσιν ἐκ Φαρών* Pausan. VII. 22, 4. For the date of the *Achaean League* see p. 240.

^s Plutarch. *Arat.* c. 9. *μικροπολῖται ἦσαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ γῆν οὐτε χρηστὴν οὐτ' ἀφθονον ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ θαλάττῃ προσέκουν ἀλιμένῳ* — *τῆς μὲν παλαιῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκμῆς οὐδέν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μέρος ὄντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε μίας ἀξιολόγου πόλεως σύμπαντες ὁμοῦ δύναμιν οὐκ ἔχοντες*. According to Polybius II. 39 the Achæans in B. C. 371 σχεδὸν ἐλαχίστην τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν δυνάμιν εἶχον.

^t *Achaia Sicyon* and *Phlius* contained collectively 783 square English miles. See p. 385. Of these, 132 might belong to Sicyon and Phlius, and 651 to Achaia.

^u Herodot. IX. 28.

^v See p. 417. note *f*.

^v Pollux III. 83. *μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων — Σικυνῶνιν Κορνηφόροι*. Steph. Byz. *Χίος*. οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐχρήσαντο θεραπείαν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Εἰλωσι καὶ Ἀργείοι τοῖς Γυμνησίοις καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι τοῖς Κορνηφόροις. From this class were drawn that species of freedmen mentioned by Theopompus apud Athen. VI. p. 271. d. *Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ γὰ τῶν ἱστοριῶν παρὰ Σικυνωνίους κατανακοφόρους καλεῖσθαι δούλους τινὰς, παραπλησίους ὄντας τοῖς ἐπεινάκτοις. τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Μέναιχμος ἐν τοῖς Σικωνιακοῖς*.

SICYON. troops. At the same time the Sicyonians had a naval force at Mycælē^w. They had 12 ships at Artemisium^x; and these were augmented to 15 at Salamis^y. Their number at Mycælē is not expressed. But if they had ten, the crews would scarcely be less than 2000 men. The Sicyonians, then, would have about 8000 men on service at the same time. But if we estimate these at three-fourths^z of their whole military population, including slaves, then 10,630 males between the ages of 18 and 60 will give 46,160 for the aggregate population of Sicyon and its territory at the period of the Persian war.

PHLIUS. PHLIUS in the age of Xenophon contained more than 5000 citizens^a: consequently more than 20,600 free inhabitants. Add half the number of slaves, and the total population of Phlius will be 31,000. The collective population of these states will be near 139,000^b, upon an area of 783 square English miles; or 178 persons to each square mile.

ARGOLIS. The circumstances of CORINTH were very different from those of the agricultural communities of Arcadia or Achaia. Corinth, like Athens, subsisted by commerce^c. The Corinthians, deriving a great capital from commerce, and possessing a naval force^d, were consequently enabled to import supplies of corn from foreign countries. Hence they maintained a great population upon a narrow extent of soil. The surface of the territory of Corinth did not exceed 248 square English miles^e; the soil was not fertile^f; and yet the total population of the Corinthian state cannot be computed at less than 100,000 persons. The Corinthians had 5000 heavy-armed and as many light-armed soldiers at Platæa^g, and at the same

^w Herodot. IX. 102.

^x Idem VIII. 1.

^y Idem VIII. 43.

^z See p. 417. note ε.

^a Xenoph. Hel. V. 3, 16. ὡς ὀλίγων ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώπων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοντο πλεον πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ὅπως τοῦτ' εὐδηλον εἶη, οἱ Φλιάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανέρῳ τοῖς ἔξω ἐξεκκλησίαζον. And yet Phlius is called by Xenophon VII. 2, 1. μικρὰ πόλις. He probably means small in influence and weight. The position of Phlius is marked by Strabo VIII. p. 382. κείται ὁ Φλιοῦς ἐν μέσῳ Σικωνίας, Ἀργείας, Κλεωνῶν, καὶ Στυμφάλου, κύκλῳ περιεχόμενος.

^b Achaia 61,800

Sicyon 46,160

Phlius 31,000

138,960

^c Corinth was an emporium from the earliest times: Thucyd. I. 13. οἰκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον ——— χρήμασι τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὥς καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται. Strabo VIII. p. 378. ὁ δὲ Κόρινθος ἀφνειὸς μὲν λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἐμπόριον, ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ κείμενος καὶ δυοῖν λιμένων κύριος, ὧν ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐγγὺς ἐστὶ, καὶ ῥαδίως ποιεῖ τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀμοιβὰς τῶν φορτίων πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς τοσούτον ἀφιστάων.

^d Corinth had a naval force early: Thucyd. I. 13. τριήρεις λέγονται πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῆς Ἑλ-

λάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίους Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναὺς ποιήσας τέσσαρας· ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίους ἦλθε [cir. B. C. 704]. ναυμαχία τε παλαιάτη ὧν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους· ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξήκοντα καὶ διακόσια ἐστὶ μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου [cir. B. C. 664]. The Corinthians had 40 ships in the Persian war: Herodot. VIII. 1. 43. They fitted out 90 ships against the Corcyreans B. C. 432: Thucyd. I. 46.

^e The distances from Corinth to its frontiers, measured in direct distance from the city, in English miles are nearly these: To the river *Nemea*, which divided Corinthia from the lands of Sicyon and Phlius 7½ miles. In the direction of *Epidaurus* 13½ miles. Beyond the Isthmus towards *Megara* 12 miles. And Corinth was only 8½ miles from *Cleonæ*, which stood beyond the frontier, towards Argos. The surface contained within these limits, calculated upon Arrowsmith's map, gives an area of 248 English square miles.

^f Strabo VIII. p. 382. χώραν δ' ἔσχεν οὐκ εὐγενοῦς σφόδρα ἀλλὰ σκολιάν τε καὶ τραχείαν.

^g Herodot. IX. 28. Κορινθίων πεντακισχιλίοι· παρὰ δὲ σφί εὗροντο παρὰ Πανσανίῳ ἐστάναι Ποτιδαιγέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. But these were exclusive of the 5000. The light-armed were equal in number: conf. c. 29.

time a naval force at Mycalē, where their services were conspicuous^h. The rowers in the triremes might be partly composed of slaves: the 5000 light-armed troops might possibly be slaves. But the 5000 *ὀπλίται* were citizens, or at least freemen; and a considerable number of these must also have been required at Mycalē. If we assume only 2000 for that service, it will appear, without computing the light-armed troops at all, that 7000 men exclusive of the slaves were employed. Taking these at three-fourths of the whole military populationⁱ, we obtain 9300 as the free male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 60, and about 40,400 persons as the total number of free inhabitants. To these are to be added 60,000 slaves: for a passage of Athenæus, when corrected, renders it probable that the Corinthians possessed this number^k. The city of *Corinth* was forty stadia in circumference, extending 424 in a square form to the north of the *Acrocorinthus*, which overlooked and defended it on the south. But the mountain itself was enclosed within a wall, and the whole circuit, including the *Acrocorinthus*, was about 85 stadia^l. We may conjecture that this space enclosed a

^h The Corinthians had 40 ships at Artemisium: Herodot. VIII. 1. and the same number at Salamis: Idem VIII. 43. Their number at Mycalē is not named, but they had probably 20 at the least. At Mycalē, when the Persians fled to their wall, Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσαν ἐπεὶ ἔξ τεταγμένοι, συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπικτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Herodot. IX. 102.

ⁱ See above, p. 417. note 5.

^k According to Athenæus VI. p. 272 Corinth had 460,000 slaves: and the little barren island of *Ægina* (ἀνθρώπινη χώρας is remarked by Eustath. ad Hom. Il. II. p. 288. 8), which contained only 41 square English miles, had 470,000. But the plain impossibility of this account compels us to reject it. 1. Corinthia in this case would have contained at the least 500,000 inhabitants, a population nearly equal to that of Attica. But Attica was three times larger than the territory of Corinth, and the Athenians had besides at different periods many foreign possessions, from which they drew supplies; *Eubæa*, the *Chersonese*, *Samos*, *Imbros*, *Lemnos*, *Scyros*. These three last were retained by the Athenians after their power had declined, and were secured to them by the treaty of *Antalcidas*: Xenoph. Hel. IV. 8, 15. V. 1, 31. But Corinth had no foreign possessions; her dominion was confined to the narrow limits of her own district. 2. This account is in effect refuted by Thucydides VIII. 40^o who informs us that the proportion of slaves to the free was greater at Chios than in any other Grecian state except Lacedæmon. But this would not be true, if the slaves at Corinth had been to the free as 11 or 12 to one; a proportion far exceeding that of Sparta itself. These objections are still more weighty in the case of *Ægina*. I do not however ascribe the error to Athenæus himself, or to his authors; but to interpolation in the text. The

passage stands thus: ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ὁ Ἐπιτίμαος ἔφη οὕτως εὐδαιμονῆσαι τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν ὡς κτήσασθαι δούλων μυριάδας ἑξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· δι' αὐτῶν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν αὐτοὺς κεκλήσθαι χοινικομέτρας. Κτησικλῆς δ' ἐν τρίτῃ χρονικῶν—εὐρεθῆναι Ἀθηναίους μὲν δισμυρίους πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις μετοίκους δὲ μυρίους οἰκετῶν δὲ μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν Αἰγινήτων πολιτείᾳ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς φησὶ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας δούλων. This repetition of τεσσαράκοντα is suspicious. This word has probably been interpolated in the first and the last places, and we should read οὕτως εὐδαιμονῆσαι τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν ὡς κτήσασθαι δούλων μυριάδας ἑξ· δι' αὐτῶν—καὶ εὐρεθῆναι Ἀθηναίους μὲν—οἰκετῶν μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα—ἐν Αἰγινήτων πολιτείᾳ παρὰ τοῖς φησὶ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα δούλων. The interpolation, however, must have been of early date: since the compiler of the Scholia upon Pindar Ol. VIII. 30. who probably drew from Athenæus, found these numbers. *Ægina* once possessed the empire of the sea: see the Tables B. C. 485. 2, and was formidable even to Athens: conf. Herodot. V. 89. VII. 144. Thucyd. I. 14. During this short period of their naval power the *Æginetans* might possess 70,000 slaves: as the barren rock of *Hydra* in modern times “having only one town,” yet “contains inhabitants sufficient to man 80 ships “of 300 tons burden.” Hobhouse's Travels p. 600.

^l Strabo VIII. p. 379. αὐτῆς μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως ὁ κύκλος καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων ὑπεῖχεν· ἐτερείχιστο δ' ὅσον τῆς πόλεως γυμνῶν ἦν τοῦ ὄρους· συμπεριεληπτο δὲ τῷ περιβόλῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ ὄρος αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀκροκόρινθος, ἥ δυνατόν ἦν τευχισμὸν δέξασθαι—ὥσθ' ἡ πᾶσα περίμετρος ἐγένετο περὶ πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίων. The position of Corinth itself is marked by Thucydides IV. 42.

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population of from 70,000 to 80,000^m, and that the remaining 20,000 or 30,000 were distributed through the countryⁿ. Corinth probably did not much decline in numbers for a considerable period: and 100,000 persons, or near that number, may be taken as the population of this state from the Persian war to the death of *Alexander*^o.

The territory of ARGOS was bounded on the west by *Arcadia*. It extended from north to south, from the borders of *Corinthia* near *Cleonæ*^p to the borders of *Cynuria*^q, in direct distance about 24 English miles. *Lessa*^r was the boundary towards *Epidaurus*; and from the frontiers of *Arcadia* on the west to *Lessa* on the east the direct distance was near 28 English miles. From *Lessa* the frontier ran southwards between *Asinæ* and *Træzen*; and met the Argolic bay four or five miles below *Asinæ*. These limits give about 524 square English miles for the territory of Argos. Within this space the authority of the Argives was supreme. They had gradually expelled or subjected the inhabitants of the towns within this district, some of whom remained in the country with the name of *περίοικοι*^s.

^m Comparing the extent of Athens (see p. 395), and of Thebes (see p. 401), which were circular, and therefore contained the largest space within the given limits, we may assign to Corinth itself full 50,000 inhabitants. The space enclosed by the wall surrounding the *Acrocorinthus* might contain half that number.

ⁿ The territory of Corinth contained the ports of *Lechæum* and *Cenchreæ*, and beyond the isthmus *Ænoe* (Strabo VIII. p. 380), *Crommyon* (Strabo *ibid.* *Κρομμύωνα* τῆς Κορινθίας Thucyd. IV. 45), and *Sidus* (Σιδούς κόμη Κορίνθου, ἡ Μεγαρίδος ἐπίκειον Steph. Byz. conf. Athen. III. p. 82. b); towards the south, *Tenea* (Pausan. II. 5. 3. *Τενέα κόμη* τῆς Κορινθίας Strabo VIII. p. 380); near *Cenchreæ*, *Solygeia* (Σολύγεια κόμη Thucyd. IV. 42. 43). The two ports might be well inhabited, but the others were inconsiderable.

^o Strabo remarks VIII. p. 381. ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις τῶν Κορινθίων μεγάλη τε καὶ πλουσία διὰ παντὸς ὑπῆρχεν. They appear however to have declined a little. They supplied in B. C. 435 30 ships and 3000 ὅπλιται to *Epidamnus*: Thucyd. I. 27. Again at the battle of Corinth B. C. 394 they had 3000 ὅπλιται when the Athenians had 6000. Xenoph. Hel. IV. 2, 17. In B. C. 432 they fitted out 90 ships: Thucyd. I. 46. But this was after two years of preparation: I. 31.

^p Strabo VIII. p. 377 describes the position of *Cleonæ*: Κλεωναὶ δ' εἰσὶ πόλισμα ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κείμενον τῇ ἐξ Ἀργους εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπὶ λόφου περιουικουμένου πανταχόθεν καὶ τετειχισμένου καλῶς—διέχουσι δ' αἱ Κλεωναὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀργους σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Κορίνθου δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα.

^q The little district of *Cynuria*, containing only a space of 60 square miles, which had been the object of early contest between Argos and *Lacedæmon* (see Pausan. II. 38, 5. III. 7, 5. X. 9, 6. Herodot. I. 82. and Wess. ad locum), lay be-

tween the lands of Argos and *Laconia*. It contained *Thyrea* and *Anthenē*: Thucyd. IV. 56. [B. C. 424] οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι—ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ Θυρέαν, ἥ ἐστι μὲν τῆς Κυνοσουρίας γῆς καλουμένης μεθορία δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς· νεμόμενοι δ' αὐτὴν ἔδοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Αἰγινήταις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ἐνοικεῖν. Idem V. 41. [B. C. 420] οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἡξίουσι δίκης ἐπιτροπὴν σφίσι γενέσθαι—περὶ τῆς Κυνοσουρίας γῆς, ἥς αἱ ἐπὶ διαφέρονται μεθορίας οὐσης· ἔχει δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Θυρέαν τε καὶ Ἀθήνην πόλιν, νέμονται δ' αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Idem VI. 95. [B. C. 414] Ἀργεῖοι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Θυρεάτιν ὁμορον οὖσαν, λείαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὴν ἔλαβον, ἥ ἐπράθη ταλάντων οὐκ ἔλασσον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. Pausanias II. 38, 6 names also the hamlets *Neris* and *Eva*: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πολυανδρίων ἰόντι Ἀθήνῃ [i. Ἀθήνην] τε ἐστὶν, ἐς ἣν Αἰγινῆται ποτὶ ἔφκησαν, καὶ ἑτέρα κόμη Νηρίς, τρίτη δὲ Εὐα, μεγίστη τῶν κομῶν, καὶ ἱερὸν Πολυκράτους ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ. After the decline of Sparta this district was recovered by the Argives to whom it belonged in the time of Pausanias. conf. *ibid.* The population of this little tract may be considered as included in that of *Laconia*; and subsequently in that of Argos.

^r Pausan. II. 26, 1. κατὰ τὴν Λήσσαν ἔχεται τῆς Ἀργείας ἡ Ἐπιδαυρίων.

^s Pausan. VIII. 27, 1.—ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει τὸ Ἀργος ἐπηύξησαν καταλύσαντες Τίρυνθα [conf. Pausan. II. 25, 7. Strab. VIII. p. 373], καὶ Ὑσιᾶς τε καὶ Ὀρνεάς, καὶ Μυκήνας [see the Tables B. C. 468], καὶ Μιδεάν, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα οὐκ ἀξιόλογον ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἦν, τὰ τε ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδεέστερα τοῖς Ἀργείοις ὑπάρξαντα, καὶ ἅμα ἐς τοὺς περίοικους ἰσχύον γενομένην αὐτοῖς. Strabo VIII. p. 373. ἡρήμωσαν τὰς πλείστας οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειθούσας. For *Asinæ* and *Nauplia* see p. 414. In B. C. 418 *Orneæ* and *Cleonæ* were still independent states: Thucyd. V. 67. Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐξυμμάχοι αὐτῶν Κλεωναῖοι καὶ Ὀρνεᾶται. But *Orneæ* was destroyed two

This state, the most powerful in Peloponnesus next to Lacedæmon^t, equalled Athens in the number of its citizens. We collect this from a remark of Lysias^v. That remark appears to have been made about B. C. 402, soon after the expulsion of the Thirty, before the Athenians had recovered their numbers after their recent losses, and we must compute their citizens at a reduced amount^w. We may estimate, however, the Argive citizens to have been at least 16,000 at the period of which Lysias speaks. This number is not inconsistent with the force of Argos as it was displayed in the war with Lacedæmon in the reign of Cleomenes, about a century before. In that war the loss of the Argives amounted to 6000 men; and yet the state, though weakened, was not overwhelmed by that calamity^x. Lysias moreover is confirmed by Xenophon, who records that the Argives in B. C. 394 sent 7000

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years afterwards: Thucyd. VI. 7. *Cleonæ* seems to have retained independence. It is named by Polybius II. 52 among the towns of Argolis in B. C. 224, and by Livy XXXIII. 14. 15 with reference to B. C. 197.

^t Strab. VIII. p. 376. τῶν δὲ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πόλεων ἐνδοξόταται γεγόνασιν καὶ μέχρι νῦν εἰσιν Ἀργος τε Σπάρτη τε. Isocrates Panath. c. 16. p. 242. b. c. 100. p. 286. d. remarking that the Lacedæmonians had subdued every state in Peloponnesus, excepts Argos: πλὴν τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως.

^v See above, p. 416.

^w The oration was composed upon the return of the people from Piræus [B. C. 403]: τοῦ δήμου κατελθόντος ἐκ Πειραιῶς Dionys. Lysia p. 525. upon the occasion of a proposal to limit the right of voting to those who possessed landed property: τὴν πολιτείαν μὴ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὴν γῆν ἔχουσιν παραδούναι. The numbers of the citizens, which had risen to 20,000 during some periods of the war (see the Tables B. C. 422), had been reduced. At Ægospotami out of 180 ships (Xenoph. Hel. II. 1, 20) only 9 or 12 escaped (see the Tables B. C. 405). Isocrates de Pace p. 176. b. rhetorically augments the loss to 200. But of the crews of these 168 or 170 ships the Athenian citizens were put to death: Xen. Hel. II. 1, 32. ἔδοξεν ἀποκτείναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου. Æschines affirms that the Thirty put to death 1500 citizens: In Ctesiph. p. 87, 21. πλείους ἢ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν. It appears from Dionysius p. 526 that, if the measure had been adopted, nearly 5000 citizens would have been disfranchised. But the proportion of these to the rest must have been great. Aristotle Rep. V. 2, 8 remarks that in this war the proportion of the better class to the others became diminished: οἱ γνώριμοι ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο. In B. C. 322 those citizens who were not worth 2000 *drachmæ* were 12 to 9 (see the Tables). We may conjecture then, that those who had no landed property in B. C. 402 would be near a third of the whole number. This would

suppose the citizens at this period reduced to 15,000 or 16,000.

^x This war is noticed in the Tables at B. C. 510, 3. It was carried on by Cleomenes towards the end of his reign, not long before B. C. 491; because in B. C. 484 it was still recent, and because the children of those Argives who fell were not yet grown up in B. C. 480. Herodotus VII. 148. 149. Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι—πυθέσθαι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς [B. C. 484] τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πυθόμενοι δὲ—πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφούς τὸν θεὸν ἐπερσομένους “ὥς σφί μελλεῖ ἄριστον ποιεῖνσι γενέσθαι” νεωστὶ γὰρ σφείων τεθ-
“νάμει ἑξακισχίλιους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεο-
“μένους.”—μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς Ἀργος [B. C. 480] ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς ἐτοίμοι εἶναι Ἀργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κ. τ. λ.—σπονδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκονταετίας—ἵνα δὴ σφί οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθέωσι ἐν τοῦτοις τοῖσι ἔτεσι. Aristot. Rep. V. 2, 8. mentions this war: ἐν Ἀργεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος, ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς. Herodotus VI. 83. Ἀργος ἀνδρῶν ἐχρήσθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δούλοι αὐτέων ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. Plutarch Mor. p. 245. D—F records a tradition that the slain were 7777 (perhaps because the action happened on the 7th of the month the number 7 came to be thus repeated): οὐ μὴν ὥς ἔνιοι μυθολογοῦσιν ἐπτά καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους πρὸς ἑπτακισχίλιους.—τὴν δὲ μάχην οἱ μὲν ἐβδόμῃ λέγουσιν ἵσταμένου μηνὸς, οἱ δὲ νομηνίᾳ γενέσθαι τοῦ νῦν μὲν τετάρτου πάλαι δὲ Ἑρμαίου παρ' Ἀργείοις, καθ' ἣν μέχρι νῦν τὰ ὕβριστικά τελοῦσι. In the measures which followed, Plutarch agrees with Aristotle: ἐπανορθούμενοι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν οὐχ, ὥς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τοῖς δούλοις ἀλλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους συνήκισαν τὰς γυναῖκας. That state, however, must have been populous, which could subsist at all, after the loss of 6000 citizens.

ARGOLIS. *ὀπλῖται* to the battle of Corinth. This amount, compared with the contingents of Athens and Bœotia on the same occasion^γ, renders it probable that Argos might contain 16,000 citizens. But 16,000 citizens will give a total free population of 66,000. To these are to be added the slaves, the inhabitants of *Cleonæ*, and the *περίοικοι* who were distributed through the country. The Argives possessed a body of slaves of the intermediate class between domestic slaves and freemen^ζ, perhaps conquered inhabitants of the country reduced to servitude. As this class of slaves was often more numerous in proportion to the free than others, we may compute the slaves, together with the *περίοικοι* and the *Cleonæans*, as at least two-thirds of the number of the Argives themselves; and the aggregate population will be 110,000 persons for Argos and its territory; nearly 210 to the square mile.

Epidaurus, *Træzen*, and *Hermione*^α, with the little state of *Haliæ*, inhabited a territory somewhat less than the domain of Argos^β. At the time of the Persian war the force of *Epidaurus* and *Træzen* appears to have been nearly equal. The *Træzenians* sent 1000 *ὀπλῖται* to *Platæa* and five ships to *Salamis*, and their services at *Mycalæ* are noticed. *Epidaurus* sent only 800 *ὀπλῖται*, but then the *Epidaurians* had 10 ships at *Salamis*^ε. Their light-

γ The contingent of troops from Argos was larger than from either: Xenoph. *Hel.* IV. 2, 17. Ἀθηναίων μὲν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίων ὀπλίτας Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίων. Βοιωτῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίων. Κορινθίων γε μὴν ἐς τρισχιλίων· καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσούτων. ἱππεῖς δέ, Βοιωτῶν μὲν, ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν, ἐς ὀκτακόσιους, Ἀθηναίων δ' ἐς ἑξακόσιους. 5800 citizens from Bœotia, exclusive of Orchomenus, was about a third of their number. The Athenians, who had now recovered themselves by nine years of tranquillity, may be estimated at 20,000. But, when the forces from Bœotia and Athens were only equal to a third of their whole number of citizens, we may well suppose that the forces from Argos might be less than half the whole number of Argives.

ζ Pollux III. 83. Steph. Byz. v. *Χίος*. These slaves or vassals were called *Γυμνήτες* or *Γυμνήσιοι*. See above, p. 412. note ε. p. 422. note ν.

α The administration of *Epidaurus* and the habits of its people are described by Plutarch *Mor.* p. 291. Ε. τίνες ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ Κορίποδες καὶ Ἀρτυνοί; οἱ μὲν τὸ πολίτευμα ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες ἦσαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἡρῶντο βουλευτὰς οὗς Ἀρτύνοισι ἐκάλεον. τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν ἀγρῷ διέτριβεν· ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Κορίποδες, ὥς συμβαλεῖν ἐστίν, ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν γνωριζόμενοι κεκοιμημένων ὅποτε κατέλθοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. The *Epidaurians* were allies of *Lacedæmon* and besieged by the Argives in B. C. 419. Thucyd. V. 53—57. and joined the *Lacedæmonian* forces in B. C. 394. Xenoph. *Hel.* IV. 2, 16. They were still in alliance with *Lacedæmon* in B. C. 369. Idem VII. 2, 2. *Epidaurus* was still flourishing in B. C. 167: Liv. XLV. 28. *Sicyonem inde et Argos nobiles urbes adit* (P. *Æmi-*

lius); inde haud parum opibus *Epidaurum*, sed inclytam *Æsculapii nobili templo*, quod quinque milibus passuum ab urbe distans tum donis dives erat. The position of *Træzen* is described by Strabo VIII. p. 373. Τροιζήν—ὑπέρκειται τῆς θαλάττης εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων, οὐδ' αὐτὴ ἀσημος πόλις. πρόκειται δὲ τοῦ λιμένος αὐτῆς Πάγωνος τοῦ νομα [conf. Herodot. VIII. 42] Καλαυρία νησιδίων ὄσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχον τὸν κύκλον. And that of *Hermionē* by Pausanias II. 34. Both these states are mentioned by Polybius II. 52, 2. in describing the campaign of *Cleomenes* B. C. 224. The *Hermionians* once possessed the little island *Hydrea*, which they sold to the *Samians* in the age of *Polycrates*: Herodot. III. 59.

β The province of *Argolis* contained collectively about 1307 square English miles. See p. 385. This area may be thus distributed:

	Square miles.
Corinth	248
Argos	524
Cynuria	60
Epidaurus, Træzen, } 475	
Hermionē, Haliæ } 1307	

ε Herodot. IX. 28. Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι· παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηρίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι. The *ψιλοὶ* were about equal in number: c. 29. Among the ships at *Artemisium* (VIII. 1), Ἐπιδαυριοὶ παρείχοντο ὀκτὼ Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε. At *Salamis*, Ἐπιδαυριοὶ δέκα Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε. The *Træzenians* are named at *Mycalē*: IX. 102. Part of the rowers of these ships might be slaves, but probably not less than 500 *Træzenians* would be on board.

armed troops were probably composed of citizens^d. Adding these, and computing that only one fourth remained at home, we may estimate each of these states at near 3500 citizens. ARGOLIS. 427

^d Some have imagined that all the light troops which served at Plataea were nothing more than armed slaves. This appears very doubtful. The *Helots* were slaves of a peculiar class, and it is admitted that these on all occasions bore arms with their masters. The *Penestæ* of Thessaly, being slaves of the same class, might do the same. But it is not probable that the ordinary domestic slaves, who abounded in every Grecian state, and were acquired by purchase, composed the light-armed troops of the Grecian armies. 1. We have testimony that the citizens in many states served as *ψιλοί*. Thucyd. V. 57. Βοιωτοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ὀπλίται καὶ τοσοῦτοι ψιλοί καὶ ἱππῆς πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἄμππο ἴσοι. Idem IV. 93. Βοιωτοὶ—ὀπλίται ἐπτακισχίλιοι μάλιστα καὶ ψιλοί ὑπὲρ μυρίους ἱππῆς τε χίλιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ πεντακόσιοι. Had these been slaves, Thucydides, who is careful in distinguishing the particular class of which armies are composed, who always names *Helots*, *Neodamodes*, and *Spartans*, would have undoubtedly mentioned this. After describing the Boeotian force, he proceeds c. 94 to describe the Athenian, and remarks: οἱ μὲν ὀπλίται ἐτάξαντο ὄντες πλήθει ἰσοπαλεῖς τοῖς ἐναντίοις—ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐκ παρασκευῆς μὲν ὀπλισμένοι οὔτε τότε παρήσαν οὔτε ἐγένοντο τῇ πόλει· οἵπερ δὲ ξυνεσέβαλον ὄντες πολλαπλάσιοι τῶν ἐναντίων ἀσπλοὶ τε πολλοὶ ἠκολούθησαν, αἵτε πανστρατιάς ξένων τῶν παρόντων καὶ αὐτῶν γενομένης. This remark implies that the Boeotian *ψιλοί* were composed of citizens regularly trained. And we also learn that the ill-disciplined and half-armed multitude which accompanied the Athenian army was composed of freemen: for among them no slaves are mentioned. When *Eraminondas* in B. C. 369 entered Laconia with 70,000 men (ἐπὶ μυριάσι στρατοῦ Plutarch. comp. Ages. et Pomp. p. 875. Reisk. ἐπὶ μυριάδων Ἑλληνικῆς στρατιάς, ἥς ἑλαττον ἢ δωδέκατον ἦσαν αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι μέρος Idem Pelopid. c. 24. ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ μυριάσι στρατοῦ Idem Mor. p. 346. B), he had 40,000 well trained ὀπλίται, the rest were a promiscuous multitude, which followed for plunder: Plutarch Agesil. c. 31. οὐκ ἐλάττονας ἔχων τετρακισμυρίων ὀπλιτῶν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἀσπλοὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν συνηκολούθουν, ὥστε μυριάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ὄχλου συνεισβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν. But it is not to be supposed that this multitude, whose object was plunder, was composed of slaves. conf. Xen. Hel. VI. 5, 23. In the treaty which the Athenians made with the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans in B. C. 420, *ψιλοί* are mentioned as a regular species of force: Thucyd. V. 47. ἡ πόλις ἢ

μεταπεμφαμένη διδῶτω σίτον τῷ μὲν ὀπλίτῃ καὶ ψιλῷ καὶ τοξότη τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς Αἰγινάϊους τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης, τῷ δ' ἱππεί δραχμὴν Αἰγινάϊαν. Had the *ψιλοί* been slaves, their proportion would not have been equal to that of the ὀπλίται. Xenophon IV. 2, 16 in B. C. 394 mentions light-armed troops: σφενδονήται Μαργαρέων καὶ Λετρίνων καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων. Again: καὶ ψιλὸν δὲ ξὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλέον ἦν, καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες παρήσαν αὐτοῖς. and Thucydides IV. 67 in 424: Πλαταιῆς ψιλοί. These *ψιλοί* were composed of freemen. 2. Herodotus, who particularizes the *Helots*, nowhere says that the other *ψιλοί* were slaves. He appears to distinguish the *ψιλοί*, whom he calls ἀνδρες μάχμιοι IX. 29, from the servants of the camp, whom he calls ὀπέωνες IX. 50, 51. And we may infer that the Tegeans themselves served as *ψιλοί*, for having mentioned 1500 Tegean ὀπλίται IX. 28 he afterwards calls the Tegeans σὺν ψιλοῖσι 3000: c. 61. These were *ψιλοί* ἐκ παρασκευῆς, trained and disciplined. Had they been camp followers, the historian would scarcely have omitted to notice it. The Phliasian ὀπλίται were only 1000. But, had these been all, the Phliasian force would have been a very small part of their whole number. See above, p. 417. note ε. Another body, then, of 1000 Phliasiens served as *ψιλοί*. Athenian citizens, it appears from Lysias apud Dionys. p. 529 served as archers; and the force which repelled and slew *Masistius* (Herodot. IX. 21. 22) was aided by archers: Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες—τοὺς τοξότας προσελέμενοι. Pausanias afterwards desires the aid of these archers: ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε IX. 60. But the *τοξόται* were either freemen, or Scythian mercenaries similar to those who, soon after the Persian war at least, according to Æschines p. 51, 18 explained by his scholiast p. 764, were hired by the Athenians. See above p. 390. 3. The Athenians had armed their slaves at Marathon: Pausan. I. 32, 3. τάφος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ [at Marathon] Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στήλαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσιν· καὶ ἕτερος Πλαταιεῦσι Βοιωτῶν, καὶ δούλοις. ἐμαχέσαστο γὰρ καὶ δούλοι τότε πρῶτον. and at Arginusæ: Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 33. συμμαχοῦντων δούλων—οὓς ἡλευθέρωσαν. But these were extraordinary cases, and exceptions to the general practice. Otherwise the Athenian ὀπλίτης was attended by a servant, ὑπηρέτης Thucyd. III. 17, but it is not said that this slave carried arms. According to Pausanias l. c. the slaves were noticed on the monu-

ARGOLIS. Hermionē was less. This state supplied only 300 *ὀπλῖται* and three ships^e; about a third
 428 of the force of Epidaurus; and we may compute that Hermionē had 1000 citizens. The little state of *Haliæ*, which was situated near Hermionē and Trœzen^f, was independent in the time of Thucydides and Xenophon^g. Perhaps it was equal in that age to Hermionē. We may therefore assume that the four states contained collectively at least 8500 citizens. This amount did not diminish in the subsequent period. For in B. C. 394 Epidaurus, Trœzen, Hermionē, and *Haliæ* supplied 3000 *ὀπλῖται* at the battle of Corinth. Comparing this amount with the contingents of the other states, we may conclude it little more than a third of the whole number of citizens^h. If these states had 8500 citizens, they would have a total free population of 35,000; and half that number of slaves would give 52,500 for the total number of inhabitants: a proportion of 100 persons to the square mile.

ELIS. ELIS was inhabited by the *Eleans* in the north, the *Triphylians* in the south, and the *Pisatæ* in the middle of the country. The Eleans had subjected the other two, and governed them under the name of *περιοικίδας πόλεις*ⁱ. The Eleans themselves were not collected into a city till after the Persian war^j. The inhabitants of this province enjoyed the privilege

ment at Marathon, but in describing the monument at Plateæ he makes no mention of slaves: IX. 2, 4. τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἑλλήσι μῆμα κοινόν. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ εἰσὶν οἱ τάφοι. and Herodotus IX. 85 describing the monuments mentions no slaves but Helots: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριῖς ἐποίησαντο θήκας—ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἔσαν οἱ ἱρένες ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτῆται ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτες.—Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας Ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλιάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθάροντας. But as the Spartans made a separate tomb for the Helots, and as the Athenians at Marathon distinguished the slaves from the citizens, in the same manner the Tegeans, Megarians, and Athenians would have distinguished them, had their light-armed been composed of slaves. It appears, then, probable, that by far the greater part of those 34,500 *ψιλοὶ* consisted of freemen. And, if this was so, the poorer and smaller states, which had the fewest slaves, and which perhaps could not afford to arm all their population with the panoply of heavy-armed troops, would be likely to supply the light-armed forces from their own citizens.

^e Herodot. IX. 28. VIII. 43.

^f Strabo VIII. p. 373. Ἑρμιόνη—ἥς τὴν παραλίαν ἔχουσιν Ἀλιεῖς λεγόμενοι, θαλαττοῦργοι τινες ἄνδρες. Schol. Thucyd. I. 105. Ἀλιαὶ ὀξυτόνως πόλις Πελοποννήσου περὶ Τροιζήνα, τῆς Ἀργολικῆς μοίρας. Thucydides II. 56 marks the contiguity of these states: (Ἀθηναῖοι) ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου ἔτεμον τὴν τε Τροιζηνίδα γῆν καὶ τὴν Ἀλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ἑρμιονίδα.

^g Xenophon IV. 2, 16 enumerates the four states as allies of Lacedæmon in B. C. 394, and

again in B. C. 369 among the allies of Lacedæmon were Ἐπιδαυριοί, Τροιζήνιοι, Ἑρμιονεῖς, Ἀλιεῖς VII. 2, 2. Schneider and Morus ad Xenoph. Hel. VI. 2, 3. misled by Steph. Byz. (whom Berkellius ad locum has corrected) mistake this little Argolic state *Haliæ* for a town in Laconia.

^h Hel. IV. 2, 16. ξυνελέγησαν ὀπλῖται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἡλείων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωρείων καὶ Λασιωνέων ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιοι, καὶ οἱ Σικωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἀλιέων ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. The quotas supplied by Elis and Sicyon were a small proportion, probably not a third part, of the heavy-armed force of those states; and Epidaurus, Trœzen, Hermione and *Haliæ*, had to provide for the safety and defence of their own states, which were open to the attack of the enemy from Argos.

ⁱ Thucydides II. 25 mentions τῆς κοίτης Ἡλίδος or the territory of the city itself, and τῆς περιοικίδος Ἡλείων or the adjacent subject country. The Eleans were required by Sparta in B. C. 401 to restore independence to these towns: Xenoph. Hel. III. 2, 23. ἀφίεναι τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτόνομους. And the war ended in B. C. 399 in the independence of the Triphylian towns. But after the battle of Leuctra B. C. 371 the Eleans still claimed sovereignty over them: Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 2. Ἡλείοι ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐδέοι αὐτόνομους ποιεῖν οὔτε Μαργανεῖς οὔτε Σκυλλωντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους· σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις.

^j Diod. XI. 54. ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Πραξιέργου [B. C. 471] Ἡλείοι μὲν πλείους καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες εἰς μίαν συνωκίσθησαν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἥλιν. Strabo VIII. p. 336. ὁψέ ποτε συνήλθον εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν τὴν Ἥλιν μετὰ τὰ Περσικά. But this city in B. C.

during many ages of an exemption from the ravages of war; and the Olympic festival occasioned a resort to Elis once in four years of a vast multitude of strangers, whose expenditure must have brought a great accession of wealth into the province. These advantages, together with that of a fertile soil, contributed to make Elis rich and populous beyond any other province of Peloponnesus^k.

The populousness of this province is confirmed by the number of towns which it contained^l.

399 was still unfortified: Xenoph. Hel. III. 2, 27. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο [Agis] πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὰ μὲν προάσπεια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτείχιστος γὰρ ἦν) ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐλεῖν. confirming Strabo VIII. p. 358. τοὺς κτίσαντας τὴν Ἥλείων πόλιν ὕστερον ἀτείχιστον ἔωσαι. Elis stood about 16 English miles direct distance north of Olympia.

^k Diod. tom. IV. p. 17. 18. τῶν Ἥλείων πολυανδρουμένων καὶ νομίμως πολιτευομένων ὑφορᾶσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὴν τούτων ἀξέσιν, συγκατασκευάσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον, ὧν εἰρήνης ἀπολαύοντες μηδεμίαν ἔχουσιν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων καὶ καθιέρωσαν αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ συγχωρησάντων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ οὕτε ἐπὶ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας συνεστρατεύθησαν ἀλλὰ ἀφείθησαν διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῆς [at conf. Herodot. IX. 77]. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις οὐδεὶς αὐτοὺς παρηγόλῃ, διὰ τὸ πάντας τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν σπεύδειν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄστυλον φυλάττειν. ὕστερον δὲ πολλὰς γενεαῖς συνέβη καὶ στρατεύσαι τοὺς καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολέμους ἐπανελέσθαι. Ephorus apud Strab. VIII. p. 358. ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἀξέσιν λαβεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων αἰεὶ πολεμούντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους μόνοις ὑπάρξει πολλὴν εἰρήνην, οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ὥστε καὶ εὐανδρῆσαι μάλιστα πάντων παρὰ τοῦτο. The Elean coast was ravaged by the Athenians in B. C. 431: Thucyd. II. 25. In B. C. 421 the Eleans were involved in a dispute with Sparta concerning *Lepreum*: Thucyd. V. 31. 34. and took a part in the war which followed, as allies of the Argives: Ἥλείων τρισχιλίοι ὀπλίται Thucyd. V. 58. Ἥλείων τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν V. 75. are named among the forces. Their war with Lacedæmon in B. C. 401 is noticed in the Tables. In B. C. 365 they were engaged in war with Arcadia (see the Tables); and from that period Polybius IV. 74 remarks that they engaged in the wars of the neighbouring states. Elis however continued to prosper down to the time of Polybius himself: IV. 73. συμβαίνει τὴν χώραν διαφερόντως οἰκείσθαι καὶ γέμειν σωμάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον. ἔνιοι γὰρ αὐτῶν οὕτω στέργουσι τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν βίον ὥστε τινὰς ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς γενεάς, ἔχοντας ἱκανὰς οὐσίας, μὴ παραβηθῆναι τὸ παράπαν εἰς Ἥλείαν. τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται διὰ τὸ μεγάλῃ ποιείσθαι σπουδὴν τοὺς πολιτευομένους

τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κατοικούντων. c. 74. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἔτι τῆς παλαιᾶς συνηθείας οἷον αἰθυγμάτων ἐμμενόντων οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως Ἥλείοι. According to Pausanias V. 4, 1, the foundations of this prosperity were laid by *Oxylus*. The fertility of the soil is noticed by Strabo VIII. p. 344 and by Pausan. V. 4, 1. VI. 26, 3. The richness of this province yielded an abundant spoil to the invader, as to *Agis* in B. C. 400: Xenoph. Hel. III. 2, 26. ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ὥστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἔκοντες ἦσαν ξυστρατεύσόμενοι, καὶ μετείχον τῆς ἀρπαγῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὥσπερ ἐπιστιτισμὸς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. And to *Philip* in B. C. 219. Polyb. IV. 73. θηουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας πολὺ μὲν ἦν τὸ τῶν ἀλισκομένων πλῆθος ἔτι δὲ πλέον τὸ συμφεῦγον εἰς τὰς παρακειμένας κόμας καὶ τοὺς ἐρμυνοὺς τῶν τύπων. The prosperity of Elis, from the time of *Iphitus* to the extinction of the Achæan League, might have continued about 680 years.

^l In this small province, besides *Elis* itself, we may trace the following towns.

Acrorei. Ἀκρόρειοι πόλις Τριφυλίας Steph. Byz. Rather a district than a town: Xenoph. Hel. VII. 4, 14. οἱ Ἀρκάδες [B. C. 365] ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀκρωρείων πόλεις λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλὴν Θραύστου ἀφικνούνται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν. Idem III. 2, 30. πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος [B. C. 399] ξυνεχώρησε σφᾶς τε τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν καὶ Κυλλήνην καὶ τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφείναι, Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ Λετρίναν καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανεῖς πρὸς δὲ ταύτας καὶ Ἀκρωρίους καὶ Λασίωνα.

Alium. See *Pylos*.

Alesium. See *Amphidoli*.

Amphidoli. Ἀμφίδολοι πόλις τῆς Τριφυλίας Steph. Byz. τὸ Ἀλείσιόν ἐστι τὸ νῦν Ἀλεισιαῖον, χώρα παρὰ τὴν Ἀμφιδολίδα, ἐνθα κατὰ μῆνα ἀγορὰν συνάγουσιν οἱ περίοικοι Strab. VIII. p. 341. See *Acrorei*, *Letrina*.

Ærium, *Erium*, or *Epeum*. Polyb. IV. 77. (ἡ Τριφυλία) κεῖται μεταξὺ τῆς Ἥλείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων χώρας—ἔχει δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις ταύτας, Σαμικὸν, Λέπρεον, Ὑπαναν, Τυπανέας, Πύργον, Αἰπιὸν, Βόλακα, Στυλάγγιον, Φρίξαν. conf. c. 80. Ἦπειον τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἠραίας καὶ Μακίστου ἡξίουσι οἱ Ἥλείοι ἔχειν Xen. Hel. III. 2, 30. Ἠπειον Herodot. See *Macistus*.

ELIS. 430 We have no means of computing its inhabitants from its military population, because, from the habits of this state, the military strength does not seem to have been fully displayed in

Bolax. See *Ægium*.

Buprasium. Eustath. ad Hom. II. II. p. 303, 28. τὸ Βουνπράσιον ὁ γεωγράφος χωρίον τῆς Ἠλείας φησί· καὶ τοὺς Βουνπρασιεῖς Ἑπείους· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ πάλιν λέγει ὅτι κατοικία τῆς Ἠλείας τὸ Βουνπράσιον ἀξιόλογος [cf. Strab. VIII. p. 340] —ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐθνικῶν γραφεὺς καὶ πόλιν Ἠλίδος λέγει καὶ ποταμὸν καὶ χωρίον καὶ κατοικίαν ἀξιόλογον τὸ Βουνπράσιον. conf. Steph. Byz. et Berkel. ad locum.

Chaa. Χάαν πόλιν ποτὲ ὑπάρξασαν πλησίον Λεπρέου Strab. VIII. p. 348.

Chalcis. Χαλκίς ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἠλείᾳ Strab. X. p. 447. See *Samicum*.

Cycesium. αὐτοῦ δέ ἐστι [near Olympia] καὶ τὸ Κυκήσιον τῶν ὀκτώ Strab. VIII. p. 357. See *Pisa*, *Salmonē*.

Cyprissia. Λεπρεῖται· τούτοις δ' ὁμοιοι Κυπρισσιεῖς Strab. VIII. p. 345. Κυπρισσία πόλις τῆς Τριφυλίας Steph. Byz. conf. Diod. XV. 77.

Cyllenē. Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον Κυλλήνη Steph. Byz. τὸ τῶν Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον ἡ Κυλλήνη, ἀνάβασιν ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν πόλιν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων Strabo VIII. p. 337. conf. Pausan. VI. 26, 3.

Dyspontium. (Πισαίοις) συναπέστησαν [see *Pisa*] Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκιλλούντιοι· οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιοίκων Δυσπόντιοι Pausan. VI. 22, 2. Δυσπόντιον πόλις Πισαίας—παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐξ Ἠλίδος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Steph. Byz. One of the 8 towns of *Pisatis*. Strabo p. 357.

Epitalium. Ἐπιτάλιον πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ Xen. Hel. III. 2, 29. Θρόνον [Hom. II. II. 592] καλεῖται νῦν Ἐπιτάλιον τῆς Μακιστίας χωρίον Strabo VIII. p. 349. Ἐπιτάλιον πόλις τῆς Τριφυλίας· Πολύβιος τετάρτη [IV. 80] Steph. Byz. See *Acrorei*.

Euragium. See *Pylus*.

Harpinna. Ἀρπίνα πόλις Ἠλίδος Steph. Byz. παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἐστι καὶ ἡ Ἀρπίνα, καὶ αὕτη τῶν ὀκτώ [See *Salmonē*] Strabo VIII. p. 356. conf. Pausan. VI. 21, 6.

Heraclea. ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Σαλμώνης Ἡράκλεια, καὶ αὕτη μία τῶν ὀκτώ [see *Salmonē*], διέχουσα περὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ὀλυμπίας Strabo VIII. p. 356. ἀπέχει δὲ ὡς πενήτηκοντα Ὀλυμπίας σταδίων κώμη Ἠλείων Ἡράκλεια Pausan. VI. 22, 4.

Hyrana. πόλις τῆς Τριφυλίας· ὡς Πολύβιος τετάρτη [IV. 77] Steph. Byz. πρὸς ἄρκτον ὁμοία ἦν τῇ Πύλῳ δύο πολίδια Τριφυλιακά, Ὑπανα καὶ Τυπαναί Strab. VIII. p. 344.

Lasion. See *Acrorei*. conf. Diod. XV. 77.

Lenus. Ἀγῶς χώρα τῶν Πισαίων Steph. Byz.

Lepreum. See *Macistus*. conf. Thucyd. V. 31. Polyb. IV. 77. Pausan. V. 5, 3. Strab. VIII. p. 345. At *Plataea* in B. C. 479 were present Λεπρητῶν ὀπλίται διηκόσιοι Herodot. IX. 28.

Letrina. ἐμβαλόντος τοῦ Ἀγιδος [B. C. 400] δι' Αἰλῶνος εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεῖται ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἠλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς· διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουσαν Δετρίνοι καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργαεῖς Xen. Hel. III. 2, 25. ὄγδοήκοντα (σταδίων) ἐκ Δετρίνων καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Ἠλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλισμα ἦν οἱ Δετρίνοι, καὶ Δετρεὺς ὁ Πελοπὸς ἐγγέγονει σφίσιν οἰκίστης Pausan. VI. 22, 5. See *Acrorei*.

Macistus. πόλις τῆς Τριφυλίας Steph. Byz. Μακίστου τῆς Τριφυλίας Strabo X. p. 447. Μινύας Παρωρέητας καὶ Καύκωνας ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐξ μοίρας διείλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον, Μάκιστον, Φρίξας, Πύργον, Ἐπιον, Νουίδιον· τούτων δὲ τὰς πλεῖνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἠλείοι ἐπόρθησαν Herod. IV. 148. conf. Xen. Hel. III. 2, 30. Paus. VI. 22, 2. Strab. VIII. p. 343. 345.

Margana. See *Acrorei*. conf. Diod. XV. 77. et Wess. ad locum.

Myrtuntium. Μύρσινος πόλις Ἠλίδος—ὑστερον δὲ Μυρτούντιον ἐκλήθη Steph. Byz. Μύρσινος τὸ νῦν Μυρτούντιον ἐπὶ θάλατταν καθήκουσα—στάδια τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως διέχουσα ἐβδομήκοντα Strab. VIII. p. 341.

Nudium. See *Macistus*.

Ænoe. Ἐφύρα πόλις—ἡ αὕτη οὖσα τῇ Βοιωνώᾳ· τὴν γὰρ Οἰνὸν οὕτω καλεῖν εἰώθασιν Strab. VIII. p. 338. conf. Berkel. ad Steph. Byz. v. Ἐφύρα.

Olympia. Ὀλυμπία ἡ πρότερον Πίσα λεγομένη Steph. Byz. See Berkel. ad loc. and Larcher Hérodote Table Géographique v. OLYMPIE, who both agree that *Olympia* and *Pisa* were distinct places.

Opus. ἔστι καὶ Ὀποὺς πόλις—τῆς Ἠλείας Steph. Byz. See *Pylus*.

Pheia. Φεῖα τῆς Ἠλείας Thucyd. II. 25. Ἀλφειὸς ἐκπίπτει μεταξύ Φεῖας τε καὶ Πιτάνης Strab. VIII. p. 343. ἄκρα Φεῖα· ἦν δὲ καὶ πολίχνη Idem p. 342.

Phrixia. ἡ Φρίξα κεῖται μὲν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπέχουσα στάδια λ' Steph. Byz. Φρίξα πόλις ἐπ' ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ κειμένη πρὸς ἑὼ τῆς Λεπρεατικῆς Idem v. Μάκιστος. See *Acrorei*, *Ægium*, *Macistus*.

Phyteum. Steph. Byz. Φύτειον, πόλις Ἠλίδος τῆς κοίλης.

Pisa. The district of *Pisatis* had 8 towns [see *Salmonē*] not including *Pisa* itself: Strabo VIII. p. 356. οἱ μὲν ἐτυμολογοῦσι τὴν Πισάτιν ἀπὸ Πίσσης ὁμωνύμου τῇ κρήνῃ πόλεως—τινὲς δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν γεγονέναι Πισαν φασίν· εἶναι γὰρ ἂν μίαν τῶν ὀκτώ· κρήνην δὲ μόνην ἦν νῦν καλεῖσθαι Βίσαν, Κυκησίου πλησίον πόλεως μεγίστης τῶν ὀκτώ. Στησίχορος δὲ καλεῖ πόλιν τὴν χώραν Πισαν λεγομένην.—Πίσα πόλις καὶ κρήνη τῆς Ὀλυμπίας. ἔστι καὶ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ὁ

any Elean force recorded by historians. But Polybius attests that Elis was more populous than any other district of Peloponnesus, and we may form a conjecture of the probable ^{ELIS.} 481 number of inhabitants by comparing it with other provinces.

The rate of population in *Corinthia* appeared to be 404 persons to the square mile; in the territories of Argos, 210; and in the whole of Argolis, 201. If we take the lowest of these three amounts as the proportion of Elis, and assume 200 persons to the square mile, we obtain 186,000 for the population; and as from the wealth of Elis it may be conjectured that the slaves would be at least equal in number to the free, this amount would give 93,000 free persons and as many slaves. But in 93,000 free inhabitants the males above the age of 20, on the proportion formerly shewn, of 4897 in 20,160, would be about 22,570. This number, 22,570, will consequently represent the citizens, or the free male adults, in Elis itself and in the several towns of Triphylia and Pisatis.

The preceding inquiry, then, has led us to the conclusion that the states of Peloponnesus collectively contained 128,000 citizens, near 528,000 free inhabitants, and a total population of nearly 1,050,000 persons. These numbers of course are only assumed as probabilities;

τοῦ Διὸς ναὸς ἰδρυνταὶ καὶ ὁ Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν τελεῖται Steph. Byz. Πίσαν οἱ Ἡλείοι καὶ ὅσον τῶν περιούκων ἄλλο συναπέστη Πισαίοις πολέμῳ καθέλλον Pausan. V. 10, 2. Pisa, after many contests, as in Ol. 8 B. C. 748, Ol. 34 B. C. 644, Ol. 48 B. C. 588, was destroyed by the Eleans not long after this latter period: Pausan. VI. 22, 2.

Pylos in Elea. Diod. XIV. 17. Πανσανίας [conf. Wess. ad locum] ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Ἥλιν [B. C. 400] Λασιώνα μὲν φρούριον εὐθὺς εἶλεν ἐξ ἐφόδου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα—τέτταρας πόλεις προσηγάγετο Θραιστὸν, Ἀλιον, Εὐπάγιον, Ὀποῦντα. ἐκέθειν δὲ τῇ Πύλῳ προστρατοπεδεύσας εὐθὺς καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον παρέλαβεν, ἀπέχον τῆς Ἡλίδος σταδίου ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα. Pausan. VI. 22, 3. Πύλου τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἡλείῳ δῆλα τὰ ἐρείπια κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἑστὴν εἰς Ἥλιν ὀρεινὴν ὁδὸν ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ στάδια εἰς Ἥλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πύλου. Strabo VIII. p. 339. τριῶν Πύλων ἱστορουμένων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, τούτου τε [the Elean Pylos] καὶ τοῦ Λεπρεατικοῦ τοῦ ἐν Τριφυλίᾳ, τρίτου δὲ τοῦ Μεσσηνιακοῦ. Idem Ibid. οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοίτης Ἡλίδος τοιαύτην φιλοτιμίαν προσετίθεσαν τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς Πύλῳ. Wesseling ad Diod. l. c. mistakes the Pylos of Diod. XIV. 17 for the Triphylian Pylos.

Pylos in Triphylia. ὑπέρεκειται τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τριάκοντα ἡ μικρῇ πλείοσι σταδίοις ὁ Τριφυλιακὸς Πύλος καὶ Λεπρεατικὸς Strabo VIII. p. 343. πρῶται αἱ Φεαί, εἰθ' ἡ Χαλκίς, εἰθ' οἱ Κροννοί, εἰθ' ὁ Πύλος ὁ Τριφυλιακὸς καὶ τὸ Σαμικόν Idem p. 351.

Pyrgos. Polyb. IV. 77. 80. Πυργίται Τριφυλιῶν ἔσχατοι (towards Messenia) Strabo VIII. p. 348. See *Macistus*.

Salmonē. Σαλμώνη πόλις τῆς Πισατίδος Steph. Byz. εἰς γούν ὀκτὼ πόλεις μεριζομένης τῆς Πισατίδος μία τούτων λέγεται καὶ ἡ Σαλμώνη Strab. VIII. p. 356.

Samicum. Σαμικὸν οὐδετέρως, Τριφυλική πόλις Steph. Byz. See *Ærium*. εἴτα ποταμὸς Χαλκίς καὶ

κρήνη Κροννοί καὶ κατοικία Χαλκίς, καὶ τὸ Σαμικόν μετὰ ταῦτα Strab. VIII. p. 343. Pausanias and Strabo both mention an eminence, *Samicum*, and a town *Samos* or *Samia*, on the northern or right bank of the Anigrus: Pausan. V. 6, 1. διαβάντι τὸν Ἀνίγρον καὶ ἰόντι εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔστιν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ χωρίον τε ὑψηλὸν καὶ πόλις Σαμία ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.—τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια τὰ Ἀρήνης σαφῶς μὲν οὔτε Μεσσηνίων εἶχεν οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἡλείων ἀποφῆναί μοι.—πιθανώτατα δὲ ἐφαίνοντό μοι λέγειν οἱ τὸ Σαμικὸν τὰ παλαιότερα ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡρώων Ἀρήνην καλεῖσθαι νομίζοντες.—τὰ δὲ ἐρείπια ταῦτα πλησιαστάτα ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀνίγρου. Strab. VIII. p. 346. τὸ μὲν οὖν Σαμικὸν ἔστιν ἔρμα· πρότερον δὲ καὶ πόλις Σάμος προσαγορευομένη διὰ τὸ ὕψος ἴσως.—τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀρήνης ἀκρόπολις ἦν τοῦτο. We may recognise in this position the site of the *Samicum* of Polybius. Strabo notices a plain called *Samicum* extending to the sea: p. 347. πέτραι ἀπότομοι—ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ Σάμος γέγονε πόλις.—τὸ δὲ Ποσειδῖον ἄλσος ἐστὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ [conf. Pausan. VI. 25, 5]. τούτῳ δὲ κορυφῇ ὑψηλῇ ἐπιπροσθεῖ τὸ Σαμικόν, ὅπου ἡ Σάμος ἦν.—ἐνταῦθα δὲ πεδῖον ἐστὶ Σαμικὸν ὀνομαζόμενον. placed by Pausanias on the south side of the Anigrus: V. 5, 3. ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡλείας χωρίον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθήκον. ὀνομάζεται μὲν Σαμικόν.—ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς εἰς Λέπρεον ἀπὸ Σαμικοῦ τὸν Ἀνίγρον ποταμὸν ἀφέντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ.

Scillus. πόλις Τριφυλική Steph. Byz. conf. Pausan. VI. 22. 2. V. 6, 3. Xenoph. Hel. VI. 5, 2. The residence of Xenophon: Xenoph. Anab. V. 3, 7. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντι παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν κ. τ. λ. conf. Pausan. V. 6, 4. Laërt. II. 52.

Stylangium. Στυλλάγιον πόλις Τριφυλίας Steph. Byz. See *Ærium*.

but I believe that they are within the truth, and that the real numbers exceeded the amounts here given rather than fell below them^m.

432 The evils of the political system among the ancient republics have been forcibly urged by some writers. Those evils are not to be denied. And yet the people continued to exist, and even to flourish, under all their disadvantages. We collect from Polybius that the population of Peloponnesus had not much, if at all, declined in the days of the Achæan League, and during the continuance of Grecian independence. The period from *Pericles* to *Demetrius Phalereus*, about 120 years, was filled with incessant and complicated wars, undertaken partly to put down a formidable rival, partly for conquest, partly to maintain the balance of power against some preponderating state. In this period occurred the Pello-

Thraustum. Θραῦστον Xenoph. See *Acrorei*.
Opaisirón Diod. See *Pylos*.

Typanæa. See *Ægium*, *Hypana*.

^m The numbers will be these, upon the proportion of 4897 citizens or free male adults in 20,160 free persons.

	Citizens.	Free inhabitants.	Total population.
<i>Laconia and Messenia</i>	24,044	98,985	300,000
<i>Arcadia</i>	26,198	107,856	161,750
<i>Achaia</i>	10,004	41,186	61,800
<i>Sicyon</i>	6,003	24,716	46,160
<i>Phlius</i>	5,004	20,603	31,000
<i>Corinth</i>	9,803	40,360	100,360
<i>Argos</i>	16,013	65,923	110,000
<i>Epidaurus, &c.</i>	8,520	35,078	52,500
<i>Elis</i>	22,575	92,937	186,000
	128,164	527,644	1,049,570

It is to be observed, 1. *Laconia* and *Messenia*, after the independence of the latter, probably contained more free inhabitants than the amount here given. The inhabitants of *Methonē* and of *Asinē* are included in the total population, but I have not attempted to compute them in the first and second columns. 2. At *Sicyon*, all the males from 18 to 60 being taken at 10,634 (see p. 422), all the males (including slaves) above the age of twenty would be 11,214, and, the citizens being taken at 6000, the free population will be little more than the slaves, or only in the proportion of 24 to 21. Perhaps the citizens are rated too low. 3. The free military population of *Corinth* being 9300 (see p. 423), the males above the age of twenty will be 9803. This number includes the μέτοικοι. 4. The numbers assigned in the two first columns to *Argos* do not include the περίοικοι or the *Cleonæans*; these are comprehended in the total population. On the area of Peloponnesus, 1,049,570 inhabitants would give 135 persons, nearly, to each square mile.

We may form a rough and general estimate of

the total population of Greece (see p. 386) in this manner. If we assume the population collectively taken of *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, *Phocis*, *Doris*, *Locris*, of *Eubæa* and the islands, to be at the rate of *Laconia*, and the slaves at half the number of the free; and if again we assume the population of *Thessaly* to be at the rate of *Elis*, and the slaves equal to the free; and if we take a larger proportion of inhabitants for *Megara* and *Corcyra* (for *Megara* at the battle of *Platæa* had 3000 ὀπλίται: Herodot. IX. 28. and 3000 ψιλοί: Idem IX. 29., and *Corcyra* in B. C. 435 had a fleet of 120 triremes: Thucyd. I. 25), we shall obtain the following numbers:

	Citizens.	Total inh.
<i>Phocis &c.</i> 6557 × 100 ..	106,180	655,700
<i>Thessaly</i> 5674 × 200 ..	137,880	1,134,800
<i>Megaris</i> }	18,000	150,000
<i>Corcyra</i> } (say).....		
	262,060	1,940,500
<i>Peloponnesus</i>	128,164	1,049,570
<i>Attica</i> (p. 387)	31,000	527,660
<i>Bœotia</i> (p. 401)	21,000	135,000
	442,224	3,652,730

According to Justin IX. 5 the contingents of troops to be supplied to *Philip* from all the states of Greece (except *Lacedæmon*) was 215,000 men. Allowing 18,000 for the free male adult population of all *Laconia* in B. C. 336, we have about 424,000 for the citizens, or rather the free male inhabitants above the age of twenty (since I have included the Athenian μέτοικοι), in all the rest of Greece; so that this contingent, 215,000, would be equal to something more than half the number of the citizens.

Again, in B. C. 324 the exiles amounted to more than 20,000: see the Tables 324.2. We are not informed from what states these were exiles; but if from all the provinces here computed, they would amount to 1 in 22 as compared with the total number of free male adults.

ponnesian war, the Corinthian, the two Theban wars of 17 years continuance, the war of the allies, the Phocian war, the wars with *Philip*. Athens moreover was exposed to the inconveniences of an ill-balanced democracy. And yet, instead of sinking under this pressure, this republic in the days of *Demetrius Phalereus* is found with as large a population, and a trade as extensive, as it possessed in the days of *Pericles*ⁿ. But if we carry our views downward to a later period, and survey the condition of Greece under the Roman empire, what do we find to be the aspect of things? The turbulence of the old times has now ceased. Are the provinces, therefore, of Greece populous and flourishing? We may gather from *Strabo*, *Dio*, *Pausanias*, and other writers, some brief but emphatic hints of the actual condition of this celebrated people.

Eubœa, which contained in B. C. 378 more than 70 states, and which sent 3000 ὁπλίται to the battle of Corinth^o, is thus described by *Dio* P: τὰ πρὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἄγρια παντελῶς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσχορὰ δεινῶς. ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῇ βαθυτάτῃ, οὐχ ὡς προαστεῖον πόλεως· τὰ δέ γε ἐντὸς τείχους σπείρεται τὰ πλείστα καὶ κατανέμεται. He is speaking of the chief town of the island in the reign of *Domitian* or of *Trajan*. *Βαοτία* in the time of *Strabo* q: Θηβαῖοι—οὐδὲ κώμης ἀξιολόγου τύπον σώζουσι. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πόλεις ἀνάλογον, πλὴν Τανάγρας καὶ Θεσπιῶν· αὗται δ' ἱκανῶς συμμένουσι πρὸς ἐκείνας κρινόμεναι. Thebes in the time of *Dio* still continued desolate^r: ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς γενομένης, καὶ ἔτι νῦν σχεδὸν οὐσης, πλὴν μικροῦ μέρους τῆς Καδμείας οἰκουμένης.

Thessaly in the time of *Trajan* was ἔρημος: *Arcadia*, ἀνάστατος^s. The desolation of *Arcadia* is strongly expressed by *Strabo* in the age of *Augustus* t: διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας παντελῇ⁴³³ κάκωσιν οὐκ ἂν προσήκοι μακρολογεῖν——Μαντίνεια, καὶ Ὀρχομενὸς, καὶ Ἡραΐα, καὶ Κλείτωρ, καὶ Φενεὸς, καὶ Στύμφαλος, καὶ Μαίναλος, καὶ Μεθύδριον, καὶ Καφνεῖς, καὶ Κύναιθα, ἥ οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν ἢ μόλις αὐτῶν ἵχνη φαίνεται καὶ σημεῖα. Of *Megalopolis* he remarks^u: νυνὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Μεγαλόπολις τὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ πέπονθε· καὶ

ἐρημία μεγάλη ὅστιν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις^x.

ⁿ Twenty or thirty years before the same date, the Athenians still possessed as large a fleet as in the best days of Athens. *Isocrates*, after the Social war B. C. 353, affirms that they had more than 200 triremes: *Areopagit.* c. 1. p. 140. *Demosthenes de Class.* p. 182 in B. C. 354 proposes 300 ships. *Lycurgus*, whose administration is to be referred to the same period, the reign of *Philip*, τριήρεις παρεσκεύασε τῷ δήμῳ τετρακοσίας. *Vit.* X. or. p. 841. C. 852. C.

^o *Eubœa* in B. C. 378 contained 70 states, besides *Hestiazæ*: *Diod.* XV. 30. συνεμάχησαν αἱ κατὰ τὴν Εὐβοίαν οἰκοῦσαι πόλεις χωρὶς Ἑστιάας.—οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς συμμαχίαν συνέβησαν ἑβδομήκοντα πόλεις καὶ μετέσχον ἐπίσης τοῦ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου. Their forces at the battle of Corinth may be gathered from *Xenophon Hel.* IV. 2, 17. In the Persian war, besides land forces, the Eubœan states of *Chalcis*, *Eretria*, and *Styria* furnished the crews of 29 ships: at *Artemisium*, Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι Ἀθηναίων σφί παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Ἑρετρίες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Στυρίες δὲ δύο. *Herodot.* VIII. 1. at *Salamis*, Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι, καὶ Ἑρετρίες τὰς ἑπτὰ. *Ibid.* c. 46.

^p *Tom.* I. p. 233. *Reisk.*

^q VIII. p. 403. Again p. 410. Θεσπιαὶ μόνῃ συνέστηκε τῶν Βοιωτικῶν πόλεων καὶ Τάναγρα· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐρείπια καὶ ὀνόματα λείπεται.

^r *Tom.* I. p. 263.

^s *Dio tom.* II. p. 11. Οὐχ ὁ Πηνειὸς δι' ἐρήμου ρεῖ Θετταλίας, οὐχ ὁ Λάδων διὰ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἀναστάτου γενομένης; The districts adjoining to *Thessaly* were equally ruined: *Strabo* IX. p. 429. Ἀθαμᾶνες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκλελοίπασιν. Of *Epirus* *Strabo* says VII. p. 322. νῦν δ' ἐρήμου τῆς πλείστης χώρας γεγενημένης καὶ τῶν κατοίκων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων ἡφανισμένων οὐδ' εἰ δύναίτο τις ἀκριβοῦν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἂν ποιῇ χρήσιμον διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ ἀφανισμόν αὐτῶν. That nation never recovered the destruction inflicted by *Paulus Æmilius* in B. C. 167, who in one day destroyed 70 towns and reduced 150,000 persons to slavery: *Polyb.* apud *Strab.* l. c. *Liv.* XLV. 34. *Plutarch.* *Æmil.* c. 29.

^t VIII. p. 388.

^u *Ibid.*

^x *Strabo* VIII. p. 388 represents the greater part of *Arcadia* as affected by the foundation of *Megalopolis*: αἱ πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πολέμων ἡφανίσθησαν ἔνδοξοι γεγόμεναι πρότερον τὴν τε χώραν

To the same effect Pausanias γ in the age of the *Antonines* ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις κόσμον τὸν ἅπαντα καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀφήρηται.

Laconia was favoured by *Augustus*, who erected 24 towns into an independent community^z: and yet Strabo^a found only 30 towns in all *Laconia*: ἡ Λακωνικὴ λειπανδρεῖ.—ἔξω γὰρ τῆς Σπάρτης αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλιναι τινές εἰσι περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν. *Acarnania* and *Ætolia* were not very prosperous^b: ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὁρῶν ἐκλελειμμένας τελέως τὰς πόλεις [of *Acarnania*] εἰς μίαν συνῴκισε τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν Νικόπολιν.—ἡ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων ἐρημία πρὸς ἱπποτροφίαν εὐφυνὴς γέγονεν οὐχ ἦττον τῆς Θετταλίας^c.

Diodorus in the age of *Augustus* mentions generally τῆς νῦν περὶ τὰς πόλεις οὐσης ἐρημίας^d. But Plutarch, a century and a half later, sufficiently paints the general depopulation of all Greece in a single observation: τῆς κοινῆς ὀλιγανδρίας, ἣν αἱ πρότεραι στάσεις καὶ οἱ πόλεμοι περὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπειργάσαντο, πλείστον μέρος ἡ Ἑλλὰς μετέσχηκε· καὶ μόλις ἂν νῦν ὅλη παράσχοι τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ὅσους ἡ Μεγαρέων μία πόλις ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιάς^e. It is needless to observe that the wars of which Plutarch speaks were Roman wars^f, and not wars carried on in the times of Grecian independence. But yet we may hesitate in ascribing this decay to the operation of wars at all. For from the close of the civil wars B. C. 30 to the time of *Trajan* (when Plutarch flourished), a space of 130 years, Greece had enjoyed the advantages of a profound peace. The civil wars, which lasted more than twenty years^g, might have originally wasted the country, but very different causes must have operated to keep it desolate during so long a period of tranquillity^h.

οἱ γεωργήσαντες ἐκλελοίπασιν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἔτι τῶν χρόνων ἐξ ὧν εἰς τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν Μεγαλόπολιν αἱ πλείεσται συνῴκισθησαν. Taken of *Arcadia* generally, we may deny the truth of this representation. For of 18 *Arcadian* states only seven contributed to form the new city; and, of these seven, *Orchomenus* had but little share in the measure, and *Aliphera* remained with the appellation of a city through the times of the *Achæan League*. The testimonies which have been already produced (see above, p. 415—417 notes r—z) will shew that the other eleven states of *Arcadia* continued to flourish down to the times of *Philip* and *Perseus*; near 200 years after the foundation of *Megalopolis*. Their decay therefore was subsequent to the extinction of Grecian independence. These cities survived the wars which had been carried on in the times of the *Achæan League* against *Cleomenes*, the *Ætolians*, or *Philip*. The wars then of which Strabo speaks, and to which he ascribes their ruin, were wars which occurred after the Romans had become masters of Greece: and could have been no other than the civil wars of the Romans; in which the *Arcadians*, unfor-

tunately for themselves, took part with *Antony*. See Pausan. VIII. 46, 1.

γ Pausan. VIII. 33, 1.

z See above, p. 403. v. *Prasiæ*.

a VIII. p. 362.

b Strab. VII. p. 325.

c VIII. p. 388.

d Diod. II. 5. He is speaking generally; but his remark may well be supposed to refer especially to Greece.

e Plutarch. Def. Or. p. 414. A. He considers the decay of population in Greece, τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν ἐρημίαν, as the cause of the decline of Oracles: τίνος γὰρ ἦν ἀγαθὸν εἰ ἐν Τεγύραις ὡς πρότερον ἦν μαντεῖον, ἢ περὶ τὸ Πτῶον, ὅπου μέρος ἡμέρας ἐντυχεῖν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων νέμοντι;

f As in Plutarch. Anton. c. 62. 68.

g Conf. Liv. Epit. CXXXIII.

h Polybius in fragm. Vatican. p. 450 remarks the decay of population in his time, and ascribes it to other causes than war: ἐπέσχεν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀπαιδία καὶ συλλήβδην ὀλιγανθρωπία, δι' ἣν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐξηρημώθησαν καὶ ἀφορίαν εἶναι συνέβαινε· καίπερ οὔτε πολέμων συνεχῶν ἐσχηκότων ἡμᾶς οὔτε λοιμικῶν περιστάσεων.

I N D E X.

The Tables are described by the year and column. The Roman numerals designate the pages of the Introduction. The Arabic pages, the pages of the Appendix. The letters subjoined to the pages mark the notes. These are the pages of the second edition. Where the present edition is referred to in this Index, the numbers are enclosed in this manner : p. (460) p. (xii).

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- Acestorides** ^a *arch. ep.* 504. 474.
- Achæans** remained in Laconia as vassals of the Dorians p. 404. 405. see note z.
- Achæan League**, its rise 280. 2. its date examined p. 240. 241. members of the assembly to be thirty years of age p. 386. t. Achæan states p. 421. r.
- Achæus** *trag.* his birth 484. 4. his time and age 447. 4. excelled in satirical pieces ib.
- Achaia**, its area p. 385. see note r. had twelve states p. 420. reduced to ten ib. its extent and population p. 421.
- Acharnæ** the largest Attic borough p. 394.
- Acrotatus** son of Cleom. II. king of Sparta died before his father p. 214. col. 1.
- Acrotatus** king of Sparta son of Areus I. p. 205. p. 216. col. 1.
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- Adimantus** *arch. ep.* 477.
- Æaces** son of Syloson tyrant of Samos 494. 2.
- Ægæ** in Achaia p. 421. r.
- Ægina** her naval empire 485. 2. her war with Athens 491. 2. Æginetæ defeated by the Athenians p. 255. Æg. surrenders p. 256. colonized by Athens p. 389. e. Ægin. settled in Cynuria p. 424. q. area of Ægina p. 385. naval empire and numbers of its slaves p. 423. k.
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- Ægytis** a district in Arcadia p. 416. u. p. 402. 403. *Belmina, Leuctra* p. 418. h.
- Æliani** *Hist. Anim. Schneider.* 8vo. *Lipsiæ* 1784.
- *Var. Hist. Kuhnii* 8vo. *Lipsiæ* 1780.
- Ælian** corrected 317. 2.
- Æmilius Paulus** p. 432. s.
- Æneas** of Stymphalus p. 415. r.
- Æropus** king of Macedon p. 220.
- Æropus** p. 220. usurps the kingdom of Macedon p. 224.
- Æschines** *or.* born 389. 3. present at Mantinea 362. 3. withdraws to Asia 330. 3. and Rhodes 314. 3. his death ib. died at Samos ib. his mission as Pylagoras, the date examined p. 290, 291. p. (358) (359).
- ^{κατὰ Τιμάρχον} 345. 3.
- ^{περὶ παραπρεσβείας} 343. 3. a passage transcribed from Andocides p. 257. k.
- ^{κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος} 330. 3.
- Æschines** *phil.* 365. 3.
- Æschylus** *trag.* born 525. 4. later than Phryni-

^a In this index, for the sake of brevity, all the *archontes eponymi* (designated by *arch. ep.*) who bore the same name are registered under one head.

- chus 511. 4. began to exhibit 499. 4. æt. 35. 490. 4. first prize 484. 4. his death and age 456. 4. see 468. 4. 475. 4.
Φινεύς, Πέρσαι, Γλαῦκος Πιπτιεύς, Προμ. πυρφ. 472. 4.
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- Agaristê daughter of Clisthenes of Sicyon p. 297.
- Agathocles *arch. ep.* 357.
- Agathocles tyrant of Syracuse 317. 2. p. 267. lands in Africa 310. 2. quits it 307. 2. his death 289. 2.
- Agathon *trag.* 416. 3. 4. p. xxxii. y. withdrew to the court of Archelaus ib.
- Agesicles king of Sparta p. 205. p. 417. e.
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- Agis I. king of Sparta p. 205. conquers Helos p. 405. 2.
- Agis II. king of Sparta p. 205. his reign p. 211. col. 2. commands in the war against Elis 401. 2. 400. 2. p. 428. j. 429. k.
- Agis III. king of Sparta p. 205. date and duration of his reign p. 214. 215. col. 2. slain by Antipater 331. 2. date of the battle p. 234. loss on that occasion p. 408. p.
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- Agnon leads a colony to Amphipolis 437. 2. p. 261.
- Agriaspæ p. 233. e.
- Agrirentum taken by the Carthaginians 406. 2. date of its foundation p. 265. 266.
- Agyrrhius succeeds Thrasybulus 389. 2.
- Alcæus *arch. ep.* 422.
- Alcæus *poëta* contemporary with Sappho, Stesichorus, and Pittacus 553. 4.
- Alcæus *com. vet.* his *Παισιφάνη* 388. 4.
- Alcámenes king of Sparta p. 205. p. 405. z.
- Alcathea or Anchithea the mother of Pausanias p. 210. col. 1.
- Alcetas king of Macedonia p. 220.
- Alcetas an ally of Athens intercedes for Timotheus 373. 3.
- Alcibiades, when he began to act in public affairs p. lvi. k. 423. 2. see 429. 2. his age at the time of his death 423. 2. effects a treaty with the Argives 420. 2. see p. 386. t. general of the Athenians 419. 2. recalled from Sicily 415. 2. sent by the Spartans to Asia 412. 2. defeats Mindarus 410. 2. takes Selymbria and Byzantium 408. 2. returns to Athens 407. 2. proceeds to Andros ib. deposed ib. his death and age 404. 2.
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- Alcmæon commanded the Athenians in the Cirrhaean war p. (239) 299.
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- Alexander II. king of Macedon p. 220. his reign p. 225.
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- Alexander son of Cassander p. 236. 239. r.
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- Alexandria in Egypt founded 332. 2. see p. (224).
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 'Αγῶνις }
 'Αδελφοί 343. 4.
 'Ιππος its date examined 316. 4.
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 'Ολυμπιόδωρος } 356. 4.
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 Ammonius *de adfinium vocab. differentia Valckenær, 4to. 2 voll. Lugd. Bat.* 1739.
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

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- xliv. note m. line 10. after "period" add as follows: "Kruger observes, *Vide tamen ne potius emendandum sit παρ' Ἀπολλοφάνει καὶ (παρὰ) Στράττιδι ἐν Ἰφιγέροντι.* Hemsterhusius however (no mean authority) concurs in the emendation *Στράττιδι ἢ Ἀπολλοφάνει.* Conf. Anecd. Hemsterh. Geel. p. 223. And that emendation is now confirmed by Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 541. ed. Dindorf. Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Ἰφιγέροντι."
- liv. note e line 5. read *ὀύριστικός*

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TABLES.

503. 4. line 8. p. 23. "Suidas transcribing the Scholiast:"—But Dindorf is of opinion that in these and some other passages Musurus transcribed from Suidas and inserted them in the Scholia. See Appendix p. 415 b.
502. 4. line 3. read *ὀλυμπιάδα*
404. 4. line 36. p. 95. after "ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου—παιδικῷ χορῷ" omit "about spring B. C. 404." The client of *Lysias* returned to Athens in the autumn of 405, before *Lysander* had formed the blockade of the city; and εὐθὺς ἐγυμνασιάρχει εἰς Προμήθεια. But as the Προμήθεια were probably celebrated after the 20th of *Thargelion* (see Appendix p. 404 n), εὐθὺς will here be used with some latitude by the orator, and μετὰ ταῦτα παιδικῷ χορῷ may mean an exhibition in the last month *Sciophorion*, which began in that year on the 27th of May.
353. 4. line 1. p. 145. for "not does" r. "does not"
339. 2. line 18. read *ἰσταμένου*

B. C. Col.

INDEX TO THE TABLES.

327. 2. for "Defeat of Porus" r. "Eighth campaign"
326. 2. for "Voyage of Nearchus" r. "Defeat of Porus"
325. 2. r. "Voyage of Nearchus"
324. 2. for "Al. enters Babylon" r. "Cossæan war"

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NOTES ON THE TABLES.

227. l. 42. for "he" r. "the"

228. l. 8. read "p. 217"

236. add as follows:

B. C. 327. 2. *Eighth campaign*, &c. The perusal of what Dr. Thirlwall has written upon the march of *Alexander* from Bactriana to the Hydaspes, which, with Mr. Williams, he extends to two campaigns instead of comprising it in one, has led me to reconsider that question; and in the present edition of the Tables I have adopted his arrangement, founded upon the weighty authority of Aristobulus, and have placed the defeat of *Porus* in B. C. 326; which brings down the arrival at Susa to the beginning of 324 and the entrance into Babylon to the spring of the archon *Hegesias*.

Some difficulties remain to be reconciled with this distribution. 1. According to Arrian Indic. c. 21. *Nearchus* sailed in October of the *eleventh* year of *Alexander*. But as the 11th year commenced in *Hecatombaeon* B. C. 326, this will give October 326 for the date of that voyage: the present arrangement places the voyage of *Nearchus* in October of the *twelfth* year of *Alexander's* reign. 2. Diodorus XVII. 110. 111 in conformity with the date of Arrian assigns the Cossæan war to the winter of the archon *Anticles* B. C. 324, and the entry into Babylon to the spring of the same archon. But the arrangement to which we are led by Aristobulus brings both these events into the year of *Hegesias*. 3. If we place the arrival of *Alexander* in Susiana at the beginning of 324, or February of the archon *Anticles*, this will be less consistent with the account of the flight of *Harpalus*. For in the narrative of Diodorus XVII. 108 he did not leave Babylon till he had heard of *Alexander's* arrival at Susa; not therefore before the spring of the archon *Anticles*; which would bring down his arrival in Attica, at the earliest, to May or June, at the end of the year of that archon. Dr. Thirlwall vol. VII. p. 93. 2. thinks it "certain that the flight of *Harpalus* did not take place before *Alexander's* return from "India;" and observes p. 153 "The precise time when he arrived on the coast of Attica is difficult to "ascertain. But it seems most probable that it was after the return of Demosthenes from Olympia." That is, after the Olympic games of Ol. 114. 1. But we learn from Dionysius that the proceedings which followed his arrival at Athens had already commenced in the year of the archon *Anticles*, within Ol. 113. 4 (see the Tables 324. 3): and this carries back the flight of *Harpalus* to an earlier period. 4. In Curtius Arrian and Diodorus no hint occurs of a winter between the passage of the mountains and the arrival at Taxila. All the operations are rapid. A halt of ten days is marked at Nysa by Curtius VIII. 10, 17. then *divisis copiis pluribus simul locis arma ostendit* c. 10, 20. Bezira and Mazaga are besieged together c. 10, 22. at Mazaga *intra nonum diem opera absoluta sunt* c. 10, 31. Then Ora and Aornos are besieged c. 11. at Aornos *intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant* c. 11, 9. and in three days more the rock was taken c. 11, 20—23. where the annotator aptly quotes Lucian Hermotim. [c. 4] τῆς Ἀόρνου ἐκείνης, ἣν ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν. and Strabo XV. p. [688] Ἀορνὸν τινα πέτραν, ἥς τὰς ρίζας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὑπορρεῖ πλησίον τῶν πηγῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ μίαν προσβολὴν ἐλόντος. *Alexander* proceeds from Aornos to Ecbolima (near Aornos: Arrian. IV. p. 307), from thence on the 16th day reaches the Indus—*ad Indum sextis decimis castris pervenit* c. 12, 1—4—and passes three days with *Taxiles* c. 12, 15. In Arrian's account *Hephestion* is sent forward to the Indus (mentioned also by Curtius VIII. 10, 2), and detained 30 days by the siege of a city in Peuce-laotis IV. 22, 6—12. *Alexander* meanwhile proceeds through the country of the *Aspasii*, *Guræi*, and *Assaceni* c. 23, 1. Massaga is taken after an assault of some days c. 26. 27. Ora and Bazira are besieged together c. 27, 6—14. The siege of the rock Aornos (c. 28—30) employs not many days. Then Arrian mentions the town of Dyrta and the arrival at the Indus c. 30, 10—13. The other

towns which *Alexander* occupied in his progress apud Arrian. c. 23. 24. 28 did not detain him long. Diodorus XVII. 85, 86 notices the capture of many towns and of the rock Aornos, which was assaulted for 7 days and as many nights: *συνεχῶς ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ τὰς ἑσπας νύκτας*. All the operations recorded might have been accomplished within four months^a. If *Alexander* had crossed the mountains in the beginning of March in his 8th campaign B. C. 327, he might have reached Taxila at the end of June, and have encountered *Porus* in August; and this would be consistent with the date of Arrian Indic. c. 21, of Diodorus XVII. 110. 111, and with the time assigned to the flight of *Harpalus*.

The positive testimony, however, of *Aristobulus* outweighs all these considerations, and establishes that about ten months were consumed in the country between the Cophen and the Indus. And we must suppose corruption in the date of Arrian, and error in Diodorus referring the events to a wrong year. We may conclude that *Harpalus* did not delay his flight till *Alexander* arrived at Susa.

Munychion for the battle in Arrian, which a German writer quoted by Thirlwall vol. VII. p. 22. retains, cannot be admitted, not only because "it was impossible that the rainy season could have begun in *Munychion*," but especially because Arrian has himself already mentioned the solstice. It is probable however that *Munychion* (in that year Ol. 113. 2 extending from April 18 to May 17) was really the month in which the army crossed the Indus. The halt of 30 days recorded by Diodorus would extend the stay at that river to the period of the rains (seen there by *Aristobulus*), and would bring the army to the Hydaspes at midsummer.

For the acts at Babylon we must adopt Dr. Thirlwall's explanation vol. VII. p. 98 that the works mentioned were performed previous to *Alexander's* arrival. It must however be remembered that *Alexander's* stay is limited to three or four months, not because no vestige of a winter passed at Babylon appears in the historians, for none appears of the winter passed between the Cophen and the Indus in Arrian or Curtius or Diodorus or Plutarch; but that short period is established because the testimony of *Aristobulus* necessarily brings down the entrance of *Alexander* into Babylon to the spring of the last year of his life.

APPENDIX.

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240. note m. add as follows: "Mr. Boeckh in another passage p. 336 has alluded to the reading of "Chandler in these terms: *Chandlerus ad Corsini mentem corrupto numero pro 318 (qui unice verus et in Marmore scriptus est) reposuit 322*. This is not a just view of the question. Chandler "found the numbers mutilated in that epoch. He marked the *lacuna* and supplied the numbers "by conjecture. We may refuse to accept his conjecture, but we cannot charge him with corrupting the text. That the numbers in that epoch of the Marble are at this time too much "defaced to be deciphered we know from the testimony of one who has examined them at my "request."
243. note k. line 3. read "*Pythiorum*"
284. line 2—9. omit "and this is farther confirmed ——third month of the archon *Pythodemus*"
284. note n. line 25. read "26th"
285. line 6. for *three winters* r. *four winters*.
285. line 7. for "a third in India, in which" r. "a third in India west of the Indus, and a fourth beyond the Indus, in which"

^a Lieut. Burnes in 1832 passed the Indus on the 17th of March (vol. II. p. 68), and entered Balkh on the 9th of June (vol. II. p. 202), only 84 days after he had crossed the Indus; and yet he had passed one month of this period at Peshawur (from the 19th of March to the 19th of April: vol. II. p. 77. 95. 96. 111) and 17 days at Cabool (from the 1st to the 18th of May: p. 111. 147).

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286. line 18. for "a date at which it is confessed that" read "a date at which, according to Mitford himself"
286. l. 29. for "interpolated two years" r. "interpolated a year"
286. l. 30—287. 9. "His arrangement——embarrassed." I would now wish the reader to omit the whole of this paragraph, and to consult upon this subject what has been written in the preceding note p. 563.
294. note s. l. 26. read ἀπηγγέλλετο
386. l. 38. read "ecclesiastical"
396. note o. l. 1. for "A. D. 145" r. "A. D. 146"
400. note l. l. 2. read κατάρχονται
405. l. 30. after τῇ Εἰρήνῃ παρὰ στρατηγῶν read the numbers thus: ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ
405. note t. after *tantum* continue the note thus: "Mr. Muller's first argument is refuted by Lysias himself. For the orator in the preceding line has mentioned *Dionysia* in which his client was victor in tragedy and expended 5000 *dr.*, and *Panathenæa Majora* in which he expended 700 *dr.* on *Pyrrhichistæ*: and yet he names the minor exhibition first for no other reason than because he followed the order of time. Whence we infer that, if the *Panathenæa minora* had occurred in *Hecatombæon*, he would have also named them first."
406. l. 5. for "which might" r. "which (if it were in the month *Hecatombæon*) might"
524. note m. col. 2. divide the total sums in this manner: 442,224 | 3,652,730

